THE
HISTORY OF AMERICA,
FROM ITS
DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS
TO THE
CONCLUSION OF THE LATE WAR.
WITH AN
APPENDIX,
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF
THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PRESENT UNHAPPY CONTEST
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

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VOLUME I.

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BRITISH
MUSEUM
NATURAL
HISTORY

APPENDIX

TO

CONCLUSION OF THE FIFTH MAP

SHOWING

DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS

FROM THE

HISTORY OF AMERICA

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Diſcovery of America, if we conſider its conſequences, is the moſt important event in the hiſtory of mankind. The gold and ſilver imported from the New World into Spain, entirely changed, in a few years, the value of money, and the price of labour all over Europe. The colonies, eſpecially thoſe of England, planted in the American iſlands, and on the Continent, have increaſed the number of the civilized part of the human ſpecies: they have ſupplied the inhabitants of our quarter of the globe with a variety of commodities, formerly unknown, or very rare, which contribute to the more comfortable enjoyment of life, as well as to the extenſion of trade; and by the conſumption of European manufactures, they have furniſhed a ſubſiſtence to many thouſands of European artizans, who could not otherwiſe have found employment. The number of mariners was ſuddenly increaſed; the ſcience of navigation was perfected; and double the former number of ſhips have long navigated the ocean, laden alternately with the commodities of each hemiſphere. Europeans engroſſed the trade of the earth.

But if that ſpirit of independency, which has broke out with ſuch violence in the Britiſh ſettlements, and is ſaid to have ſpread itſelf over the whole American continent, ſhould be able to accompliſh its aim, the ſtate of commerce, already much altered, muſt undergo a total revolution. The colonies, inſtead of depending on the mother-countries, will themſelves become manufacturers; unreſtrained by commercial laws, they will waft their commodities to every quarter of the globe, and receive what they want in exchange: they will become our rivals in the markets of Europe, and alſo in the trade of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. The treaſures of Mexico and Peru, in ſuch event, will no longer flow into Spain, but will circulate through that continent where they have their ſource, in exchange for its different commodities and manufactures; and this circulation will give activity to every branch of trade, and vigour to every ſpecies of induſtry; while the commerce of Europe, deprived of its vivifying principle, will ſink into a ſtate of expiring languor. Her luxuries, unfed by the fountain that produced them, will prey upon her vitals; and her preſent lucrative trade to India, when that of America is loſt, will prove not only unprofitable but ruinous. The gold and ſilver of the Weſtern World alone can enable us to purchaſe the precious commodities of the Eaſt.

At this criſis, when new republics are forming, and new empires burſting into birth, the HISTORY of AMERICA becomes peculiarly intereſting. We are naturally led to inquire, by what train of circum-

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ſtances ſettlements ſo lately founded have arrived at ſuch a degree of wealth and power as to attempt new eſtabliſhments, in defiance of the arms of a great nation. Nor will the iſſue of the preſent ſtruggle, between Great Britain and her colonies, ſhould it ever prove in favour of the parent ſtate, entirely ſubvert the order of things: it will only retard, for a few years, events that would now have taken place, unleſs the ſpirit of independency ſhould be finally extinguiſhed. By the aſſiſtance of foreign troops, we may poſſibly be able to ſubdue our refractory fellow ſubjects; but we muſt be able to inſpire them with new ſentiments, before we can hold them in ſubjection. The termination, however, of this conteſt, the moſt unhappy in which England ever was engaged, will mark an important æra in the hiſtory of Europe, as well as of America.

But though the progreſs of commerce and colonization, and the different wars which they have occaſioned, are the chief objects of this hiſtory, they are not its ſole purpoſe. The diſcovery of America not only brought to view a vaſt continent, and iſlands of whoſe exiſtence mankind had formerly no conception, but where every plant, and tree, and animal, was different from thoſe of the ancient hemiſphere. It offered to human contemplation a ſpectacle equally new and aſtoniſhing; alike ſingular and grand. Nature appeared there in all her rude magnificence. Immenſe foreſts, untrod but by the foot of the hunter, and where the axe had never exerted its power; extenſive plains, without any traces of culture, large lakes, great rivers, and enormous mountains, are the diſtinguiſhing features of America. That ſavage and ſimple ſtate, which was known only in our continent by the fanciful deſcriptions of poets, actually exiſted in the other. Man, in the New World, appeared under the rudeſt form in which we can conceive him to ſubſiſt: he was not only a ſtranger to the refinements in policy and arts, but the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, almoſt unacquainted with property; he was in the firſt ſtage of his being. To follow him in his progreſs, as he gradually advances from this infant ſtate of civil life to its maturity; to obſerve at each period how the faculties of his underſtanding unfold; to attend to the efforts of his active powers; to watch the motions of the affections as they ariſe in his heart, and mark whither they tend, and with what ardour they are excited, are objects of which the writers of ancient Greece and Rome had but an imperfect view, but which are fully preſented to the hiſtorian of America, and will form not the leaſt intereſting part of the following work.

THE

THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BOOK I.

The DISCOVERY of AMERICA, and the CONQUEST of the two great Empires of MEXICO and PERU, by the SPANIARDS.

CHAP. I.

The Progreſs of Commerce and Navigation, from the earlieſt Accounts, to the Diſcovery of the NEW WORLD.

IN order to prepare the mind of the reader for the various ſcenes that unfold themſelves in the following hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the progreſs of navigation, prior to the diſcovery of America; and as that event was followed by a ſignal revolution in the commercial world, it will alſo be ſatisfactory to trace the progreſs of commerce to the ſame memorable æra.

That great body of water which every where ſurrounds the earth, and ſo frequently interſects it, to the eye of untutored man, ſeems intended to obſtruct that intercourſe which Providence deſigned it to facilitate. Men muſt have lived ſeveral ages together, and have made conſiderable progreſs in ſcience, as well as in the mechanical arts, before they could conſtruct veſſels of ſuch a ſize, and navigate them with ſo much ſkill, as to conſider the ocean as beneficial to the intereſts of ſociety. They muſt alſo have experienced a variety of wants: they muſt have perceived the riches of other countries, and the poverty of their own; and they muſt have been ſenſible of the general advantages that might be derived

BOOK I.

from an exchange of commodities, in conſequence of which the wants of one country would be ſupplied by the ſuperfluities of another, before they turned their minds to the ſtudy of navigation, or their induſtry to the building of ſhips. The ſoil muſt ill have requited their culture, where firſt they thought of ploughing the main; and the game and the fruits of the foreſt muſt have been few, where firſt they reſolved to fell its trees, and convert its timber into a veſſel, in which they might commit themſelves to the mercy of the winds and waves.

Experience juſtifies this conjecture. The barren coaſt of Phœnicia produced the firſt eminent ſhip-builders, and the rock of Tyre the firſt navigators of any note. Navigation ſoon made the Phœnicians acquainted with all the advantages of commerce. The induſtry and ingenuity of the people compenſated for the barrenneſs of the ſoil: they carried every ſpecies of manufacture to the greateſt perfection then known; the city of Tyre became the principal emporium in the ancient world. Thither reſorted the merchants of all nations; and Phœnician veſſels not only frequented all the ports in the Mediterranean, but paſſing the Straits of Gades *, viſited the weſtern coaſts of Spain and Africa. There they diſpoſed of their rich fabrics, and received in return the neceſſaries of life, or the rude materials of induſtry, from countries more abounding in natural ſuperfluities, or nations leſs advanced in the arts.

Nor was this enterpriſing people ſatisfied with theſe advantages. Having made themſelves maſters of Elath, and other commodious harbours in the Arabian Gulph or Red Sea, they eſtabliſhed a trade with Arabia and India on the one hand, and Ethiopia on the other. From the different ports of theſe countries, to which their ſhips regularly reſorted, but eſpecially from India, they imported many precious commodities, and enjoyed for ſeveral ages, without a rival, the lucrative trade of the Eaſt. Theſe commodities were carried over land from Elath to Rhinocolura, the neareſt port in the Mediterranean; where being reſhipped, they were tranſported to Tyre, or to Sidon, a city ſcarcely leſs eminent on the ſame coaſt; and from thoſe marts they were diſtributed through Europe, Aſia, and Africa, as far as travelling was practicable or navigation known †.

The Carthaginians, a colony from Phœnicia, inherited the commercial ſpirit of their parent ſtate, and applied to navigation with no leſs ardour and ſucceſs. But though Carthage early rivalled, and ſoon ſurpaſſed Tyre in wealth and power, the Phœnicians continued to enjoy the excluſive poſſeſſion of the trade to India. The mercantile activity of the Carthaginians took another direction; their navigation extended itſelf chiefly towards the weſt and north. They not only viſited the coaſts of Spain, but alſo thoſe of Gaul and Britain; and puſhing their hardineſs yet farther, they ſailed along the weſtern coaſt of Africa, where they planted ſeveral colonies, and launching into the Atlantic ocean, diſcovered the Canaries or Fortunate iſlands, ſuppoſed to be the utmoſt limits of ancient navigation in the weſtern main ‡.

* Now known by the name of the Straits of Gibraltar.

† Strabon. Geog. lib. xvi. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. ‡ Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 37.

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The Greeks, notwithſtanding the favourable ſituation of their country, almoſt encompaſſed by the ſea, which formed many ſpacious bays and commodious harbours, and though ſurrounded by fertile iſlands, were late in making any conſiderable progreſs in navigation. Even in their moſt improved ſtate, they hardly carried on any commerce beyond the limits of the Mediterranean. Their chief intercourſe was with the colonies of their countrymen planted in Aſia Minor, in Italy, and Sicily; though they ſometimes viſited the ports of Egypt, of Gaul, and of Thrace; or paſſing through the Helleſpont, now the Dardanelles, traded with the countries ſituated around the Euxine or Black Sea ††.

But the expedition of Alexander the Great into Aſia, enlarged the ſphere of Grecian navigation, and was followed by a revolution in the commercial world, no leſs remarkable than that which it produced in the political. That extraordinary man, whoſe genius fitted him equally for conqueſt and dominion, had no ſooner accompliſhed the deſtruction of Tyre, and reduced Egypt to ſubjection, than he founded a great city, to which he gave his own name, and which he propoſed to make the centre of commerce, as well as the ſeat of empire. This city was ſituated near one of the mouths of the river Nile, that by the Mediterranean ſea, and the neighbourhood of the Arabian gulph, it might command the trade both of the Eaſt and Weſt; and that ſituation was choſen with ſo much diſcernment, that Alexandria ſoon became, what Tyre had been, the greateſt emporium in the ancient world *.

But the ambition of Alexander was not ſatisfied with having opened to his countrymen a communication with India by ſea; he aſpired at the ſovereignty of that rich territory, and conducted an army thither by land. Enterpriſing however as he was, he may be ſaid rather to have diſcovered, than to have conquered it. His raſh expedition ſerved only to make him more ſenſible of its importance, and his immature death prevented any ſecond attempt to ſubdue it. But the Indian trade eſtabliſhed at Alexandria continued to flouriſh, not only under the Grecian monarchs of Egypt, but after that kingdom was ſubjected to the Roman power. It even ſurvived the Roman empire itſelf, whoſe declining majeſty it had contributed to ſuſtain, and was never totally ruined, till the diſcovery of the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope †: ſo great was the ſagacity and foreſight of the Macedonian hero, who has been branded with the name of madman by one eminent writer ‡, and compared with a common highwayman by another §!

The progreſs of the Romans in commerce and navigation was ſtill more ſlow, and leſs conſiderable than that of the Greeks. Their military education, the genius of the people, and the ſpirit of their laws, all tended to eſtrange them from mercantile purſuits. The neceſſity of oppoſing a formidable rival, not any commercial views, firſt made them aim at naval power; and it was the de-

†† Huet. Hiſt. du Commerce des Anciens.

* Diod. Sicul. lib. xviii. c. 1. Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. vii. c. 27, 28. Strab. Geog. lib. xvii.

† Mun's Diſcourſes on the Eaſt-India Commerce. ‡ Pope. § Hawkeſworth.

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BOOK I.

ſire of bending all nations under one yoke, not of uniting them by mutual intereſt in the exchange of goods, that prompted them to aſpire at the dominion of the ſea, which they had found to be inſeparably connected with that of the land. Even after the Roman arms had ſubdued all the maritime ſtates in the ancient world; when Carthage, Greece, and Egypt, had ſubmitted to their power, and when the ſubverſion of the republic had ſoftened the ſeverity, and brought down the ſtatelineſs of ancient manners, commerce did not riſe to any high degree of eſtimation among the Romans. The trade of the conquered countries was ſuffered to remain almoſt entirely in the hands of the natives, and continued to flow in its former channels.

But kingdoms and commonwealths, when reduced to the form of provinces, could not retain the enterpriſing ſpirit of independent ſtates; nor could the additional ſecurity which commerce is ſuppoſed * to have received from the extent of the Roman authority, or the vigilant inſpection of the Roman magiſtrates, compenſate for the want of that ſpirit. Rome was indeed a market for every luxury; but every province was a ſtate priſon: and the wealth of the whole empire was wafted to Italy, where it was waſted in voluptuous profuſion. "One, indeed, ſuperintending power, moved and regulated the induſtry of mankind, and enjoyed the fruits of their joint efforts †;" but that power, like a ſpring rendered feeble by its length, was unable, though unreſtrained by any partial obſtructions or interfering force, to communicate vigour to the complicated machine. If navigation, therefore, received any improvements under the Roman dominion, they muſt have ariſen from the natural progreſs of the human mind, not from any advantages peculiar to the Roman government, which was alike deſpotic, oppreſſive, and debaſing.

The Romans however, notwithſtanding their diſinclination to naval affairs, greatly contributed, by their victorious armies, to extend the intercourſe of nations, as well as the knowledge of unknown lands and ſeas. Previous to their conqueſts, the civilized nations of antiquity had no communication with thoſe countries in Europe, which now form its moſt opulent and powerful kingdoms. The interior parts of Spain and Gaul were little known; Britain, except by its northern neighbours, had only been viſited by a few Carthaginian merchants; and the name of Germany had ſcarcely been heard of on the other ſide of the Alps. Into all theſe countries the Roman armies penetrated, and the greater part of them they ſubdued. Nor was the progreſs of the Romans leſs conſiderable in the other quarters of the globe. In Africa, they acquired a conſiderable knowledge of all the countries that ſtretch along the coaſt of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar. In Aſia, they not only made themſelves maſters of moſt of the provinces that compoſed the Perſian and Macedonian empires, but, after their victories over Mithridates and Tigranes, they ſeem to have ſurveyed the countries contiguous to the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, more accurately than they had been formerly, and to

* Robertſon, Hiſt. America, Book i. † Id. ibid.

have

have carried on a more extenſive trade than that of the Greeks, with the opulent and commercial nations then ſeated around the latter ‡.

Such was the progreſs of commerce, navigation, and diſcovery among the ancients, from the firſt dawn of civilization, to the full eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire, the moſt enlightened æra in the ancient world; from which it appears, that they were but very imperfectly acquainted even with that portion of the earth which was known to them. They were almoſt entirely ignorant of thoſe vaſt countries in the north of Europe, which are at preſent ſubject to the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Pruſſia, and thoſe which belong to the Ruſſian empire. With the north of Aſia, and the greater part of Africa, they were ſtill leſs acquainted; and the fertile and opulent countries of India, beyond the Ganges, were to them regions unexplored.

That part of India, now known by the name of the Malabar coaſt, appears to have been the utmoſt limit of ancient navigation in the Eaſt, as the Canaries were in the Weſt. Nor is the narrowneſs of theſe boundaries by any means to be wondered at, if we reflect that the ancients were unacquainted with that property of the magnet, which makes it point to the poles, and conſequently with the mariner's compaſs. Deſtitute of this faithful guide, which now conducts the pilot with ſo much certainty in the unbounded ocean, they durſt ſeldom quit ſight of land, but crept timidly along the coaſt, expoſed to all the dangers, and retarded by all the obſtructions, unavoidable in holding ſuch an aukward courſe, doubling every ſtormy cape, and becalmed in every bay. They had no other method of regulating their direction, but by obſerving the ſun and ſtars; and when theſe diſappeared, during the darkneſs of night, when the heavens were involved in clouds, their courſe was neceſſarily retarded. Hence many years were requiſite for performing voyages which are now accompliſhed in a few months; and the veſſels being ſmall and ſhallow, in order to avoid the rocks and ſhoals, and depending as much for their navigation upon oars as ſails, every part of the nautical art was of conſequence imperfect *.

Other cauſes conſpired to retard the progreſs of diſcovery among the ancients. They ſuppoſed all that portion of the earth which lies between the tropics, or what they called the torrid zone, now found to yield both the neceſſaries and the comforts of life in the moſt luxurious profuſion, to be not only uninhabitable by man, but the region of perpetual ſterility. Nor was this wild opinion peculiar to the ignorant vulgar; it was adopted by the moſt enlightened philoſophers and beſt informed geographers, who only differed about the extent of the void and uninhabitable ſpace, ſome confining it to twelve, others to eight degrees on each ſide of the equator. They even believed the heat of the torrid zone to be ſo exceſſive, as to prove an inſuperable barrier againſt all intercourſe between the inhabitants of the two temperate regions of the

‡ Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book i.

* Hiſt. Philoſ. et Polit. des Etabliſſemens, &c. des Europ. dans le deux Indes, par l'Abbé Raynal, liv. i. Hiſt. Amer. b. i.

BOOK I.

earth *. Men conſequently were not likely to proſecute diſcovery, at the hazard of their lives, where the ſoil was ſuppoſed to produce nothing that could recompenſe them for the danger to which they muſt expoſe themſelves.

But rude as the art of navigation was, even in its moſt improved ſtate, among the ancients, it became ſtill more imperfect during the decline of the Roman power, and the knowledge of remote countries ſtill more confined. That languor and feebleneſs, which have been already mentioned, as reſulting from the extent of the Roman empire, encouraged the barbarous nations, who had been expelled to the north of Europe and of Aſia, to aſſemble their armies on its frontiers; to circumſcribe its dominion; to diſmember, and at laſt to overturn it. The arts and ſciences of the Romans periſhed with their empire, and Europe may be ſaid to have returned to a ſecond infancy in knowledge and civilization. The barbarous invaders, conſiſting of various tribes, differing from each other in language and cuſtoms, parcelled out their conqueſts into many ſmall independent ſtates, jealous of their freedom, and between whoſe members no intercourſe ſubſiſted. Habituated to the ſeverities of a military life, averſe to induſtry, and unacquainted with the arts, they had few wants to ſupply, and no ſuperfluities to diſpoſe of. All commerce between nations ceaſed; and not only the knowledge of diſtant countries was loſt, but almoſt their very names were forgot in Europe †.

This great revolution, the moſt memorable in the hiſtory of human affairs, is ſuppoſed to have been partly occaſioned by the vanity or caprice of Conſtantine, who transferred the ſeat of government from Rome to Byzantium, to which he gave his own name, and which continued to flouriſh long after the capital of the world was in ruins. But if Italy and the weſtern provinces became leſs ſecure by the removal of the imperial ſeat, Greece and the eaſtern provinces, certainly the moſt valuable, were better defended in conſequence of that event. Conſtantinople, though often threatened, eſcaped the deſtructive rage of the barbarians, who ſpread deſolation over the reſt of Europe. In that city, the knowledge of ancient arts and diſcoveries was preſerved, together with a taſte for elegance and ſplendour; and commerce, with its neceſſary attendant, navigation, which alone can furniſh the luxuries of foreign countries, was proſecuted with vigour and ſucceſs. The merchants of Conſtantinople not only traded to the iſlands of the Archipelago, and the adjacent coaſt of Aſia, but imported the precious commodities of India, by the way of Alexandria. Even after Egypt was ſubjected to the ſword of the Saracens, and the navigation of the Red Sea cut off, the ingenuity of the Greeks, or Romans as they affected to call themſelves, found out a new channel, through which the produce and the manufactures of India were conveyed to Conſtantinople. They were carried up the river Indus, as far as it is navigable; thence they were tranſported, by land, to the

* Cicero, Somn. Scip. c. vi. Plin. lib. ii. Strabo, lib. ii.
† Robertſon, Hiſt. Charles V. vol. I. Hiſt. Amer. b. i.

banks

banks of the Oxus, and proceeded down that river to the Caſpian ſea; croſſing which, they entered the Volga, and ſailing up it, were carried by land to the Tanais, which conducted them into the Euxine or Black Sea, where veſſels of a larger ſize, from Conſtantinople, waited their arrival *: or, according to other accounts, they were carried, by a ſhorter courſe, up the river Cyrus, and down the Phaſis; Serpana, on the banks of the latter, which empties itſelf in the Euxine ſea, being only five days journey from the ſtream of the former †: but both channels were moſt probably taken advantage of, and more or leſs purſued at different times, as the Greeks happened to be at peace or war with the nations on the banks of the ſeveral rivers.

The trade with India was carried on through theſe, and other leſs conſiderable channels, from the ſeventh to the eleventh century, during which time Conſtantinople continued to be the centre of the commerce of the Eaſt and Weſt. Before the latter period, however, Europe began to emerge from that barbariſm in which it had been plunged by the fall of the Roman empire. The rude tribes who had ſettled in its different provinces, but eſpecially in the maritime parts of Italy, having acquired by degrees ſome reliſh for the comforts of civil life, foreign commerce was revived, induſtry and emulation were excited, and the intercourſe between nations was reſtored.

Even prior to this æra, ſome attempts had been made at naval power, by Charlemagne in France, and Alfred the Great in England. The neceſſity of oppoſing the Normans or Danes, as they were occaſionally called, who made their attacks by ſea, and were conſidered as lords of the ocean, rouſed the attention of thoſe two enlightened and powerful princes; and ſeveral Italian cities took ſteps no leſs vigorous, proportioned to their force, in order to oppoſe the invaſions of the Saracens.

The marine of France and England, eſpecially that of the former, went to decay under the ſucceſſors of Alfred and Charlemagne; but the activity of the Italians, being once awakened, never remitted its efforts. They turned their minds from war to commerce: navigation flouriſhed among them; and they became the carriers, the bankers, and the factors of Europe and of Aſia. Conſtantinople was the chief mart to which they at firſt reſorted. There they were ſupplied both with the precious commodities of the Eaſt, and with many curious manufactures, the product of the ancient arts and ingenuity that ſtill remained among the Greeks, or which they had learned to fabricate by their intercourſe with India. Theſe they diſtributed over Europe; and communicated inſenſibly, to its various nations, a taſte for arts and manufactures, of which they had hitherto had no conception ‡.

* Huet, Hiſt. du Com. des Anciens. Ramuſio. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. i.

† Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. IV. fol. edit. Hiſt. Philoſ. et Polit. des Etabliſſemens, &c. des Europiens dans le deux Indes, par l'Abbè Raynal, liv. i. c 6.

‡ Murat. Antiquit. Ital. vol. II.

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BOOK I.

The corruption of the Greeks favoured the induſtry and enterpriſing ſpirit of the Italians. Enervated by luxury, and ſunk in indolence, to which they were allured by a debaſing ſuperſtition, the citizens of Conſtantinople not only reſigned to the Italian ſtates the trade of Europe, but alſo permitted them to make themſelves maſters imperceptibly of that of Aſia. Become rich and powerful by tranſporting the merchandize of the Greeks, the ſubtle Italians began to attempt eſtabliſhments for themſelves, at the expence of their employers, and to fabricate thoſe curious manufactures, which they had hitherto been obliged to purchaſe at an enormous price. The Genoeſe not only ſettled a colony in the very ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, but got poſſeſſion of Caffa in Crim Tartary, with the trade to India by the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas. The Venetians, Florentines, and Piſans, found means to carry on the ſame trade by the way of the Red Sea. The ſoldans of Egypt, become more enlightened than their predeceſſors, who had burnt the famous Alexandrian library, encouraged a commerce, which they ſaw would be attended with many lucrative advantages; and the Italian powers, but eſpecially the Venetians, notwithſtanding their averſion to the Mahometans, and the inſults to which they were expoſed, continued to proſecute it from the ſame motives. The ancient port of Alexandria was revived, and the trae of India flowed once more in the channel marked out for it by the penetrating and enlightened founder of that city †.

The Cruſades, or military expeditions to the Eaſt, in order to deliver the Holy Land from the dominion of the Infidels, alſo conſpired to increaſe the commerce and maritime power of the Italians. They alone were acquainted with the navigation of the Mediterranean, or poſſeſſed veſſels of ſufficient ſize to tranſport into Aſia the multitudes that enliſted themſelves in thoſe enthuſiaſtic enterprizes. They were therefore employed by the kings of France, England, and other countries, to carry thither their armies. They ſupplied them, while there, with proviſions and military ſtores; and in conſequence of theſe ſervices, they not only became poſſeſſed of immenſe ſums of money, but obtained commercial privileges and eſtabliſhments of great conſequence, in the conqueſts made by the champions of the croſs, on the ſea-coaſts of Syria and Paleſtine *.

Nor were the commercial effects of the Cruſades confined to the Italian ſtates. The other European nations, by their expeditions into Aſia, became acquainted with remote regions, which they formerly knew only by name, or by the reports of ignorant and credulous pilgrims; and as the firſt rendezvous of the armies of the croſs was commonly in Italy, and the ſecond in the plains of Dalmatia, whence they marched by land to Conſtantinople, they had an opportunity of obſerving the manners, the arts, and the accommodations, of people more poliſhed

† Huet, Hiſt du Com. des Anc. Elmacin, Hiſt. Sar. Hiſt. Philoſ. des Etabliſ. &c. par Raynal, liv. i. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. i.

* Murat. Antiquit. Ital. vol. II. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. IV. ſol. edit. Robertſon, Hiſt. Charles V. vol. I.

than

than themſelves. Even in Aſia, where the caliphs had diffuſed knowledge and civilization through their empire, thoſe pious warriors found arts and improvements to which they were ſtrangers. Their views enlarged; their prejudices wore off; new ideas crowded into their minds; and as a cloſe intercourſe between the Eaſt and Weſt ſubſiſted from the beginning of the twelfth, till towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century, during which period new armies were continually marching from Europe into Aſia, while former adventurers returning home, communicated to their countrymen the knowledge they had acquired, and the habits of life they had contracted by reſiding among more refined nations, a taſte for pomp, for pleaſure, and amuſement, together with a bolder ſpirit of enterpriſe, gradually diffuſed itſelf over Europe. The principal maritime ſtates not only encouraged the reſort of foreigners to their harbours, but began to perceive the advantage of applying to commerce themſelves, and the neceſſity of importing thoſe precious commodities, which they were obliged to purchaſe at an enormous and diſcretionary price from others †.

The commercial ſpirit awakened in the North about the middle of the thirteenth century. The cities of Hamburg and Lubec having opened ſome trade with the nations then ſituated around the Baltic, found themſelves obliged to enter into a league of mutual defence againſt the pirates who infeſted that ſea. The advantages derived from this union determined other cities to join in the confederacy; and, in a ſhort time, eighty of the moſt conſiderable towns, ſcattered through thoſe vaſt countries which ſtretch from the bottom of the Baltic to Cologne upon the Rhine, united in the famous Hanſeatic league, which became ſo formidable, that its alliance was courted, and its enmity dreaded by the greateſt monarchs ‡.

The members of this powerful aſſociation, who formed the firſt ſyſtematic plan of commerce known in modern times, exchanged the naval ſtores, and other bulky commodities of the North, with the Italians or Lombards, as they were then generally called, for the productions of India and the manufactures of Italy. Flanders was the theatre of theſe operations; navigation being ſtill ſo imperfect, that a voyage between the Baltic and Mediterranean ſeas could not be performed in one ſummer. A magazine or ſtore-houſe, half way between the commercial cities in the North and thoſe of Italy, was therefore neceſſary. Bruges was pitched upon as the moſt convenient ſituation; and as that city became the centre of commerce between the Lombard and Hanſeatic merchants, the Flemings traded with both in that city to ſuch extent as well as advantage, as ſpread among them a general habit of induſtry, which long rendered Flanders and the adjacent provinces the moſt opulent, the moſt populous, and the beſt cultivated countries in Europe. They monopolized almoſt entirely, during three centuries, the two

† Ut ſupra.

Anderſon, Hiſt. Com. vol. I. Robertſon, Hiſt. Charles V. vol. I.

BOOK I.

great manufactures of wool and flax, which ſeem to have been conſiderable in the Netherlands as far back as the age of Charlemagne *.

Soon after this regular intercourſe was opened between the north and ſouth of Europe, a fortunate diſcovery was made, which contributed more than all the efforts and ingenuity of preceding ages, to improve and to extend navigation. That wonderful property of the magnet, by which it communicates a virtue ſo extraordinary to a needle, or ſlender rod of iron, as to point towards the poles of the earth, was obſerved. The uſe which might be made of this diſcovery, in directing navigation, was immediately perceived; and that invaluable, though now familiar inſtrument, the mariner's compaſs, was framed.

When navigators found, that, by means of the compaſs, they could at all times, and in every place, diſcover the north and ſouth with eaſe and accuracy, it became no longer neceſſary to depend merely on the light of the ſtars and the obſervation of the ſea-coaſt. They gradually abandoned their ancient timid and lingering courſe along the ſhore, ventured boldly into the ocean, and relying on this new guide, could ſteer in the darkeſt night, and under the moſt cloudy ſky, with a ſecurity and preciſion hitherto unknown †.

Liſbon and Alexandria, however, continued to mark the limits of modern navigation, till the beginning of the fourteenth century; when the Spaniards, by what accident we are not told, diſcovered the Canaries or Fortunate Iſlands. Theſe iſlands were known to the Carthaginians, and are ſuppoſed, as has been already obſerved, to be the utmoſt ſtretch of ancient navigation in the weſtern ocean: nor did the moderns advance beyond them, till the beginning of the fifteenth century. But before that æra, many events had conſpired to rouſe the minds of men to enterpriſe, and to extend their knowledge of the habitable globe.

The cruſades, by opening a communication between the Eaſt and Weſt, not only taught the European princes the value of a naval force, and afforded them an opportunity of gaining a more perfect knowledge than they could otherwiſe have acquired of the ſituation, produce, and extent of the great monarchies in Aſia, but awakened a general paſſion for adventures as well as a ſpirit of commerce. In conſequence of this paſſion, ſeveral perſons advanced far beyond the countries where the champions of the Croſs carried on their operations, travelling by land into the more remote and opulent regions of the Eaſt. The irruptions of the Tartars, under Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane, alſo contributed to the ſame effect. Theſe two rapid conquerors, who, from obſcure beginnings, roſe to the higheſt pinnacle of human greatneſs, who broke, at different times, the Mahometan power, and made themſelves maſters of almoſt all Aſia, from the frontiers of Ruſſia to the extremity of India, received ſeveral embaſſies from the pope and the Chriſtian princes; and though the perſons deputed on ſuch occaſions were ge-

* Ut ſupra. See alſo Lud. Guic. Deſcrit. di Paeſi Baſſi.
† Collinas et Trombellus de Acus Nauticæ Invent. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. i.

nerally

nerally monks, and consequently little qualified for describing the countries or the people they visited, yet several useful informations were obtained by their means relative to regions formerly unknown in Europe *.

Some were induced, by commercial motives, to follow the Tartar camp or court, among whom was the celebrated Marco Polo of Venice; and some entered voluntarily into the armies of Jenghiz and Tamerlane, that they might have an opportunity of taking vengeance on the Saracens and Turks, the great enemies of the Christian name †; whilst others, and in particular our countryman Sir John Mandeville, prompted by mere curiosity, visited the interior and remote parts both of Asia and Africa ‡. Polo penetrated as far east as Cambalu, or Peking, the capital of the great kingdom of Cathay or China, subject at that time to the successors of Jenghiz Khan. He made more than one voyage on the Indian ocean; he traded in many of its principal islands, from which Europe had long received spiceries, and other precious commodities, without knowing the particular countries to which it was indebted for those productions; and by the description which he furnished of Madagascar, and the neighbouring coasts of Africa, he gave reason to believe, that a passage to India by sea was not only possible but practicable ||.

The coincidence of this conjecture with the reports of antiquity to the same purpose §, and the increasing demand for India commodities, made several princes and states think seriously of attempting such a passage. But the glory of that discovery was reserved for Portugal, one of the smallest and most inconsiderable of the European kingdoms. Many circumstances, however, conspired to animate the Portuguese to exert their activity in this new direction; and as these are intimately connected with the progress of navigation and commerce, as well as with the discovery of America, they shall here be particularly noticed.

Spain and Portugal had long been partly possessed by the Moors, against whom the Christians were engaged in perpetual wars. In consequence of these continued hostilities, the Portuguese acquired a martial and enterprising spirit, even beyond what was common in Europe during the middle ages. Before the end of the fourteenth century the Moors were finally expelled Portugal; and John I. surnamed the Bastard, being the natural son of the monarch he succeeded, obtained secure possession of the crown, by the peace concluded with Castile in 1411. He was a prince of great abilities, and by his superior courage and conduct had raised himself to that throne, on which he now found himself firmly seated. The struggles occasioned by the disputed succession, which involved the

* Recueil de diverses Voyages en Tartarie, &c. Leyd. 1730.
† Gerberon, Hist de Tartares. Hist. de Timur Bec.
‡ Mandeville's Travels.
|| Viaggi di Marco Polo.
§ A Phenician fleet is said to have sailed from a port in the Red Sea, round the southern promontory of Africa, to the Straits of Gades, and thence to the mouth of the Nile. Herodot. lib. iv. c. 42.

kingdom

BOOK I.

kingdom at once in a civil and foreign war, had augmented the military ardour of the Portugueſe; and John inſtantly perceived, that it would be impoſſible to preſerve public or domeſtic tranquillity, without finding ſome employment for the reſtleſs and daring ſpirits naturally produced amid ſuch convulſions *.

The ſituation of the kingdom, bounded on every ſide by the dominions of a more powerful neighbour, left no room for the activity of the Portugueſe to exert itſelf by land. But Portugal is a maritime ſtate, furniſhed with many commodious harbours: the people had begun to make ſome progreſs in navigation; and the ſea being open, preſented to them a ſpacious field of enterpriſe. John was fully ſenſible of this advantage, and took the moſt effectual means of profiting by it. The ancient hatred againſt the Moors was ſtill ſtrong in the breaſts of his ſubjects: Liſbon is diſtant but a ſhort way from the coaſt of Barbary: againſt the Moors there ſettled he projected an expedition; and having aſſem-

A. D. 1414. bled a formidable armament, made himſelf maſter of the important fortreſs of Ceuta.

The ſucceſs of this expedition, though it afforded the Portugueſe little reaſon to expect future conqueſts on the coaſt of Barbary, added ſtrength to the ſpirit of enterpriſe in the nation, and puſhed it on to new undertakings. Happily for Portugal, theſe were conducted by Henry duke of Viſeo, third ſon of king John by Phillippa of Lancaſter, ſiſter to Henry IV. of England. This prince had early applied himſelf to geography, aſtronomy, and all the ſciences connected with navigation: he had accompanied his father in his African expedition, where he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour; and he had afterwards relieved Ceuta, when beſieged by the Moors, from whom and the Jews of Barbary he received

A. D. 1415. ſome valuable informations relative to the ſouth-weſt parts of Africa. On his return, he immediately retired from court, that he might devote his mind more particularly to his favourite ſtudy, and fixed his reſidence at Sagrez, in Algarve, near Cape St. Vincent, where the proſpect of the Atlantic Ocean invited his thoughts continually towards thoſe objects to which he wiſely judged it might conduct the ſkilful navigator †.

The natural ardour of Henry's genius was augmented by the progreſs of ſome veſſels ſent out by king John, while preparing for his enterpriſe againſt Ceuta. They not only doubled Cape Non, which, as its name imports, had hitherto been conſidered by navigators as a boundary that could not be paſſed, but proceeded an hundred and ſixty miles beyond it, to Cape Bajadore. This new promontory, however, which ſtretches a conſiderable way into the Atlantic, appeared to the Portugueſe commanders more dreadful than the one they had doubled. They durſt not attempt to ſail round it. But what to them ſeemed an inſuper-

A D. 1418. able barrier, proved only a ſpur to Henry's ambition. He fitted out a ſingle ſhip, the command of which he gave to two gentlemen of his houſhold, Gonzalez

* Hiſt. de Portugal. Univ. Hiſt. vol. IV. fol. edit.
† Faria y Souſa, lib. iv. La Neuf. Mariana. Turquet.

Zarco

Zarco and Triſtan Vaz, who had ſtudied navigation under his eye. According to the timid mode of ſailing, which ſtill prevailed, they held their courſe along the ſhore; and by following that direction, they muſt have encountered inſurmountable difficulties, in attempting to paſs Cape Bajadore. But fortune came in aid to their inexperience, or want of ſkill: a ſquall of wind aroſe, drove them out to ſea, and prevented that voyage from proving altogether fruitleſs. When they expected every moment to periſh, they found themſelves landed on an unknown iſland; which, from their lucky eſcape, or as others ſay, becauſe they firſt ſaw it on the feaſt of All Saints, they named Porto Santo *. A. D. 1418.

Encouraged by this faint dawn of ſucceſs, ſufficient to animate a mind ardent in purſuit of a favourite object, Henry ſent out next year three ſhips under the ſame commanders, to whom he joined Bartholomew Pereſtrello, in order to take poſſeſſion of the iſland already found. From Porto Santo they obſerved, towards the ſouth, a fixed ſpot in the horizon, like a ſmall black cloud: this, from ſome circumſtances, they conjectured to be land; and by ſteering towards it, they arrived at a conſiderable iſland, which they denominated Madeira, on account its being covered with wood †. A. D. 1419. A. D. 1420.

The news of this ſecond diſcovery no ſooner reached Portugal, than prince Henry, whoſe chief aim, in projecting ſuch voyages, was the benefit of his country, and the good of mankind, immediately ſent out a colony, in order to people the new found iſlands; and his provident attention not only furniſhed the ſettlers with the ſeeds, plants, and domeſtic animals common in Europe, but alſo with ſlips of the vine of Cyprus, the rich wines of which were then in high requeſt, and with plants of the ſugar cane from Sicily, into which it had been lately introduced from Aſia. Favoured by the warmth of the climate and the fertility of the ſoil, theſe exotics throve ſo proſperouſly, and were cultivated with ſo much diligence, that the ſugar and wine of Madeira ſoon became conſiderable articles in the trade of Portugal ‡.

The Portugueſe, by their voyages to Madeira, were gradually accuſtomed to a bolder navigation. Inſtead of creeping ſervilely along the ſhore, they ventured into the open ſea: in conſequence of holding ſuch a courſe, Cape Bajadore was doubled; and in the ſpace of a few years, all the coaſt of Africa, from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verd, was explored. The fame of the Portugueſe diſcoveries ſpread over Europe: and prince Henry, ſenſible of their importance, procured from the pope, as the vice-gerent of Chriſt upon earth, a bull granting the crown of Portugal an excluſive right to all the countries, which were or ſhould be diſcovered, from Cape Non to the continent of India ‖. A. D. 1433. A. D. 1444.

* Galvino's Diſcoveries. Maffæi, Hiſt. Indica.
† Alcafarus, Diſcov. Mad.
‡ Guicciardini, Deſcritt. de Paeſi Baſſi.
‖ Spond. Ann. Ecc.

BOOK I.

This grant was accompanied with a clauſe, importing, that the Portugueſe ſhould in all their expeditions, endeavour to ſpread the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, to eſtabliſh the authority of the Holy See, and to increaſe the flock of the univerſal paſtor. Thus the ſpirit of diſcovery being connected with zeal for religion, the moſt active principle, in that age, made rapid progreſs, and for a time bore down every obſtacle before it. The Cape de Verd Iſlands,

A. D. 1449. which lie off the promontory of that name, were diſcovered, and alſo the iſles called Azores, above nine hundred miles from any continent *; the Portugueſe muſt therefore, by this time, have been ſkilful, or at leaſt adventurous navigators.

The progreſs of theſe diſcoveries however, was, retarded for a while, by the

A. D. 1463. death of prince Henry, whoſe ſuperior knowledge had hitherto directed, and whoſe patronage had encouraged them; and yet farther by the miſguided ambition of Alonzo V. who then poſſeſſed the crown of Portugal, and was almoſt conſtantly engaged in ſupporting his pretenſions to the crown of Caſtile, or in carrying on expeditions againſt the Moors of Barbary. But no ſooner did John II. ſucceed to the throne, than the ſpirit of diſcovery revived, and the activity of the Portugueſe was directed in its proper line. Equally capable of forming and executing great deſigns, he declared himſelf the patron of every liberal enterpriſe. Travellers were diſpatched to viſit the extreme parts of Aſia

A. D. 1484. and Africa: a powerful fleet was fitted out, which, after diſcovering the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, advanced above fifteen hundred miles beyond the line: the viſionary terrors of the torrid zone were diſpelled; forts were built, and colonies ſettled on the coaſt of Guinea; and at length Bartholomew Diaz, the moſt bold and ſkilful navigator that had hitherto appeared among the Portugueſe,

A. D. 1486. after encountering incredible dangers and difficulties, deſcried that lofty promontory which bounds Africa to the ſouth. To this promontory, which he durſt not attempt to double, on account of the ſhattered condition of his ſhips, and the turbulence of his crew, Diaz gave the name of Cabo Tormentoſo, or the Tempeſtuous Cape; but king John, more ſenſible of the importance of the diſcovery, and willing to encourage future navigators, ſtyled it Cabo del Bueno Eſperanza, or the Cape of Good Hope, foreſeeing that it would lead to the great object of all theſe voyages, a paſſage to India by ſea †.

John was confirmed in this opinion, by the informations which he received from the adventurers, whom he had ſent out to make diſcoveries by land. The belief of the poſſibility of ſailing from Europe to India became univerſal, and various conjectures were formed in regard to its conſequences. The Venetians, who ſince the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, and the expulſion of the Genoeſe from Caffa, had monopolized almoſt the whole commerce of the Eaſt, began to be diſquieted with apprehenſions of loſing that great ſource of their

* Galvino's Diſcoveries.

† Maffæi, Hiſt. Indica, lib. i. c. 17. Faria y Souſa, Port. Aſia, vol. I. Lafitau, Hiſt. de Conq. Port. vol. I.

power

power as well as opulence, and the Portugueſe already enjoyed in idea the wealth of India. But while Europe was thus ſuſpended between hope and fear, in regard to an event, which was one day to give a new direction to trade, and aggrandiſe nations hitherto obſcure or inconſiderable, news arrived of a diſcovery no leſs important, and more immediately connected with the ſubject of this work. CHAP. I.

CHAP. II.

The Diſcoveries and Settlements of the Spaniards *in the* New World, *from the firſt Voyage of* Columbus, *to the Death of that great Navigator.*

THE fame of the Portugueſe diſcoveries allured into their ſervice adventurous navigators from all the maritime ſtates of Europe. Among theſe was Chriſtopher Columbus, a ſubject of the republic of Genoa. The Genoeſe, till the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet the Great, whom they treacherouſly aſſiſted, and who deprived them deſervedly of their ſettlements on the Black Sea, and the trade with India through that channel, had carried on the moſt extenſive navigation of any European power; and they ſtill contended, though feebly, with the Venetians, their ancient rivals, for the ſovereignty of the Mediterranean, and the commerce of the Eaſt by the way of Alexandria. Columbus had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that conteſt, alike by his courage and his ſkill as a mariner. But the Mediterranean being too narrow a ſphere for the activity of his genius, which he had early cultivated by the ſtudy of geometry, coſmography, aſtronomy, and the art of drawing, he made a voyage to the northern ſeas; viſited the coaſts of Iceland, to which the Engliſh and other nations had begun to reſort on account of its fiſhery; and afterwards repaired to Liſbon, in order to launch into the Atlantic, or great Weſtern Ocean *. CHAP. II. A. D. 1459. A. D. 1475.

The naval ſcience and experience of this determined adventurer procured him a favourable reception among the Portugueſe; and having gained the eſteem and the hand of Philippa Pereſtrello, daughter of the celebrated captain of that name, employed by prince Henry in his early navigations, and who had diſcovered and planted under the protection of his patron the iſlands of Porto Santo and Madeira, Columbus fixed his reſidence in Liſbon. By means of this marriage, he got poſſeſſion of the journals and charts of that able navigator. From them he learned the courſe which the Portugueſe had held in making their diſcoveries: his favourite paſſion was inflamed; and in order to gratify it, he made a voyage to Madeira; to which iſland, as well as the Canaries, the Azores,

* Life of Columbus, written by his ſon Ferdinand.

BOOK I.

and the Portugueſe ſettlements on the continent of Africa, he continued for ſeveral years to trade *.

During the courſe of theſe voyages, Columbus formed that great ſcheme of diſcovery which he afterwards carried ſo happily into execution. As the ſpherical figure of the earth was then known, and its magnitude aſcertained with ſome degree of accuracy, he had early concluded, that the continent on this ſide of the globe muſt be balanced by an equal quantity of land on the other. This theory was ſupported by conjectures founded on experience. He had obſerved, after violent weſterly winds, that trees torn up by the roots were driven on the coaſt of the Azores; pieces of wood artificially carved had alſo been perceived floating on the ſea, to the weſtward of any known land; and as the winds, in the Cape de Verd iſlands, blow for a ſtated time from the weſt, he rightly judged that this muſt be owing to a great tract of land in that quarter †.

The united evidence ariſing from theſe theoretical principles and practical obſervations, led Columbus confidently to expect the diſcovery of new countries in the Weſtern Ocean; and other reaſons induced him to believe, that they muſt be connected with the continent of India, the grand object of the Portugueſe navigators. From the exaggerated accounts of travellers, who had magnified the extent of China and Japan, he drew a rational concluſion, that in proportion as the continent of India ſtretched out towards the eaſt, it muſt, in conſequence of the ſpherical figure of the earth, approach nearer to the iſlands lately diſcovered in the weſt; that the diſtance from the one to the other was probably not very conſiderable; and that the moſt direct, as well as ſhorteſt courſe, to the rich countries of the Eaſt, was to be found by ſailing due weſt, acroſs the Atlantic Ocean, inſtead of winding along the coaſt of Africa ‡.

Fully ſatisfied himſelf with reſpect to the truth of this ſyſtem, and anxious to bring it to the teſt of experiment, Columbus, whoſe long abſence had not extinguiſhed the affection which he bore to his native country, laid his ſcheme before the ſenate of Genoa; offering to ſail under the banners of the republic, in queſt of the countries which he hoped to diſcover. But he had reſided ſo many years in foreign parts, that his countrymen were unacquainted with his abilities; nor, though reputed ſkilful navigators, could they form any idea of the principles on which he founded his ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs: they therefore rejected his propoſal, as the dream of a viſionary projector, and loſt for ever the opportunity of recovering the commerce of India, which had formerly raiſed their republic to ſuch an height of grandeur ‖.

Columbus having thus diſcharged what was due to his country, made his next overture to John II. king of Portugal, in whoſe dominions he had been long eſtabliſhed, and whom he conſidered as entitled, on that account, to the

* Life of Columbus.
† Ut Supra. Herrera, de las Ind. Occid. dec. I. lib. i.
‡ Herrera, ut ſup.
‖ Ibid.

ſecond

ſecond offer of his ſervices. As his ſkill in his profeſſion was well known in Portugal, the king liſtened to him in the moſt gracious manner, and referred the conſideration of his plan to three eminent coſmographers, whom he had been accuſtomed to conſult on ſuch matters. But theſe men, inſtead of encouraging Columbus in his project, teaſed him with captious queſtions, and ſtarted innumerable objections, with a view of drawing from him a particular explanation of his ſyſtem, of which they ungenerouſly endeavoured to take advantage; and John, ſwayed by their perfidious counſel, ſecretly diſpatched a veſſel, in order to attempt the propoſed diſcovery, by following exactly the courſe which Columbus ſeemed to point out, and by that means to rob him of the honour and advantages which he expected from the ſucceſs of it. But the pilot choſen to execute Columbus's plan, having neither the genius nor the fortitude of its author, after being for a time the ſport of the winds, returned to Liſbon, execrating the ſcheme as alike wild and impracticable *.

Full of the indignation natural to a bold and generous ſpirit, Columbus, on diſcovering this diſhonourable tranſaction, inſtantly quitted Portugal, and landed in Spain towards the cloſe of the year 1484. The kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon were then united, for the firſt time, in the perſons of Ferdinand and Iſabella, who neglected no opportunity of increaſing their power, or extending their dominion. To theſe politic princes Columbus, now at liberty to court the protection of any patron, reſolved to propoſe his ſcheme in perſon; but as he had already experienced the uncertain iſſue of applications to the great, he took the precaution of ſending into England his brother Bartholomew, in order to negociate at the ſame time with Henry VII. reputed the moſt opulent and ſagacious prince in Europe.

Columbus's reception at the court of Spain juſtified this ſeemingly over prudent ſtep: Ferdinand and Iſabella being at that time engaged in the famous war with the Moors of Granada, which long occupied all their attention, remitted the conſideration of his plan to improper judges; and that great navigator, after innumerable conferences, and waſting five years in fruitleſs endeavours to inform and ſatisfy them, was told that their majeſties could not engage in any new and expenſive enterpriſe, till the conqueſt of Granada ſhould be accompliſhed †.

Amid the painful feelings occaſioned by this new diſappointment, Columbus had to ſuſtain the additional diſtreſs of an entire uncertainty with regard to his brother's fate. In his voyage to England, Bartholomew had fallen into the hands of pirates, who had ſtripped him of every thing, and detained him a priſoner for ſeveral years. At length, however, he made his eſcape, arrived in London, and laid before the king the propoſals with which he had been entruſted; and Henry, notwithſtanding his exceſſive caution and parſimony, and the indigent condition of the agent, received Columbus's overtures with an approbation equal to their importance. A. D. 1488.

* Life of Columbus, c. xi. Herrer. ut ſup.

† Ibid.

BOOK I.

Meanwhile that ſkilful mariner, ignorant of this matter, but conſidering the declaration of Spain as a final rejection of his propoſal, reſolved to viſit the court of England in perſon, in hopes of there meeting with a more favourable reception. But when he was ready to embark, he received an invitation from Iſabella to return to court; and the conqueſt of Granada, which terminated the
A. D. 1491. dominion of the Moors in Spain, being ſoon after completed, a treaty with Columbus was ſigned on the 17th of April, 1492. The ſubſtance of this treaty was, that Ferdinand and Iſabella conſtituted Columbus admiral and viceroy over all the lands and ſeas which he ſhould diſcover, and granted to him and his heirs for ever the tenth of the clear profits which ſhould reſult to their majeſties from the ſucceſs of his labours *.

Preliminaries being thus adjuſted, Iſabella, by her attention in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavoured to make ſome amends to Columbus for the time he had loſt in fruitleſs ſolicitation. Every thing was ſoon in readineſs. But the armament, after all, was not ſuitable either to the dignity of the nation by which it was equipped, or to the importance of the ſervice for which it was deſtined. It conſiſted of no more than three veſſels: the Santa Maria, a carrack or decked veſſel, commanded by Columbus in perſon, as admiral; the Pinta, Martin Pinzon captain, and the Nigna, under the command of his brother, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, both caravels, or open veſſels. With this ſmall ſquadron, victualled for twelve months, and carrying only ninety men, Columbus ſet
A. D. 1492. ſail on the third of Auguſt, a little before ſun-riſing, from the port of Palos in the province of Andaluſia †.

Aug. 13. Columbus ſteered directly for the Canary Iſlands, where he arrived without any material occurrence, except the loſs of the Pinta's rudder, which his crew regarded as a bad omen, but which he conſidered only as a mark of the unſkilfulneſs or inattention of the ſhip-builder. While at the Canaries, he was employed in inſtructing his men in the true principles of navigation, and inſpiring them with juſt notions of the enterpriſe in which they were engaged, as well
Sept. 7. as in refitting his ſhips and taking in freſh proviſions. On putting again to ſea, he held his courſe due weſt, leaving at once the uſual tract of navigation, and launching boldly into an ocean with whoſe extreme ſhores he was unacquainted, and where he had no chart to guide him, in queſt of countries which perhaps exiſted only in his own imagination.

Nor were theſe the only difficulties Columbus had to ſtruggle with, or the only dangers he was deſtined to encounter. No ſooner had he loſt ſight of land than many of his ſailors, already dejected and diſmayed, beat their breaſts and ſhed tears, notwithſtanding all his endeavours to animate them. They began to conſider his enterpriſe as the deſperate project of a raſh adventurer, who would ſoon hurry them to deſtruction. Happily, however, Columbus poſſeſſed that

* Herrea, dec. I. lib. i. Life of Columbus, c. 15. † Ut ſupra.

undaunted

undaunted courage and preſence of mind, which triumphs amid the greateſt perils, and never fails to inſpire confidence. He appeared always cool and unconcerned, comforted his crew with aſſurances of ſucceſs, and the proſpect of vaſt wealth in thoſe oppulent regions whither he was conducting them: he regulated every thing by his ſole authority; he ſuperintended the execution of every order; and allowing himſelf only a few hours for ſleep, he was at all other times upon deck, where his uncommon ſkill in his profeſſion made him be regarded as a ſuperior being *.

As Columbus was ſenſible that the length of the voyage muſt alarm ſailors accuſtomed only to ſhort excurſions, he endeavoured to conceal from them the progreſs they had made, by deceiving them in their reckoning. But other circumſtances conſpired to fill them with apprehenſions, which all his addreſs was ſcarcely able to diſpel. When they were ſomewhat upwards of two hundred leagues to the weſt of the Canaries, they were ſtruck with an appearance no leſs aſtoniſhing than new. They obſerved, that the magnetic needle in the compaſs no longer pointed exactly to the north, but varied a little towards the weſt; and that, as they proceeded, the variation increaſed. This phœnomenon, which is now familiar, though its cauſe has hitherto eluded human ſagacity, ſhook the companions of Columbus with terror. They were in an unknown and boundleſs ocean, far from the uſual courſe of navigation, and the only guide which they had left ſeemed about to deſert them.

For that appearance, however, the ingenuity of Columbus invented a reaſon, which, though it did not ſatisfy himſelf, ſeemed plauſible to his aſſociates. But before he had advanced two hundred leagues farther, he had new terrors to allay. The ſea was obſerved all covered with weeds; which were, in ſome places, ſo thick as to retard the motion of the veſſel. Alarmed at this ſtrange appearance, which Columbus interpreted into a prognoſtic of land, the ſailors imagined they were now arrived at the utmoſt boundary of the navigable ocean. A briſk gale ſprung up, and undeceived them. They continued their courſe with alacrity, and began to entertain freſh hopes; but no land appearing after crowding ſail for ſeveral days, and the wind ſhifting to the ſouth-weſt, the quarter towards which Columbus had lately directed them to ſteer, their fears returned, and a general mutiny enſued. The officers, who had hitherto concurred with their commander in opinion, now took part with the men. The contagion ſpread from ſhip to ſhip: all ſenſe of ſubordination was loſt. They reproached Columbus in the moſt virulent language; nor did they ſpare the ſacred perſons of their Catholic majeſties, whom they accuſed of inconſiderate raſhneſs, in liſtening to the vain promiſes and conjectures of an indigent foreigner: they even threatened to throw him overboard, if he did not inſtantly alter his courſe, and make the beſt of his way to Spain, while their crazy veſſels were yet in a condition to keep the ſea †.

* Oviedo, Hiſt. del Ind. lib. ii. c. 5. † Ibid.

Senſible

BOOK I.

Senſible that his former arts could no longer avail him, and that it was impoſſible to rekindle any zeal for the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe among men, in whoſe breaſts fear had extinguiſhed every generous ſentiment, Columbus reſolved to give way to the torrent, and to endeavour to ſooth paſſions too impetuous to be controuled. He anſwered their abuſe in the mildeſt and moſt gentle terms; and concluded with a ſolemn promiſe, that if land was not diſcovered within three days, he would abandon the enterpriſe, and direct his courſe towards Spain, provided they would accompany him during that time, and yield an implicit obedience to his commands *. Enraged as the ſailors were, and anxious to return to their native country, this propoſal did not appear unreaſonable to them. They continued their courſe; and before one day out of the three was expired, Columbus perceived that he had not hazarded much by confining himſelf to ſo ſhort a term. The clouds around the ſetting-ſun gave ſtrong preſages of land; a light was obſerved by midnight; and as ſoon as morning dawned, they beheld an iſland, about fifteen leagues in circumference, well watered, and ſtored with wood.

Oct. 12.

The effects of ſuch a ſight, on an exhauſted and diſpirited crew, may eaſier be imagined than expreſſed. They inſtantly began the Te Deum, as an hymn of thankſgiving to God; and paſſing, in the tranſports of their joy, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced their commander, whom they had ſo lately reviled and threatened, to be a man inſpired by Heaven with ſagacity and fortitude more than human. They threw themſelves at his feet with feelings of ſelf-condemnation; imploring him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and inſolence, which had created him ſo much diſquiet, and obſtructed the proſecution of an enterpriſe ſurpaſſing the ideas of former ages, and the intrepidity of other nations. Columbus behaved with the ſame firmneſs, gravity, and equanimity, in proſperity as in adverſity. He ordered the boats to be manned and armed, and rowed towards the iſland, with colours diſplayed, martial muſic, and every other kind of warlike pomp: and he was the firſt European who ſet foot in that New World which he had diſcovered. In order to inſpire awe, he landed in a rich dreſs, with a naked ſword in his hand: his men followed, and kneeling down, all kiſſed the ground, which they had ſo long deſired to ſee. He next took ſolemn poſſeſſion of the country, in the name of their Catholic majeſties; or as others ſay, only in that of Iſabella, the whole expence of the enterpriſe being defrayed by the crown of Caſtile, and an excluſive right to all the benefits ariſing from the ſucceſs reſerved for her ſubjects of that kingdom †.

A ſingular ſcene now enſued. The natives gazed in ſilent admiration upon their new gueſts, whom they conſidered as a ſuperior order of beings. The dreſs of the Spaniards, their beards, their arms, but above all their ſhips, appeared wonderful to thoſe ſimple people, yet in the rude ſtate of nature.

* Oviedo, Hiſt. del Ind. lib. ii. c. 15.

† Life of Columbus, c. 23. Herrera, dec. I. lib. i. Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book iii.

Nor

CHAP. II.
A. D. 1492.

Nor were the Spaniards leſs ſurpriſed at what was offered to their view. The inhabitants of both ſexes appeared entirely naked. The men had no beards, nor either ſex hair on any part of what is properly called the body; a circumſtance common to all the natives of the American iſlands and continent, except the Eſquimaux. Their complexion was of a duſky copper colour, likewiſe peculiar to the New World; their features were rather ſingular than diſagreeable: though not tall, they were well ſhaped; and their faces, and other parts of the body, were fantaſtically painted. They were wholly ignorant of the uſe of iron, and the nature of ſharp weapons, innocently rubbing their hands againſt the edges of the Spaniſh ſwords.

This iſland, which is one of that large cluſter called the Lucaya, or Bahama iſles, Columbus denominated San Salvador, though it is now better known by the name of Guanahani, given it by the natives. He employed the ſecond day in examining the country; and perceived, from the univerſal poverty of the inhabitants, that it was not the rich territory to which his hopes had pointed. Having obſerved, however, that moſt of the people wore ſmall plates of gold, by way of ornament, in their ears and noſtrils, he eagerly inquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the ſouth; and thither Columbus immediately directed his courſe, taking along with him ſeven of the natives, that by acquiring the Spaniſh language, they might ſerve as guides and interpreters.

Soon after putting to ſea, Columbus ſaw ſeveral iſlands, and touched at three of the largeſt, on which he beſtowed the names of Santa Maria de la Conception, Ferdinanda, and Iſabella; taking, at the ſame time, ſolemn poſſeſſion of them, according to the forms obſerved by the Portugueſe in all their early diſcoveries. But as theſe iſlands nearly reſembled that of San Salvador in ſoil, produce, and inhabitants, he made no ſtay in any of them. He wanted gold, for which he every where inquired; and being uniformly anſwered, that it was brought from the ſouth, he followed that courſe, and diſcovered the large iſland of Cuba, though without Oct. 27.
acquiring any knowledge of its extent. Here the Spaniards ſaw cotton ſpring up ſpontaneouſly, and a variety of uncommon trees and plants, with which they were wholly unacquainted; but not finding gold in ſufficient quantities to ſatisfy their avarice or his own expectations, Columbus ordered them to ſteer towards the eaſt, where the natives intimated that an iſland called Hayti was ſituated, in which that metal was found in greater abundance than among them *. The inhabitants of Cuba were equally reſpectful with thoſe of the iſlands already diſcovered, and like them naked.

After having been long retarded by contrary winds, Columbus arrived at the Dec. 6.
iſland of Hayti, to which he gave the name of Eſpagnola, but which is now commonly called Hiſpaniola. This appeared to be the largeſt and moſt fertile tract of land he had yet met with, and inſpired him with the moſt ſanguine hopes. The inhabitants fled with the utmoſt velocity at the approach of the Spaniards, whom

* Life of Columbus, c. 30.

BOOK I. A. D. 1492.

they ſeemed to regard with equal horror and ſurpriſe. A woman, however, was fortunately taken, and brought to Columbus; who, after treating her with great kindneſs, diſmiſſed her with a preſent of ſuch toys as he had found moſt valued in thoſe countries. The favourable account ſhe gave of the ſtrangers, brought on an intercourſe with the natives, who nearly reſembled the people of Guanahani and Cuba. Like them, they were naked and gentle, ignorant, ſimple, credulous, and timid. On firſt touching the cloaths of the Spaniards, they trembled and ſtarted back; then laid their hands upon their heads, in token of reſpect, and caſt their eyes up towards heaven, whence they ſuppoſed their viſitors to be immediately deſcended.

But what pleaſed the Spaniards more than all this homage, was the ornaments of gold, which the natives of Hayti poſſeſſed in greater abundance than their neighbours, and which they readily exchanged for pins, glaſs beads, and other ſhining and glittering trinkets. Soon after his arrival here, Columbus was viſited by one of the caziques or princes of the country, who expreſſed great curioſity to ſee the Spaniſh ſhips. He was carried in a ſort of palanquin upon the ſhoulders of four men, attended by upwards of two hundred of his ſubjects, and diſtinguiſhed by every mark of reſpect and veneration. His deportment was grave and ſtately: he was reſerved towards his own people, but familiar with the Spaniards; and on coming on board the admiral's ſhip, he ordered all his train to keep at a diſtance, except two of his counſellors, who ſat at his feet. He ate and drank with the admiral, made him a preſent of ſome thin plates of gold, and a girdle curiouſly ſet with ſeed-pearl; in return for which he received ſome cloaths, ſlippers, and beads, with which he was highly delighted *.

Still Columbus, intent on diſcovering the mines that yielded gold, continued to inquire anxiouſly after their ſituation. The natives concurred in pointing out a mountainous country, which they called Cibao, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, and farther eaſt. Deluded by this ſound, which appeared to him the ſame with Cipango, the name by which Marco Polo and other travellers diſtinguiſhed the iſlands of Japan, Columbus no longer doubted of the vicinity of the countries he had diſcovered to the remote parts of Aſia; and in full expectation of reaching ſoon thoſe regions which had been the object of his voyage, he bent his courſe towards the eaſt. After ſailing in that direction for ſome time, he put into a commodious harbour, which he named St. Thomas. Here he received meſſengers from Guacanagari, one of the five caziques or ſovereigns among whom the iſland was divided, and by much the moſt powerful. This prince, in whoſe diſtrict the harbour lay, ſent Columbus a preſent of a maſk curiouſly faſhioned, the ears, noſe, and mouth of which were of beaten gold, and invited him to the place of his reſidence, near what is now called Cape François.

Before Columbus ventured upon the proffered interview, he diſpatched ſome of his officers to viſit Guacanagari; and they returned with ſuch favourable accounts both of the country and the people, as made the admiral impatient to perform his

* Life of Columbus, c. 32. Herrera, dec. I. lib. i. c. 15.

viſit.

viſit. As he was coaſting eaſtward for this purpoſe, his ſhip, through the negligence of the pilot, ran upon a rock; and but for the timely aſſiſtance of boats from the Nigna, all on board muſt have periſhed. Columbus was alſo indebted for relief to the cazique and his people, who crowded on this occaſion to the ſhore; and inſtead of taking advantage of the diſtreſs of the Spaniards, lamented their misfortune with tears of the moſt ſincere condolence, and putting to ſea in a number of canoes, aſſiſted in ſaving whatever could be got out of the wreck. Guacanagari in perſon viſited the admiral, now on board the Nigna, and endeavoured to conſole him for his loſs, by offering all that he poſſeſſed to repair it *; an inſtance of generoſity truly great, and which proves, that the moſt amiable of human virtues, thoſe which make us feel for the diſtreſſes of others, and incline us to relieve them, are neither implanted by education, nor confined to the meridian of cultivated manners.

Columbus's condition made conſolation neceſſary. He had yet heard nothing of the Pinta, with which Martin Pinzon, impatient of ſeparate honour, had quitted his companions on leaving Cuba, regardleſs of the admiral's ſignals to ſlacken ſail till they ſhould come up with him; and he no longer doubted but his treacherous aſſociate had ſet ſail for Spain, in order to pre-occupy the ear of his ſovereign, and rob him of the glory and reward of his diſcoveries. There now remained but one veſſel, and that the ſmalleſt and moſt crazy of the ſquadron, to traverſe ſuch a vaſt tract of ocean, and to carry ſo many men back to Europe. Theſe were alarming circumſtances; and to a perſon of leſs fortitude than Columbus, muſt have been altogether overwhelming. But that great man, amid his moſt preſſing misfortunes, was never without a reſource. He reſolved to leave part of his crew in the iſland, that they might learn the language of the natives, examine the nature of the country, ſearch for mines, and prepare the way for the commodious ſettlement of a colony.

The Spaniſh ſailors approved of this deſign, as ſoon as it was made known to them, many offering voluntarily to be among the number of thoſe who ſhould remain. Nothing therefore was wanting towards its execution, but the conſent of Guacanagari; and on the admiral's promiſing to protect him from the Caribbeans, a fierce and warlike people, who, as he informed Columbus, inhabited ſeveral iſlands to the ſouth-eaſt, and whom his ſubjects durſt not face in battle, that credulous prince cloſed eagerly with the propoſal. The ground was accordingly marked out for a ſmall fort, which Columbus called Navidad, or Nativity, becauſe he had landed there on Chriſtmas day. A deep ditch was drawn round it: the ramparts were fortified with paliſades; the great guns, ſaved out of the admiral's ſhip, were planted upon them; and in ten days the work was finiſhed, the ſimple natives labouring with inconſiderate aſſiduity in erecting this firſt monument of their own ſlavery †.

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. i. c. 18.

† Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book ii.

Mean-

BOOK I.
A. D. 1492.

Meanwhile Columbus, by his careſſes and liberality, laboured to increaſe the high opinion which the iſlanders entertained of the Spaniards. But at the ſame time that he endeavoured to inſpire them with confidence, he wiſhed likewiſe to give them ſome ſtriking idea of his power to puniſh, or take vengeance on ſuch as were the objects of his juſt indignation. He therefore drew up his men in order of battle, in preſence of a vaſt multitude, and made an oſtentatious, but innocent diſplay of the ſharpneſs and force of the Spaniſh weapons. Strangers to the uſe of iron, and little acquainted with hoſtile inſtruments of any kind, theſe rude people wondered and trembled. Their fear was not allowed to abate before the great guns were fired; the ſudden exploſion of which ſtruck them with ſuch a degree of terror, that they fell flat to the ground, covering their faces with their hands; and when they beheld the aſtoniſhing effect of the bullets, they concluded that it was impoſſible to reſiſt men, who had the command of ſuch deſtructive inſtruments, and who came armed with thunder and lightning againſt their enemies *.

Having taken theſe, and other precautions, for the ſecurity of the infant colony,
Jan. 4. 1493. which conſiſted of thirty-eight of his people, under the command of a gentleman of Cordova, Columbus left Navidad, and ſteered towards the eaſt, giving names to moſt of the harbours on the northern coaſt of the iſland. Two days after his departure he deſcried the Pinta, and on the third came up with her. Pinzon endeavoured to juſtify his conduct; pretending that he was driven from his courſe by ſtreſs of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. The admiral admitted his apology, though by no means convinced of his innocence; and as the condition of his ſhips, as well as the temper of his men, made it neceſ-
Jan. 16. ſary to haſten his return to Europe, Columbus directed his courſe towards the north-eaſt, and ſoon loſt ſight of land. After a dangerous voyage, during which he
March 15. had frequently given up all hopes of ſafety, he arrived in the port of Palos, ſeven months and eleven days from the time when he ſet out on his enterpriſe †.

Columbus was received on landing with royal honours: the bells were rung, the cannon fired; and all the people, in ſolemn proceſſion, accompanied him and his crew to the church, where they returned thanks to heaven, which had ſo wonderfully conducted them through numberleſs dangers and difficulties, and brought their voyage to a proſperous iſſue. After this act of devotion, the admiral's next care was, to inform Ferdinand and Iſabella of his arrival and ſucceſs. No leſs aſtoniſhed than delighted with this intelligence, their majeſties requeſted him to repair immediately to court, that from his own mouth they might receive a full account of his extraordinary voyage and diſcoveries.

During his journey to Barcelona, where the court then reſided, Columbus was continually ſurrounded by crowds of admiring ſpectators from the adjacent country; and his entrance into that city was a perfect triumph. The natives of the countries which he had diſcovered walked firſt; next to them were carried the ornaments of gold, faſhioned by their rude art, the grains of gold found in the moun-

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. i. c. 20. Life of Columbus, c. 34. † Ut ſup.

tains.

tains, and the duſt of the ſame metal gathered in the rivers; and after theſe appeared the various commodities, and curious productions of the new diſcovered countries. Columbus himſelf cloſed the proceſſion, and attracted the eyes of all ranks of people, who ſeemed to perceive at a diſtance, in the ſtrange objects preſented to their view, that inexhauſtible ſource of riches which would one day flow into Spain. Ferdinand and Iſabella received him clad in their royal robes, and ſeated upon a throne. When he approached, they ſtood up; raiſed him, when he keeled to kiſs their hands; commanded him to take his ſeat, on a chair prepared for him, and to ſit covered (a diſtinction peculiar to a Spaniſh grandee) while he gave them an account of his voyage. Every mark of honour, in a word, that gratitude or admiration could ſuggeſt, was conferred upon him. But what pleaſed Columbus more than all theſe was, an order to equip, without delay, an armament of ſuch force as might enable him not only to take poſſeſſion of the countries which he had already diſcovered, but to go in ſearch of thoſe more opulent regions towards which his enterprizing genius ſtill confidently pointed *.

During the interval employed in making preparations for this ſecond expedition, the fame of Columbus's firſt voyage ſpread over Europe, and excited the attention of all orders of men. The ignorant were ſtruck with wonder and amazement at the idea of a new world, while the learned were filled with admiration and joy at an event which extended ſo much the boundaries of human knowledge. Various conjectures were formed concerning the new found countries, and what diviſion of the earth they belonged to. Columbus adhered tenaciouſly to his original opinion, that they ſhould be reckoned part of thoſe vaſt regions of Aſia comprehended under the general name of India; and in conſequence of this notion, the name of Indies was given to them by Ferdinand and Iſabella, in a ratification of their former agreement with him †. Even after the error which gave riſe to this opinion was detected, and the true ſituation of the New World aſcertained, the name has remained; the appellation of Weſt Indies being ſtill given to the American iſlands in thoſe latitudes, and that of Indians to all the barbarous tribes, both in the iſlands and on the continent.

This inviting name, the ſpecimens of the riches and fertility of the new countries, and the exaggerated accounts of the adventurers, awakened a wonderful ſpirit of enterpriſe among the Spaniards. Perſons of all conditions offered themſelves as volunteers, to accompany Columbus in his ſecond expedition. Even the cautious Ferdinand ſeemed to catch the ſame ſpirit with his ſubjects; and a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips, ſome of which were of conſiderable burden, was fitted out with a rapidity unuſual in that age. It had on board fifteen hundred perſons of different ranks and employments, furniſhed with every thing requiſite for conqueſt or ſettlement; with ſeeds, plants, domeſtic animals, and inſtruments of all ſorts ‡.

* Life of Columbus, c. 42, 43. Herrera, dec. I. lib. ii.
† Life of Columbus, c. 44.
‡ Herrera, dec. I. lib. ii.

BOOK I. A. D. 1493.

Formidable, however, and well provided as this fleet was, Ferdinand and Iſabella did not reſt their title to the Weſt Indies ſolely upon the ſucceſs of its operations. The papal grant was judged neceſſary: and Alexander VI. a pontiff infamous for every crime that diſgraces humanity, as vicar and repreſentative of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſuppoſed, in virtue of that character, to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth, beſtowed on their Catholic majeſties, by a liberality which coſt him nothing, and ſerved to eſtabliſh the juriſdiction and pretenſions of the court of Rome, all the countries which they had diſcovered, or ſhould diſcover, an hundred leagues to the weſtward of the Azores*; this line of partition being neceſſary, in order to prevent the preſent grant from interfering with that formerly made to the crown of Portugal. As zeal for propagating the Chriſtian faith was the pretext employed by Ferdinand for ſoliciting this grant, a body of friars, under father Boyl, a Catalonian monk of great reputation, were appointed to accompany Columbus, in order to inſtruct the natives of the New World. But the ambaſſadors of Chriſt, in carrying to thoſe inoffenſive and formerly happy people, the doctrines of the goſpel, literally verified the words of their maſter: "I bring not peace, but a ſword!"

Theſe previous ſteps being taken, in order to ſecure to the crown of Spain ſo great a portion of the globe, Columbus ſet ſail with his fleet from the bay
Nov. 25. of Cadiz, and arrived, after a voyage of ſeven weeks, at Hiſpaniola. In his paſſage he diſcovered the Caribbee or Leeward iſlands, and viſited ſucceſſively Dominica, Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Antigua, and Porto Rico. But the joy which he felt, on account of theſe diſcoveries, was ſmall in compariſon of his ſorrow, when he landed at Navidad. He found the fort entirely demoliſhed, and not a Spaniard alive to welcome his return. They were all cut off to a man. This diſaſter had been occaſioned by the inſolence and rapacity of the Spaniards themſelves, as the admiral learned from a brother of the cazique Guacanagari. The powerful reſtraints, impoſed by the preſence of Columbus, were no ſooner withdrawn, than the garriſon threw off all obedience to the commanding officer. The gold, the women, the proviſions of the natives, were all the prey of thoſe licentious invaders. The gentle ſpirit of the people was at length rouſed. The ſtraggling parties of the Spaniards were ſurpriſed, while exerciſing their oppreſſions in ſecurity; and the cazique of Cibao, whoſe territories they chiefly infeſted, on account of the gold found in that diſtrict, aſſembled his people, and ſurrounding the fort, ſet it on fire. The Spaniards were all either killed in defending it, or periſhed in attempting to eſcape; and Guacanagari, whoſe attachment all their outrages had not been able to alter, in endeavouring to protect them, had received a wound, by which he was ſtill confined †.

In conſequence of this account of the matter, and the neceſſity of ſecuring the friendſhip of ſome potentate of the country, in order to facilitate the projected ſettlement, Columbus, though by no means ſatisfied of the fidelity of Guacana-

* Torquemada, Mon. Ind. lib. xviii. c. 3.
† P. Martyr. Herrera, dec. I. lib. ii. Life of Columbus, c. 51.

gari,

CHAP. II.
A. D. 1493.

gari, resolved not to inquire too scrupulously into his conduct. He rejected all violent counsel; and instead of wasting his time in punishing past wrongs, took precautions against any future injury. With this view he traced out the plan of a town, which was reared and fortified with the utmost expedition, and to which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of his patroness the queen of Castile.

While this city, the first founded by Europeans in the New World, was building, Columbus had to struggle with a variety of obstacles. The natural inactivity of the Spaniards was increased by the enervating influence of the climate: the disappointment of the chimerical hopes of the more sanguine adventurers, who saw themselves obliged to toil like day-labourers, instead of reaping those golden harvests of indolence, which they expected, threw them into a dejection of mind bordering on despair, and which led to general discontent: the spirit of disaffection spread; and a conspiracy was formed, which, if not discovered in time, might have proved fatal to the governor and the colony. Happily, however, Columbus was able to secure the ringleaders, whom he sent prisoners to Spain, whither he dispatched twelve of the smaller vessels, which had served as transports, with an earnest request for a supply of men and provisions *. Meanwhile he planned several expeditions into the interior part of the country, in order to prevent his people from brooding over their disappointment, as well as to awaken new hopes. The district of Cibao in particular was visited, and fully answered the description given of it by the natives. Gold was found in dust or grains in every river and brook: and the Spaniards, from these indications, no longer doubted but the country contained rich treasures in its bowels, which would prove a recompence for all their sufferings.

Concord and order being thus restored to the colony, Columbus resolved to pursue his discoveries. He accordingly left the government of the island to his brother Don Diego, with the assistance of a council of officers, and weighed anchor with one ship and two small barques under his command; but after a tedious and dangerous voyage of full five months, he was obliged to return without making any discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica. This disappointment, however, was in some measure compensated when he arrived at Hispaniola, by meeting there with his brother Bartholomew, to whom he was united in close friendship by a similarity of talents, and whom he had not seen for thirteen years. Bartholomew, hearing of his brother's discoveries, in his way to Spain from the coast of England, had made himself known to Ferdinand and Isabella, who persuaded him to take the command of three ships, appointed to carry provisions to the colony in Hispaniola †.

April 24.
A. D. 1494.

Never could Columbus have found a friend when he stood in need of more one capable of assisting him with his counsels. The soldiers under Don Pedro Margarita, an officer appointed to visit the different parts of the island during the admiral's absence, and to impress the inhabitants with

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. ii.—Father Boyl, the apostolic vicar, was one of the most violent of the conspirators. † Life of Columbus, c. 51.

an

BOOK I. A. D. 1494. an idea of the Spaniſh power, had thrown off all reſtraint, and pillaged and inſulted the inoffenſive natives, who waited only for a ſignal from their leaders to fall upon the colony. It was therefore now neceſſary to have recourſe to arms, which Columbus had hitherto carefully avoided employing againſt the Indians; and conſcious that ſucceſs depended on the vigour and rapidity of his operations, he inſtantly aſſembled his forces. They were now reduced to a very ſmall number; the body which took the field conſiſting only of two hundred foot, twenty horſe, and twenty large dogs, a very formidable troop, when employed againſt naked ſavages. All the caziques of the iſland, Guacanagari excepted, were in arms againſt the Spaniards, with forces amounting to an hundred thouſand men. Inſtead of taking advantage of the woods and mountains, they advanced into the moſt open plain in the country; March 24. A. D. 1495. where Columbus attacked them during the night, when undiſciplined troops are leaſt capable of acting to advantage, and obtained an eaſy victory. Filled with conſternation by the noiſe and havock made by the fire-arms, the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the fierce aſſault of the dogs, they threw down their arms, and fled at the firſt onſet; and ſo thoroughly were they intimidated, that they relinquiſhed from that moment all thoughts of reſiſtance, and abandoned themſelves to deſpair *.

After this victory, Columbus employed ſeveral months in marching through the iſland; and as the inhabitants every where ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to the Spaniſh government, he impoſed a tribute on them, as a mark of their ſubjection. Every perſon above fourteen years of age, who lived in thoſe diſtricts where gold was found, was obliged to pay quarterly a certain quantity of gold duſt; and ſuch as lived in other parts of the country, ſo many pounds of cotton. This tax, ſo contrary to the maxims which Columbus had hitherto purſued in regard to the Indians, as well as to the mildneſs and moderation of his temper, he was forced not only to impoſe, but to exact with rigour, in order to counteract the machinations of his enemies at the court of Spain, by evincing what he had reported of the richneſs of the country, and to encourage Ferdinand and Iſabella to perſevere in proſecuting his plans. The event proved that he was not actuated by falſe pretences or groundleſs ſuſpicions, and forms his beſt apology. Aquado, a groom of the bed-chamber, was ſent over by their Catholic majeſties, to inſpect into the conduct of Columbus, while thus employed in violating his own feelings and the rights of humanity to ſerve them. This circumſtance, joined to the inſolence and ſelf-importance of the commiſſioner, determined the admiral to return to Spain, in order to vindicate his meaſures. He accordingly A. D. 1496. ſet ſail; leaving the adminiſtration of affairs, during his abſence, to his brother Bartholomew, with the title of adelantado, or lieutenant-governor †.

Soon after his arrival in Spain, Columbus appeared at court with all the confidence of conſcious integrity, ſupported by the ſenſe of eminent ſervices; and

* Several of them were ſo ſimple, and ſo much aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the cavalry, as to believe the man and horſe to be but one animal, or rather a kind of divinity. Life of Columbus, c. 52.

† Herrera, dec. I. lib. iii.

Ferdinand

CHAP. II. A. D. 1496.

Ferdinand and Iſabella, aſhamed of lending too favourable an ear to frivolous or ill-founded accuſations, received him with ſuch diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect, as covered his enemies with confuſion. The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other commodities which he produced, ſeemed fully to refute every charge againſt him in regard to the poverty of the country. Of the natives, with whom he was now more fully acquainted, he communicated the following among other particulars: That all the caziques, or ſovereigns, lived in palaces at ſome diſtance from the towns, where were painted a number of extraordinary images, which they called Cemis, and ſometimes honoured with the names of their anceſtors: that theſe images were worſhipped by the people as titulary deities; and that offerings were made to ſome of them for health, to others for affluence, fine weather, proſperous enterpriſes, and many ſuch wiſhes; but that they were conſidered as inferior to the ſun, which was reputed the chief, or cazique of the divinities: that each of the ſovereigns was alſo high prieſt in his own diſtrict, a circumſtance which added greatly to the authority of thoſe princes, and enabled them to practiſe many religious impoſtures on the underſtandings of their ignorant and credulous ſubjects: that ſeveral of the caziques kept three ſtones, to which they aſcribed extraordinary virtues; one promoting the fertility of the ſoil, another aſſiſting women in child-birth, the third procuring either rain or ſun-ſhine, as the occaſion required: that, when a cazique died he was embowelled, and dried by the fire, in order to preſerve his body from corruption, which was interred in a cave, with his military weapons, and ſtore of proviſions: that the wife, who bore him the greateſt affection, was likewiſe buried with him; and that there could not be a more diſhonourable proof of female ingratitude, than any mark of reluctance to pay this laſt duty to her lord and huſband: that they ſtrangled all the ſick of whoſe recovery they deſpaired, a practice common to this day among certain Negroes on the coaſt of Africa: that after death they imagined they ſhould go to a valley of vaſt extent, of which the caziques ſuppoſed they ſhould be ſovereigns, and where all believed they ſhould find their parents, kindred, and friends, and be bleſſed with an eternal round of uninterrupted felicity: that they had no law for regulating the number of wives, but that one generally poſſeſſed an authority over the reſt: that both ſexes were remarkably indolent, averſe to, and even incapable of much labour; wonderfully ſparing in their diet, one European eating as much as three of them; and that the men were peculiarly moderate, and even cool, in regard to the pleaſures of love; which frigid indifference, and want of appetite, made the neglected women paſſionately fond of the more amorous Spaniards *.

With theſe particulars relative to the natives of Hiſpaniola, Columbus mingled an account of his own ſucceſs in reducing them to obedience, dwelling particularly on ſuch circumſtances as he knew were moſt likely to pleaſe; the tax which he had impoſed, the mines he had found out, and the future diſcoveries which he hoped to make. Flattered by ſuch an acceſſion of territory, ſuch an increaſe of

* Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1496.

ſubjects, and the proſpect of ſuch a copious ſource of wealth, Ferdinand and Iſabella reſolved to ſupply the colony in Hiſpaniola with every thing that could render it a permanent eſtabliſhment; and alſo to furniſh Columbus with ſuch a fleet, as might enable him to proceed in ſearch of thoſe yet undiſcovered countries, of whoſe exiſtence he ſeemed ſo confident *.

The means moſt proper for accompliſhing both theſe ends were concerted with the admiral; but though he obtained with great facility and diſpatch the royal approbation of every meaſure and regulation he propoſed, his endeavours to carry them into execution were ſo long retarded, as muſt have tired out the patience of any man leſs accuſtomed to encounter difficulties and to ſurmount them. The Spaniards were ſo backward in engaging voluntarily to ſettle in a country, whoſe noxious climate had proved fatal to ſo many of their countrymen, that Columbus propoſed to tranſport to Hiſpaniola ſuch malefactors as had been convicted of crimes, which, though capital, were of a leſs atrocious nature. The priſons were accordingly drained in order to collect members for the new colony; and the judges were inſtructed to recruit it by their future ſentences †.

This meaſure, raſhly propoſed, and inconſiderately adopted, has been imitated by the other European nations in their ſettlements. But, as the abbé Raynal well obſerves ‡, though men who have violated the laws of their country, may ſometimes be uſeful in eſtabliſhed colonies, it is not with ſuch materials that the foundations of a ſociety deſtined to be permanent ſhould be laid. A year, however, elapſed before Columbus could obtain two ſhips to carry over even theſe wretched ſupplies intended for the colony; and almoſt two years were ſpent before the ſmall ſquadron was equipped, of which he himſelf was to take the command ‖. It conſiſted of ſix ſhips only, of no great burden, and theſe but indifferently provided for a long or dangerous voyage.

Auguſt 30. A. D. 1498.

With this ſquadron Columbus at length ſet ſail, and meditated a courſe different from any he had hitherto taken. As he was fully perſuaded that the fertile regions of India lay to the ſouth-weſt of thoſe countries which he had diſcovered, he propoſed to ſteer in that direction; but the importunities of his crew, who were alarmed at the heat of the torrid zone, obliging him to alter his courſe to the north-weſt, he fell in with a conſiderable iſland, to which he gave the name of Trinidad, and which lies on the coaſt of Guiana, near the mouth of the Orinoco. From the vaſt body of water which this river rolls towards the ocean, he juſtly concluded that it could not have its ſource in an iſland, but muſt flow through a country of immenſe extent; and conſequently, that he was now arrived at that continent which it had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes to diſcover. Under the influence of this idea, he ſteered to the weſt, along the coaſt of thoſe provinces now known by the names of Paria and Cumana. He landed in ſeveral places, and had ſome intercourſe with the natives, who reſembled thoſe of Hiſpaniola in their appearance and manner of life, but ſeemed to poſſeſs a

Auguſt 1.

* Ut ſupra. † Turon. Hiſt. Gen. de l'Amerique, tom. I. Herrera, dec. I. lib. iii.
‡ Hiſt. Philoſ. et Politique. ‖ Herrera, dec. I. lib. iii.

better

better understanding, and greater courage. The country produced four-footed animals of several kinds, as well as a variety of fowls and fruits; and Columbus was so much delighted with its beauty and fertility, that he imagined it to be the paradise described in Scripture, which the Almighty chose for the residence of man, while yet in a state of innocence *. The shattered condition of his ships, however, prevented him from prosecuting his discoveries: he therefore bent his course towards Hispaniola; and in his way thither, he fell in with the islands of Cubagua and Margarita, which afterwards became remarkable for their pearl fishery.

When Columbus arrived at Hispaniola, he was wasted to an extreme degree by fatigue and sickness. He stood much in need of repose; but the situation in which he found the affairs of the colony unhappily afforded him no prospect of enjoying it. Many revolutions had happened in that country during his absence. His brother Bartholomew, in consequence of an advice which the admiral gave him before his departure, had removed the greater part of the colony from Isabella, to a more commodious station on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of St. Domingo, long the most considerable European town in the New World. But while the adelantado was employed in establishing this new settlement, and in keeping the Indians under subjection, a mutiny broke out among the Spaniards. Francis Roldan, whom Columbus had appointed alcade, or chief justice of the island, a station which required him to be the guardian of order and tranquillity, was the author of this revolt. He accused the admiral and his two brothers of arrogance and severity; and as the people of every nation view with a jealous eye the exaltation of foreigners, a considerable number of the Spaniards, seduced by Roldan's arguments, made choice of of him as their leader, and taking arms against the adelantado and his brother, seized the king's magazine of provisions, and attempted to surprise the fort of St. Domingo. It was preserved, however, by the vigilance and courage of Don Diego Columbus, and the mutineers were obliged to retire to the province of Zaragua; where they still continued to disclaim the adelantado's authority, and even endeavoured to persuade the Indians to follow their example †.

This distracted state, in which Columbus found the colony when he landed at St. Domingo, was increased by other circumstances. Three ships, which he had dispatched from the Canaries, with a supply of men and provisions, had been carried, by the violence of the currents, to the east of St. Domingo, and forced to take shelter in a harbour in the province of Zaragua. There Roldan and his seditious followers being cantoned, he artfully persuaded the commanders, before they were apprised of his insurrection, to set on shore a considerable part of the new settlers. These men, the refuse of the jails of Spain, to whom deeds of violence were familiar, were easily induced to join the insurgents. By such an accession of force Roldan became extremely formidable, and very extravagant in his demands. Columbus, however, chose rather to comply with

* Id. ibid. † Ut supra.

them,

BOOK I.

them, than to kindle the flames of civil war; and by that prudent meaſure, he diſſolved without bloodſhed a dangerous combination, which threatened the co-
A. D. 1498. lony with ruin *.

Lands were allotted the mutineers, in conſequence of this agreement; and the
A. D. 1499. Indians ſettled in each diſtrict, were appointed to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the uſe of theſe new maſters, in place of the tribute formerly impoſed. But how neceſſary ſoever ſuch a regulation might be in a ſickly feeble colony, it unhappily introduced among the Spaniards the Repartimientos, or diſtributions of Indians eſtabliſhed by them in all their ſettlements, which brought numberleſs calamities on the natives of the New World, and ſubjected them to the moſt grievous oppreſſions. Nor was this the only bad effect of the inſurrection in Hiſpaniola: it prevented Columbus from proſecuting his diſcoveries on the continent; and though he tranſmitted to Spain an accurate account of the whole tranſaction, together with a deſcription of the new countries which he had diſcovered, and ſpecimens of the gold, pearls, and other curious and valuable productions which he had acquired by trafficing with the natives, the recriminating apology of Roldan and his followers, conveyed by the ſame ſhips, unfortunately gained more credit in the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella †. But previous to the effects (ſo humiliating to Columbus, and ſo diſgraceful to the Spaniſh nation) produced by theſe repreſentations, events had happened which merit attention, equally on account of their own importance and their connexion with the hiſtory of America.

While Columbus was engaged in conducting the Spaniards to the Weſt, the ſpirit of diſcovery did not languiſh in Portugal, where it had firſt acquired vigour. Emmanuel, who had lately ſucceeded to the throne of that kingdom, and who poſſeſſed the enterpriſing genius of his predeceſſors, perſiſted in their grand ſcheme of opening a paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. A ſqua-
A. D. 1497. dron was accordingly equipped for the purpoſe; and Vaſco de Gama, a man of noble birth and great talents, who was veſted with the command of it, doubled that formidable promontory which had ſo long been the boundary of navigation, and directing his courſe towards the north-eaſt, arrived at Calecut on the coaſt of Malabar. He was ſtruck with the wealth and populouſneſs of the country, which exceeded his moſt romantic ideas; but as he poſſeſſed neither ſufficient force to attempt a ſettlement, nor commodities to enable him to carry on commerce of any conſequence, he haſtened back to Portugal with an account of
Sept. 14. his ſucceſs, and landed ſafely at Liſbon, after a voyage of two years, two
A. D. 1499. months, and five days ‡.

Before the news of this great diſcovery reached Europe, the merchants of
May 20. Seville, animated by the general ſpirit of enterpriſe, had ſent out four ſhips in queſt of new countries, by permiſſion of the Spaniſh court, under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Co-

* Life of Columbus, c. 80. † Herrera, dec. I. lib. iii. Benzon. Hiſt. Nov. Orb. lib. i. ‡ Ramuſio, vol. I.

lumbus

lumbus in his ſecond voyage. He was aſſiſted by Americus Veſpucius, a Florentine gentleman, eminently ſkilled in all the ſciences ſubſervient to navigation. Ojeda, however, ſtruck out no new path of ſailing; but following ſervilely the route which Columbus had taken in his laſt voyage, the journal and charts of which he had ſeen, arrived on the coaſt of the new continent, two hundred leagues to the eaſtward of Paria. He traded with the natives, who readily exchanged gold and pearls for glittering toys; and ſtanding to the weſt, proceeded as far as Cape de Vela, touching at ſeveral places, and examining the face of the country, every particular relative to which was carefully obſerved by Americus Veſpucius, who had chiefly directed the operations during the voyage *. Americus poſſeſſed other talents than thoſe of a navigator; and by publiſhing, ſoon after his return to Spain, an intereſting account of the countries which he had viſited, he was able to give his own name to the weſtern world, in prejudice to the prior right of Columbus. Mankind are now become ſenſible of the impoſture: but time has ſanctified the error; and this new quarter of the globe continues to be diſtinguiſhed univerſally, though unjuſtly, by the appellation of AMERICA.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1499.

But though Ojeda's voyage was productive of no important diſcoveries, the gold and pearls for which he trafficked along the coaſts of Cumana and Maracapana, encouraged other adventurers to viſit the New World. The firſt of theſe was Alonſo Nigno, who had accompanied Columbus when he diſcovered the continent, and who made a ſucceſsful voyage to the coaſt of Paria. Soon after, Yanez Pinzon, one of Columbus's companions in his firſt voyage, ſailed from Palos with four ſhips. He ſtood boldly towards the ſouth, and was the firſt Spaniard who ventured to croſs the equinoxial line †; but, notwithſtanding the pretenſions of his countrymen, he appears to have landed on no part of America beyond the mouth of the Maragnon, or river of the Amazons.

Jan. 13. A. D. 1500.

During this laſt year of the fifteenth century, ſo fertile in great events, that rich diſtrict of South America, on the confines of which Pinzon had ſtopt ſhort, was more fully diſcovered by the Portugueſe. Encouraged by the ſucceſsful voyage of Gama to the Eaſt Indies, Emmanuel had fitted out a powerful fleet, furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for commerce or war. The command of it was given to Pedro Alvarez Cabral; who, in order to avoid the inconveniences of ſteering along the coaſt of Africa, ſtood out to ſea, and kept ſo far weſt, that, to his ſurpriſe, he found himſelf on the ſhore of an unknown country in the fifteenth degree beyond the line. He at firſt ſuppoſed it to be ſome iſland in the Atlantic Ocean hitherto unobſerved; but after ſailing along its coaſt for ſeveral days, he was gradually led to believe, that a territory ſo extenſive could only belong to an immenſe continent. In this conjecture, no leſs probable than juſt, he was confirmed by the appearance of the natives, who had not the leaſt reſemblance to the Africans, or any other people he had ever ſeen; and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the country, to which he gave the name of

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. iv. † Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1500.

The Land of the Holy Croſs, (ſince changed into that of Braſil, becauſe the precious wood there found, uſed in dying, and which was for a time its moſt valuable commodity, bore this name) he took poſſeſſion of it for the crown of Portugal, and diſpatched a ſhip to Liſbon with an account of his unexpected diſcovery *. Hence it appears, as Herrera well obſerves, if the ſagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that vaſt continent: chance might have accompliſhed, to uſe the elegant language of Dr. Robertſon, that great deſign, which it is now the pride of human reaſon to have formed and perfected.

While the Spaniards and Portugueſe were performing theſe ſucceſſive voyages, which made them more fully acquainted with the extent and opulence of the New World, the great diſcoverer himſelf, inſtead of enjoying thoſe honours and that tranquillity he had reaſon to expect, was experiencing at Hiſpaniola every diſtreſs in which the envy and malevolence of the people under his command could involve him, and every mortification which the ingratitude of the court he had ſerved could inflict. Though the pacification with Roldan broke the union and weakened the force of the mutineers, it did not eradicate the ſeeds of diſcord out of the iſland. Several of the malcontents continued in arms: and Columbus and his brothers were obliged to take the field alternately, in order to check their incurſions, or to puniſh their licentious temerity.

The diſquiet occaſioned by theſe diſorders prevented the admiral from attending to the machinations of his enemies at the court of Spain, where the moſt atrocious charges were preſented againſt him by ſuch of the malcontents as had returned to Europe, and memorials of their pretended grievances from the reſt. He was accuſed of tyranny, cruelty, and avarice; of uſing the Spaniards as ſlaves, driving the Indians to deſpair, and ſecreting great part of the gold, pearls, and other precious commodities which had come into his hands: and theſe avowed endeavours of his enemies to ruin him, were ſeconded by the diſguiſed but more dangerous inſinuations of that party among the courtiers, who had always thwarted his ſchemes, and envied his ſucceſs. Ferdinand, naturally ſuſpicious and œconomical, liſtened with a partial ear to every accuſation; for, notwithſtanding the accounts which the admiral had given of the riches of the New World, the remittances from it had hitherto been ſo ſmall, as not to defray the expence of the armaments fitted out. The king therefore concluded, that Columbus muſt either have deceived or defrauded Spain. Even Iſabella, who had uniformly protected him, was at length ſhaken by the number and boldneſs of his accuſers. She began to ſuſpect, that a diſaffection ſo general muſt have been occaſioned by real grievances, which called for redreſs. A reſolution fatal to Columbus was taken: Francis Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hiſpaniola, with full powers to inquire into the conduct of the admiral; and, if he found the charge of mal-adminiſtration proved, to ſupercede him, and aſſume the government of the iſland †.

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. iv. † Life of Columbus, c. 85. Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book ii.

It

It was impoſſible, as Dr. Robertſon very juſtly remarks, to eſcape condemnation, when this prepoſterous commiſſion made it the intereſt of the judge to find the perſon whom he was ſent to try, guilty. Though Columbus had compoſed all diſſentions in the iſland, and had made ſuch effectual proviſion for working the mines and cultivating the country, as would have ſecured a conſiderable revenue to the king, as well as large profits to individuals, Bovadilla diſcovered, from the moment he landed in Hiſpaniola, a determined reſolution of treating the author of theſe important regulations as a criminal. He made himſelf maſter of the king's ſtores and the fort at St. Domingo by violence: he took poſſeſſion of the admiral's houſe, from which he happened to be abſent; ſeized his effects, as if he had already been convicted; and ſummoned him to appear before his tribunal, in order to anſwer for his conduct, tranſmitting to him at the ſame time a copy of the royal mandate. Columbus did not heſitate a moment what courſe he ſhould take. Though deeply affected with the ingratitude of Ferdinand and Iſabella, he repaired directly, in obedience to the will of his ſovereigns, to the court of that violent and partial judge whom they had appointed to try him. Bovadilla, without admitting the admiral into his preſence, ordered him inſtantly to be arreſted, to be loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ſhip. Meanwhile he ingratiated himſelf with the Spaniards, by the moſt liberal conceſſions in their favour: he ſet at liberty the priſoners confined by Columbus; and in order to collect materials for a charge againſt him, gave ear to the moſt improbable and inconſiſtent accuſations. No informer, how infamous ſoever, was rejected. The reſult of this inqueſt was tranſmitted to Spain, whither Columbus and his two brothers were carried in fetters, and confined in different ſhips *.

Happily however, even under this reverſe of fortune, that firmneſs of mind, which diſtinguiſhes the character of the great diſcoverer, did not forſake him. He endured the inſult offered to his character, though aggravated by cruelty, not only with compoſure but with dignity. Never was the elevation of his ſoul more conſpicuous, than in his anſwer to Alonſo de Vallejo, the captain of the veſſel on board which he was confined. Touched with the ſentiments of veneration and pity due to the rank, the age, and the merit of his priſoner, Vallejo, as ſoon as he was clear of the iſland, approached the admiral with profound reſpect, and offered to releaſe him from the fetters with which he was unjuſtly loaded. "No Vallejo!" replied Columbus, with a generous indignation, "I wear theſe chains in conſequence of an order from my ſovereigns. They ſhall find me as obedient to this as to all their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone ſhall ſet me at liberty †."

The voyage to Spain was fortunately ſhort: and Ferdinand and Iſabella were no ſooner informed of the indignity put upon the man, to whoſe ſervices they owed ſo many obligations, and who ſtood ſo high in the opinion of Europe, than aſhamed of their own conduct, and eager to efface the ſtain which it might fix on their reign and character, they inſtantly iſſued orders to ſet Columbus at

* Ovied, lib. iii. † Life of Columbus, c. 86. Herrera, dec. I. lib. iv.

liberty;

BOOK I.

A. D. 1500.

liberty; invited him to court, and remitted money, in order to enable him to appear there in a manner ſuitable to his rank. When the admiral entered the royal preſence, he threw himſelf at the feet of his ſovereigns, where he remained for ſome time, without being able to utter a word; ſo violent were the agitations of his mind! But at length, being ordered to riſe, he recovered himſelf, and vindicated his conduct in a pathetic ſpeech; producing the moſt ſatisfactory proofs of his own integrity, as well as of the malevolence of his enemies. Ferdinand and Iſabella expreſſed their ſorrow for what had happened, diſavowed their knowledge of it, and were liberal in promiſes of protection and future favour; but, though they inſtantly degraded Bovadilla, in order to prevent any ſuſpicion of their having authorized his violent proceedings, they did not reſtore Columbus to thoſe honours and employments of which he had been unjuſtly deprived. Afraid to truſt the man they had injured, and to whom they were ſo highly indebted, they retained him at court under various pretences, and appointed to the government of Hiſpaniola, Nicholas de Obando, a knight of the military order of Alcantara *.

The daily reports of the immenſe wealth of America, excited the avarice and the ambition of new adventurers. Redorigo de Baſtidas, a man well

A. D. 1501.

ſkilled in geography, of bold ſpirit, and conſiderable fortitude, fitted out two ſhips in co-partnerſhip with John de la Coſa, who had ſerved under Columbus, and was reputed the beſt mariner in Spain. They ſteered directly for the coaſt of Paria, were they arrived after a proſperous voyage, and diſcovered all the coaſt of the province now known by the name of Terra Firma, from Cape de Vela to the Gulph of Darien; after which they returned by Hiſpaniola, with a conſiderable cargo of gold and pearls. The ſame motives, nearly about the ſame time, induced Ojeda and his former aſſociate, Americus Veſpucius, to undertake a ſecond voyage. Unacquainted with the deſtination of Baſtidas, they held the ſame courſe, coaſted along the ſame ſhores, and touched at the ſame places; but they were leſs fortunate, the voyage being neither productive of riches nor diſcoveries. It furniſhed the artful Americus, however, with the means of gaining more credit to his pretenſions to the diſcovery of the new continent, by confounding the particulars of his two voyages †.

Before the return of theſe adventurers, a fleet was equipped, at the public expence, for carrying over Obando, the new governor, to Hiſpaniola, where his preſence was much wanted. Bovadilla, conſcious of the iniquity of his proceedings againſt Columbus, continued to make it his ſole object to gain the favour of his countrymen, by accommodating himſelf to their paſſions and prejudices. Inſtead of habituating them to the reſtraints of law, he ſuffered them to enjoy ſuch uncontrouled licence, as encouraged the wildeſt exceſſes. He gave a legal ſanction to the oppreſſion of the Indians; taking the exact number of thoſe unhappy people, dividing them into claſſes, and diſtributing them among his adherents, by whom they were driven in crowds to the mountains, and com-

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. iv. Life of Columbus, c. 87.

† Herrera, dec. I. lib. iv.

pelled

CHAP. II.
A. D. 1502.

pelled to work in the mines, where taſks beyond their ſtrength were impoſed upon them without mercy or diſcretion. But on the arrival of Obando, who had the command of the moſt reſpectable armament hitherto fitted out for the New World, a proclamation was iſſued declaring the natives to be free ſubjects of Spain, of whom no ſervice was to be exacted contrary to their own inclination, nor any labour required without paying them an adequate price for it. Bovadilla was commanded to return inſtantly to Spain, to anſwer for his conduct; Roldan, and the other ringleaders of the mutineers, were ordered to leave the iſland at the ſame time; various regulations were made for ſuppreſſing that licentious ſpirit which had been ſo hurtful to the colony; and an ordinance was publiſhed, directing all the gold, acquired by working the mines, to be brought to a public ſmelting-houſe, and declaring one half of it to be the property of the crown *.

While Obando was taking theſe neceſſary ſteps for ſecuring the tranquillity of the colony of Hiſpaniola, and rendering it beneficial to the Spaniſh government, Columbus, who had planted it, and who had an unqueſtionable right to the office of viceroy over all the countries which he had diſcovered, was employed in ſoliciting, and in vain, the favour of an ungrateful court. The jealous and politic Ferdinand, afraid of truſting a ſubject, and an injured one, with a juriſdiction which might render him formidable, eluded all the requeſts of the admiral for the performance of his original treaty. He inſpired Iſabella with the ſame ſuſpicions; and Columbus finding every claim of juſtice and merit diſregarded by an unfeeling prince, attempted to work upon his avarice, in order to obtain, advanced as he was in years, and broken by misfortunes, the command of a fleet for the purpoſes of diſcovery.

A new road to India, the firſt object that called forth his inventive genius, ſtill occupied the admiral's thoughts. A paſſage to the Eaſt had indeed been found by the Cape of Good Hope; and the return of the Portugueſe fleet under Cabral, about this time, awakened the avidity of all Europe, by the richneſs of its cargo: but Columbus offered to conduct the Spaniards to India by a route which he expected would prove both ſhorter and leſs dangerous. He had conceived an opinion, that, beyond the continent of America, there was a ſea which extended to the Eaſt Indies; and he hoped to find ſome ſtrait or narrow neck of land, (ſituated, as he fortunately conjectured, near the gulph of Darien) by which a communication might be opened between Europe and the extreme parts of Aſia. Ferdinand and Iſabella, rouſed by the proſpect of ſharing the wealth of India, and glad of the pretext of an honourable employment for removing from court a man with whoſe demands they deemed it impolitic to comply, and whoſe ſervices it was indecent to neglect, eagerly embraced this propoſal; and Columbus, anxious to perfect his grand ſcheme of diſcovery, ſet out on a fourth voyage with all the ardour of a youthful adventurer †.

Important, however, as the object of this voyage appeared to their Catholic Majeſties, Columbus was able to obtain only four ſmall barques to perform it

* Id. ibid. † Life of Columbus, c. 88. Oviedo, lib. iii.

BOOK I. A. D. 1502.

in, the largeſt of which did not exceed ſeventy tons in burden. With theſe he arrived at Hiſpaniola, accompanied by his brother Bartholomew, and his ſecond ſon Ferdinand, the hiſtorian of his actions. His motive in touching there, was the hope of exchanging one of his veſſels, which he had found unfit for ſervice, for ſome ſhip of the fleet that had carried over Obando. But the new governor would neither permit him to enter the harbour, in order to negociate the exchange of his ſhip, nor to take ſhelter during a violent hurricane, of which he diſcerned the approach. Nay, ſo great was Obando's contempt of the admiral's ſagacity, that he would not put off for a few days the departure of the fleet deſtined for Spain. The hurricane came: Columbus was prepared for it, and by his ſkill in ſeamanſhip, was able to ride it out; but of the homeward-bound fleet, conſiſting of eighteen veſſels, only two or three eſcaped. On board one of theſe were all the effects that had been ſaved from the wreck of the admiral's fortune; and, what is very remarkable, in the general wreck periſhed Bovadilla, Roldan, and the greater part of thoſe who had been moſt active in perſecuting Columbus, and in oppreſſing the Indians, with all the wealth which they had acquired by their injuſtice and cruelty *.

This diverſity of fortune, and diſcrimination of characters, is univerſally attributed, by the hiſtorians of thoſe times, to an immediate interpoſition of divine Providence. By the vulgar, it was viewed in a different light. Believing, in the fondneſs of their admiration, Columbus to be poſſeſſed of ſupernatural powers, they imagined he had conjured up this dreadful ſtorm, in order to be avenged of his enemies †. But the misfortunes which he afterwards experienced, during his voyage, were ſufficient to convince the moſt credulous of them, that he had no command over the winds and waves.

July 14. Leaving Hiſpaniola, where he had met with ſuch an inhoſpitable reception, Columbus ſtood towards the continent. In his paſſage, which was tedious and dangerous, he diſcovered the iſland of Guania, in the entrance of the bay of Honduras. Here he was viſited by a conſiderable number of the inhabitants of the continent. They came in a canoe of vaſt length, eight feet wide, and conſtructed with much ingenuity, and appeared to be a people more civilized than any he had hitherto diſcovered. They wore ſeveral maſſy ornaments of gold; and on the Spaniards inquiring, with their uſual eagerneſs, where they got that precious metal, they pointed to certain countries ſituated to the weſt, where it was found in ſuch plenty, according to their accounts, as to be applied to the moſt common uſes. But Columbus was ſo bent on finding out that imaginary ſtrait, which he ſuppoſed to communicate with the Indian ocean, that he ſlighted this important information; and inſtead of ſteering along the coaſt of Yucatan, which would have conducted him to the rich empire of Mexico, he bore away to the eaſt towards the gulph of Darien.

In this navigation, during the courſe of which he landed ſeveral times, and procured conſiderable quantities of gold, in exchange for European toys, Co-

* Id. ibid. † Ut ſupra.

lumbus

Columbus diſcovered all the coaſt of the American continent, from Cape Gracias a Dios, to a harbour which, on account of its beauty and conveniency, he named Porto Bello. But he ſought in vain for the ſtrait, through which he hoped to open a paſſage to India; nor was he ſo fortunate as to diſcover the great ſouthern ocean, though he advanced a conſiderable way acroſs that narrow iſthmus which ſeparates it from the gulph of Darien. He was ſo much delighted, however, with the fertility of the country, and conceived ſo favourable an idea of its wealth, from the ſamples of gold produced by the natives, that he reſolved to plant a colony on the river Belem, in the province of Veragua. But this ſcheme was rendered abortive by the ungovernable ſpirit of the Spaniards, whoſe inſolence and rapacity rouſed the natives to arms. Part of the ſettlers were cut off; and A. D. 1503. the reſt being obliged to abandon their ſtation, were taken on board by the admiral *.

From this repulſe, the firſt which the Spaniards met with in the New World, we may date the commencement of thoſe calamities which purſued Columbus, without intermiſſion, to his grave. His feeble ſquadron was aſſailed by a furious hurricane, in which one of his ſhips periſhed: he was obliged to abandon another, as unfit for ſervice; and with the remaining two, he with difficulty reached Jamaica, where he was under the neceſſity of running them aground, to prevent them from ſinking. The meaſure of his misfortunes ſeemed now to be full. He was caſt aſhore on an iſland at a conſiderable diſtance from Hiſpaniola, the only ſettlement of the Spaniards in America: and though an account of his deplorable ſituation was conveyed to the governor, (by two of Columbus's attendants in two canoes, his ſhips being ruined beyond the poſſibility of repair,) the unfeeling jealouſy of Obando ſuffered him and his companions to languiſh above a year, expoſed to miſery in all its various forms. Diſaſters ſimilar to thoſe which he had encountered during his voyage overtook him in his paſſage to Spain: his veſſel, ſhattered by violent ſtorms, ſailed ſeven hundred leagues under jury maſts; and when he arrived at the port of St. Lucar, he was informed of an event more fatal to his hopes than all his other misfortunes, the death of his patroneſs queen Iſabella, in whoſe juſtice, humanity, and favour he ſtill confided.

Senſible that he had little to expect from the cruel heart of Ferdinand, but conſcious that his ſervices deſerved reward, and his wrongs redreſs, Columbus ſpent the remainder of his days in ſoliciting in vain an ungrateful prince, whoſe vigorous but contracted mind had never entertained a proper idea of his merit. He died at Valladolid on the 20th of May, 1506, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, with that compoſure and firmneſs which diſtinguiſhed every action of his life †.

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. v. Life of Columbus, c. 89, &c. Oviedo, lib. iii. † Life of Columbus, c. 108. Herrera, dec. I. lib. vi.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Spaniſh Colonies and Diſcoveries, from the Death of Columbus, *to the Expedition of* Cortez.

BOOK I.

A. D. 1503.

BEFORE the death of Columbus, ſeveral events happened in Hiſpaniola deſerving of notice, and intimately connected with the progreſs of the Spaniſh colony in that iſland. In conſequence of the proclamation, by which the Indians were declared free ſubjects of Spain, and exempted from all but voluntary ſervices, the Spaniards could not procure a ſufficient number of hands either to work the mines or to cultivate the ſoil. No allurement or reward could induce a people to labour, who conſidered exemption from toil as ſupreme felicity. Many of the firſt ſettlers quitted the iſland, when deprived of the means of enriching themſelves; and above a thouſand of thoſe, who came over with the new governor, died of diſtempers peculiar to the climate. In ſuch circumſtances, the demand of one half of the product of the mines, as the ſhare of the crown, was found to be an exaction ſo exorbitant, that no adventurers would engage to work them. Obando therefore ventured to relax the rigour of the royal edict, in order to ſave the colony from ruin. He made new

A. D. 1503. diſtributions of the Indians among the Spaniards, but enjoined their maſters to pay them a certain ſum, as the price of their labour, in order to ſcreen himſelf from the imputation of having again ſubjected them to ſlavery; and he reduced the royal ſhare of the gold found in the mines from the half to the third part, and afterwards to a fifth, at which it long remained *.

Both theſe regulations were approved of at court. But though Ferdinand's avarice was prevailed upon to moderate the claim of the crown, notwithſtanding his eagerneſs to improve the royal revenue, the natives of Hiſpaniola could not be perſuaded to ſubmit anew to that yoke of bondage which they had found ſo galling. They made ſeveral attempts to defend their liberty. Theſe were conſidered by the Spaniards as acts of rebellion, not as the efforts of men ſtruggling for their native rights. The Indians, the original owners of the country, were regarded as ſlaves, who had revolted againſt their maſters, and methods the moſt atrocious, and which cannot be related without horror, were employed to ſubject them again to ſervitude. The Spaniards, as Las Caſas informs us, (who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of what he relates) mounted on fine horſes, armed with ſwords and lances, felt no emotion but contempt at the ſight of an enemy ſo ill equipped. They went on butchering with impunity. They would rip open women with child, for the ſake of ſlaughtering at the ſame ſtroke the parent and the offſpring: they would lay wagers, who ſhould ſhew himſelf moſt dexterous in cleaving a man down at a ſingle blow, or in making his head fly off his ſhoulders; they would ſnatch infants from the breaſt of their mothers, and daſh out their brains againſt the ſtones: they trained their

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. v.

dogs

dogs to hunt and devour the unhappy fugitives; and ſome of them are ſaid to have made a vow to maſſacre twelve Indians every day, in honour of the twelve apoſtles *.

The caziques or Indian ſovereigns, when taken, were condemned to periſh by the moſt cruel and ignominious deaths: the moſt treacherous arts were employed for ſecuring them; and all their ſubjects, without any regard to the diſtinction of ranks, were reduced to the ſame ſtate of abject ſlavery. The ſmall gratuity paid to them as the price of their labour was withdrawn, while the taſks impoſed upon them were rendered more ſevere, and their condition in all reſpects more wretched than even under Bovadilla. Obando diſtributed them among his friends, in the iſland: Ferdinand conferred grants of a ſimilar nature upon his courtiers, as the leaſt expenſive mode of rewarding their ſervices; and the Indians being farmed out, by the perſons whoſe property they were become, to others engaged in working the mines, or who poſſeſſed eſtates in Hiſpaniola, their oppreſſions no longer knew any bounds; they were indiſcriminately chained together like beaſts of burden. Thoſe who ſunk under their labour were compelled to riſe by ſevere blows. Their conſtitutions thus exhauſted by exceſſive toil, were farther impaired by unwholeſome and ſcanty diet. Deſpair ſeized upon their hearts. They took every method to rid themſelves of a miſerable exiſtence; and the whole race, computed to have amounted to one million, when firſt viſited by Columbus, became extinct in a few years †.

A. D. 1506.

Barbarous,

* Relacion de Deſtruyc. de las Indias, par Bart. de las Caſas. Raynal, Hiſt. Philoſ. &c.

† Id. ibid. Herrera, dec. I. lib. vi. Oviedo, lib. iii. Different reaſons have been aſſigned by hiſtorians for the mercileſs conduct of the Spaniards towards the Indians; but the moſt intelligent writers have aſcribed it to fanaticiſm, or an intolerant and perſecuting ſpirit of religion, which inſpires hatred and vengeance, and authoriſes every violence againſt thoſe whom bigots imagine to be the objects of divine wrath, becauſe they differ from them in their theological creed, or mode of worſhip. The fact indeed ſpeaks for itſelf: a perſuaſion, that they were the favourites of a partial, and the inſtruments of an offended God, only could have made a whole nation deliberately perpetrate crimes ſo ſhocking to humanity.

The pope, as vicegerent of Chriſt upon earth, had given to the Spaniards a grant of all the new diſcovered countries: the inhabitants of thoſe countries were idolaters, and very averſe to the Chriſtian doctrines; it was therefore thought lawful to ſlay them, or reduce them to ſervitude, as ſhould ſeem moſt eligible. The injunctions given by Moſes to the Jews, while in ſearch of the promiſed land, were applied to the preſent occaſion by ſome Spaniſh prieſts. "When thou comeſt nigh unto a city to fight againſt it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it ſhall be, if it make the anſwer of peace, and open unto thee, then it ſhall be that all the people that is found therein ſhall be tributaries unto thee, and they ſhall ſerve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war againſt thee, then thou ſhalt beſiege it. And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou ſhalt ſmite every male thereof with the edge of the ſword. But of the cities of this people which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou ſhalt ſave alive nothing that breatheth." Deut. chap. xx.—It is therefore probable, that if the Spaniards had not found the labour of the Indians neceſſary to their avarice, they would at once have extirpated the whole race.

To a perſon acquainted with theſe particulars, Dr. Robertſon's account of the Spaniſh cruelties in Hiſpaniola, notwithſtanding the elegance of the ſtyle, muſt appear very unſatisfactory. Could a tenderneſs for the intereſts of Chriſtianity in general, reſtrain the preſbyterian prieſt from aſcribing to their true cauſe the frightful effects of Romiſh ſuperſtition? Or did a fellow-feeling for his brethren of the altar, induce the royal hiſtoriographer to write the vindication of the Spaniſh clergy?—Hiſt. of America, book iii. &c.

BOOK I.

A. D. 1506. Barbarous, however, as the policy of Obando was, with reſpect to the Indians, the colony of Hiſpaniola flouriſhed under his government. He eſtabliſhed many wiſe regulations among the Spaniards, and immenſe quantities of gold were procured at the expence of the ſweat and the blood of the natives. When the wealth of the mines began to fail, he turned the attention of his countrymen to a more uſeful branch of induſtry than that of digging for treaſure in the bowels of the earth, the cultivation of the ſoil; and ſome ſlips of the ſugar-cane being brought from the Canaries, by way of experiment, they were found to thrive ſo well in Hiſpaniola, that the cultivation of them ſoon became an object of commerce, and the manufacture of ſugar the principal occupation of the inhabitants of the iſland, and the moſt conſiderable ſource of their wealth *.

Theſe endeavours of Obando to promote the welfare of the Spaniſh ſettlement at St. Domingo, were powerfully ſeconded by Ferdinand. The large remittances which he received from the New World, having at length opened his eyes to the importance of thoſe diſcoveries which he had formerly affected to deſpiſe,

A. D. 1507. he erected a board of trade, compoſed of perſons of rank and abilities, to whom he committed the adminiſtration of American affairs. But notwithſtanding the attention of this board, and the prudence of the governor, the colony in Hiſpaniola was threatened with ruin. The original inhabitants, on whom the Spaniards chiefly depended for their proſperity, waſted ſo faſt, that the ſettlers found it impoſſible to extend their improvements, or even to carry on the works which they had already begun.

A. D. 1508. In order to remedy this evil, Obando decoyed forty thouſand of the inhabitants of the Lucayos into Hiſpaniola; under pretence of carrying them to a delicious country, the reſidence of their departed anceſtors, and where they ſhould enjoy uninterrupted felicity, but in reality to mingle their groans and tears with thoſe of the wretched natives of that iſland †. Other Indians were made captives, and brought by force from the neighbouring iſles. But all theſe recruits proving inſufficient, and mouldering away, like the original inhabitants, by reaſon of the diſproportion of the taſks impoſed on them to the feebleneſs of their frame, the ſlave-trade, that diſgrace to humanity, was eſtabliſhed with the Portugueſe ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa; and as it was found by experience, that one Negro could execute as much hard work as four Indians, this traffic was ſoon extended, and ſtill continues to be carried on, from political motives, in defiance of religion and philoſophy, all ſevere labour in

That contempt which civilized nations are ſo apt to entertain for barbarians, and the exultation of conſcious ſuperiority in ſtrength or ſkill, are too ready, it muſt be owned, to perſuade men that a power of dominion, or a capacity for government, entitles them to the right of governing. Theſe errors have their origin in human nature, and have given birth to many violences; but that violence which is deaf to the voice of ſupplication, and dead to the feelings of ſympathy, which delights in cruelty, and enjoys the groans of the miſerable, and which is invariably the ſame, whether it acts under a Jewiſh apprehenſion of an heavenly promiſe to a choſen race, a popiſh perſuaſion of the divine authority and univerſal juriſdiction of a ſupreme pontiff, a puritanical ambition of erecting a kingdom of grace, or a Mahometan zeal for propagating the doctrines of a ſuppoſed prophet, and extending the empire of his followers, can alone be inſpired by fanaticiſm.

* Oviedo, lib. iv. † Herrera, dec. I. lib. vii.

the

the European ſettlements in the New World being performed by Negroes.—Thus the diſcovery of America, how benevolent ſoever might be the intention of Columbus, or whatever advantages Europe may derive from that event, was not only the ſource of inexpreſſible miſery to the natives, but has involved a great part of the inhabitants of another quarter of the globe in the moſt abject ſlavery. If to theſe evils we add that venereal malady, that poiſon which withers the roſes of love! that bane of human bliſs! which the Americans communicated to their conquerors, and which commerce has ſince carried to every ſhore, we ſhall perhaps find reaſon to lament, as lovers of our ſpecies, that ſapient foreſight which led the Genoeſe navigator to launch into the weſtern main in queſt of another continent. CHAP. III. A. D. 1508.

The Spaniards made no diſcoveries during the government of Obando, nor did they eſtabliſh any new ſettlement, except one in the iſland of Porto Rico, which Columbus had diſcovered in his ſecond voyage. This iſland was ſubjected by Juan Ponce de Leon, an officer eminent for courage and conduct, who commanded under Obando in the eaſtern diſtrict of Hiſpaniola. The natives were all reduced to ſervitude, and rapidly exterminated by cruelties ſimilar to thoſe already related *.

Obando was ſucceeded in the government of Hiſpaniola, by Don Diego Columbus, ſon of the great navigator. Ever ſince the death of his father, he had been employed in ſoliciting Ferdinand for thoſe offices and immunities which deſcended to him by inheritance, in conſequence of the original agreement with the admiral. Wearied at length with fruitleſs importunities, he carried his claim before the board veſted with the management of Indian affairs; and to the eternal honour of that court, a deciſion was given againſt the king. New obſtacles, however, might have been thrown in the way of Don Diego, if he had not formed an alliance, by marriage, with the family of the duke of Alva, a grandee of the firſt rank, whoſe ſolicitations Ferdinand could not reſiſt. Soon after his arrival in Hiſpaniola, the new governor eſtabliſhed a colony in the little iſland of Cubagua; where large fortunes were rapidly acquired by the fiſhery of pearls, and where the Indians experienced new miſeries in being obliged to dive for them †. He next projected the conqueſt of Cuba: but, before we enter into the particulars of that event, it will be proper to carry forward the progreſs of diſcovery. D. A. 1509.

About the time that young Columbus entered on his government, Alonzo de Ojeda, who had already made two voyages as a diſcoverer, and Diego de Nicueſſa, who had acquired a large fortune in Hiſpaniola, ſailed from that iſland for the continent of America, in order to plant two colonies there, in conſequence of articles with the Spaniſh court. To Ojeda was aſſigned all the territory ex-

* Relacion de B. de las Caſas. In this iſland it was that the famous dog Bezerillo, whoſe ſervices the Spaniſh hiſtorians are ſo fond of extolling, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his fierceneſs, and his ſagacity in diſcerning the peaceful or hoſtile diſpoſition of an Indian; in reward for which he had the ſame allowance given him as a ſoldier, and that not only of proviſions, but alſo of gold and ſlaves. Herrera, dec. I. lib. vii. † Herrera, dec. I. lib. vii.

tending

BOOK I.
A. D. 1509.

tending from Cape de Vela to the gulph of Darien, and to Nicueſſa all the country from the middle of that inlet to Cape Gracias a Dios. Theſe two gentlemen differed before their departure about the limits of their governments, and the extent of their ſeveral juriſdictions; but experience ſoon convinced both, that their diſpute was equally frivolous and premature, each having a grant of more territory than he was able to take poſſeſſion of, and more privileges than were of any uſe to him.

When Ojeda arrived at Carthagena, he found the natives in arms in order to oppoſe his landing. This hoſtile diſpoſition was occaſioned by the violences of certain Spaniſh captains, who had touched upon theſe coaſts. Every method was practiſed in vain to ſoothe the reſentment of the Indians, and to convince them that nothing was intended by Ojeda but mutual advantage: they continued obſtinate; and he, at laſt, endeavoured to effect by force what he could not accompliſh by perſuaſion. The Indians were defeated with conſiderable loſs: but this advantage, and the booty acquired, had almoſt proved fatal to the Spaniards. They marched up to a little town, about four leagues from the ſea; and finding that the inhabitants had retreated to the mountains, they diſperſed themſelves careleſsly into ſmall parties, in queſt of gold and plunder. In that ſtraggling ſituation they were attacked by the enemy, who killed and wounded ſeventy of them with vaſt flights of poiſoned arrows, and the reſt with difficulty made their way to the ſhips *.

The courage of the Spaniards, however, revived on the arrival of Nicueſſa; and he and Ojeda, forgetting their private animoſities, united in taking vengeance upon the Indians, whom they defeated, and ſlaughtered with a barbarity too horrid for deſcription, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Having thus ſatiated their revenge, and acquired a conſiderable booty in gold, the two governors returned to their ſhips, and ſoon after ſeparated. Ojeda, with three veſſels, ſteered for Uraba and the gulph of Darien, and Nicueſſa for Veragua, with ſix. Both were very fortunate.

Ojeda not being able to find the gulph of Darien, which he had been told abounded in the precious metal, on his arrival in Uraba, built a fort, to which he gave the name of St. Sebaſtian, upon a riſing ground, in order to protect his people againſt the attacks of the natives, who were warlike, and little diſpoſed to admit foreigners among them. He at the ſame time diſpatched a veſſel for Hiſpaniola with the priſoners and gold he had taken, in order to procure in exchange men, arms, and proviſions. All theſe precautions were found neceſſary, and even inſufficient for the proſperity of the colony. The Indians of this diſtrict were the moſt alert at their weapons of any the Spaniards had yet encountered. They ſhot their poiſoned arrows with incredible force, uſed their wooden ſwords with great addreſs, and threw their darts with ſuch violence, as well as judgment, as rendered them very formidable enemies. Beſides their ſuperior ſkill in war, the natives of Uraba had made greater progreſs in the arts of civil life, than any American nation the Spaniards had hitherto viſited. Their houſes were neat, and commodiouſly divided into different apartments: their

* Gomara, Hiſt. c. 57, &c. Herrera, dec. I. lib. vii.

beds

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1509.

beds conſiſted of cotton hammocks, ſlung to the roof; and though they went naked, on account of the warmth of the climate, they were no ſtrangers to weaving and ſpinning, as appeared by ſeveral ingenious ſpecimens of cotton cloth.

Ojeda and his followers, at firſt, made ſome fortunate incurſions into the country adjoining to St. Sebaſtian; but the Indians daily increaſing in numbers and in courage, the Spaniards were at length cooped up within the walls of the fort, where they had almoſt periſhed by famine. Happily, however, in this extremity, they received a reinforcement of ſeventy men from Hiſpaniola. But theſe being found inſufficient, the governor ſet out in perſon, in order to procure more effectual aſſiſtance, promiſing to return in fifty days. Alas! he knew not what diſaſters he was doomed to ſtruggle with. After being driven on the iſland of Cuba, where he experienced inexpreſſible hardſhips of every kind, he arrived by unexpected means at Hiſpaniola, and there died, when ready to ſail with every neceſſary for the relief of his ſettlement *.

Such were the diſtreſſes of Ojeda and his little colony, nor were thoſe of Nicueſſa inferior. When theſe two commanders parted company, Nicueſſa in a caravel, attended by a brigantine under the conduct of Lopes de Olano, held his courſe along the ſhore in queſt of Veragua, ordering the larger ſhips, for their greater ſecurity, to keep out to ſea. This opportunity of gratifying his ambition, and of gaining the ſupreme command, the treacherous Olano ſeized. Inſtead of keeping cloſe in company with the caravel, he loſt ſight of her entirely; then ſtanding out to ſea, and joining the reſt of the fleet, he gave them to underſtand, that Nicueſſa had periſhed by ſhip-wreck; and that the chief direction of the expedition devolved upon him, as lieutenant. No ſuſpicion being entertained of the truth of this intelligence, the officers and ſailors willingly yielded obedience, and by Olano's order ſteered for the river Belem, where he propoſed to ſettle a colony. But that ſpot, which had formerly proved unpropitious to the generous efforts of Columbus, in a ſimilar attempt, was perfectly ruinous to Olano and his companions; who there experienced every ſpecies of human miſery, from the noxiouſneſs of the climate, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the diſaſters attending an unknown and dangerous navigation.

Nor was the ſituation of Nicueſſa, in the meantime, leſs deplorable. He had ſailed up the river Veragua with the caravel, and was there ſhip-wrecked, not a morſel of proviſions being ſaved; and as this accident happened in the night, many of the crew were thrown aſhore barefooted and naked, in which condition they travelled over marſhes, mountains, rocks, and through foreſts, feeding upon vegetables, with whoſe qualities they were unacquainted. In the courſe of their wanderings, they were beſet by Indians; and, to complete their misfortunes, they were at laſt ſhut up by the floods in a deſert iſland, which afforded nothing but a few roots and ſhell-fiſh. There they ſpent three months in all the horrors inſeparable from ſuch a ſituation, every attempt to croſs on floats to the oppoſite ſhore proving ineffectual. Several of them were reduced to

* Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1509.

ſuch a ſtate of debility, that they crawled about upon their hands and feet, in queſt of thoſe unwholeſome vegetables with which they were obliged to ſatisfy the cravings of hunger, and under which many of them died. But happily thoſe who ſurvived their hardſhips, met with an unexpected deliverance. Four ſailors, who had run away with the boat when the caravel was loſt, and to whoſe treachery they aſcribed all their calamities, by accident met with Olano and his unfortunate aſſociates, whom they made acquainted with their ſtory. Whether adverſity had ſoftened the lieutenant's heart, or fear of the rebellion of his followers, now informed that their commander was ſtill alive, inclined him to act an humane part, certain it is, that Nicueſſa and the wretched remains of his crew owed their preſervation to the aſſiſtance of Olano. He ſent a brigantine to bring them off, and carry ſuch proviſions as the country afforded for their refreſhment.

When Nicueſſa joined the ſickly colony at Belem, he demonſtrated that adverſity had not broken his ſpirit, by ordering Olano to be immediately loaded with irons. He afterwards releaſed him at the interceſſion of thoſe who had been the dupes of his treachery; and perceiving that no hope remained of rendering the ſettlement uſeful in the ſpot which the lieutenant had choſen, he re-embarked his people, with a deſign of returning to Hiſpaniola: but want of proviſions obliged him to put aſhore a few leagues above Porto Bello, where he reſolved to ſettle a colony, ſaying, "Let us ſtay here *en nombre de Dios*, in the name of God." Accordingly he began to erect a fort, which took the name of Nombre de Dios. But in this ſecond attempt to eſtabliſh a ſettlement he failed, as in the former; his people being reduced, in a ſhort time, by fatigue, famine, and the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, to ſo ſmall a body as one hundred men, not the ſeventh part of the number with which he originally ſet ſail.

In order, however, clearly to underſtand the fate of the colony at Nombre de Dios, it will be neceſſary to return to the ſettlement which Ojeda left at St. Sebaſtian in Uraba. When the fifty days, which the governor had fixed for his return, were expired, all hopes of relief vaniſhed, and the miſerable Spaniards gave themſelves up to deſpair. Two ſmall veſſels only remained, and theſe were inſufficient to tranſport their whole number, with the proviſions requiſite for their ſupport, to any other country. It was therefore reſolved in a general council, after mature deliberation, not to ſeparate, though they were reduced to the moſt deplorable condition that imagination can figure, but patiently to wait the will of Heaven; or at leaſt to ſtay till their number ſhould be ſo much diminiſhed by ſickneſs, want, and the arrows of the Indians, that the few ſurvivors could ſafely embark. This period was not far remote. The Spaniards died ſo faſt, that ſoon only hands enough remained to work the two veſſels. Theſe ſet ſail, after laying in all the ſtock of proviſions which they could collect, conſiſting chiefly of the carcaſes of four mares, and ſome palmetoes.

Francis Pizarro, afterwards ſo celebrated, whom the governor had appointed his ſubſtitute, commanded the largeſt veſſel, and had the good fortune to join the Bachelor Enciſo, juſt arrived in the bay of Carthagena with a ſhip

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1509.

a ſhip and a brigantine, an hundred and fifty men, good ſtore of live ſtock, and other proviſions, deſtined for the relief of Ojeda's colony at St. Sebaſtian, in conſequence of a contract with that gentleman a little before his death. The ſmaller veſſel, commanded by an officer named Valenzuela, periſhed at ſea. Pizarro uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail on Enciſo to ſteer for Veragua, and join Nicueſſa; but the Bachelor was obſtinate in executing his engagements literally. As he entered the bay, however, his ſhip foundered, and himſelf and the crew were ſaved with difficulty by the brigantines, all the proviſions on board being loſt. He inſiſted nevertheleſs upon landing; but he was ſo roughly handled by the natives, and the country was ſo little inviting, that he allowed himſelf to be perſuaded by Vaſco Nugnez de Balboa, another celebrated Spaniſh captain of thoſe times, to ſteer for the gulph of Darien.

In conſequence of the advice of Balboa, who had formerly viſited the coaſt of Darien along with Baſtidas, a deſcent was made near the bottom of the gulph, where he affirmed a pleaſant town, abounding with proviſions, was ſituated. Every thing correſponded with his deſcription, and conſpired to raiſe the ſpirits of the half famiſhed Spaniards, except the oppoſition of the natives; a large body of whom, under the command of a cazique, diſputed the poſſeſſion of this land of promiſe. A battle, however, was fought, in which the Indians were routed, and the town was the reward of the conquerors; who, beſides a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, and ſeveral pieces of manufactured cotton, got a booty of fine gold plates, to the value of ten thouſand peſos.

Balboa gained ſo much credit by the ſucceſs of this enterprize, which he had chiefly conducted, that his ambition was rouſed, and he aſpired at the government of the colony, which it was agreed ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the gulph of Darien, under the name of Santa Maria el Antigua. In order to effect his purpoſe, he enlarged his friendſhips, and concerted a ſcheme for depoſing Enciſo, under pretence, that, as they were not within the limits of Ojeda's government, they owed no obedience to his repreſentative. Several circumſtances, too trivial to be enumerated, conſpired to facilitate this deſign: Enciſo was depoſed, and the principal direction of affairs entruſted to Balboa. A. D. 1510.

The colony at Santa Maria might now have flouriſhed, had not freſh ſubjects of diſpute ariſen, and ſuch a variety of ſeparate intereſts and opinions, as threatened it with anarchy and ruin. At length it was agreed, that Nicueſſa ſhould be ſent for to govern the ſettlement; and a veſſel was accordingly diſpatched to tranſport him, and all his people, to Darien. The perſons deputed for this purpoſe found him naked, emaciated, exhauſted, and feeble, feeding like a ſavage upon roots and herbs. The ſhocking ſpectacle drew tears from the beholders: but Nicueſſa was ſo much elated with his change of fortune, that he ſoon forfeited the good opinion of the colony at Santa Maria, and was depoſed before he had well aſſumed the reins of government. He was afterwards ſent to ſea in a rotten caravel with ſeventeen men, and periſhed with the veſſel and crew *.

* Ut ſupra.

Having

BOOK I.

A. D. 1510.

Having thus got rid of Nicueſſa by a reſolution of the colony, and ſecured himſelf in the adminiſtration by his addreſs, Balboa was enabled to take revenge upon the Bachelor Enciſo for his induſtry in fomenting the late diſſentions. He charged him with arrogating to himſelf an illegal authority, and committing treaſon, by exerting a power in virtue of Ojeda's commiſſion, which could only be beſtowed by the king. Under this pretext he ſecured the Bachelor's perſon, and confiſcated his effects; though he afterwards releaſed him, on condition that he ſhould take the firſt paſſage that offered for Europe: and in order to ſecure himſelf yet farther in the government, to guard againſt the accuſations of Enciſo, and ſolicit aids and ſupplies for the infant ſettlement, Balboa diſpatched two of his firmeſt friends to Spain and Hiſpaniola, ſending the Bachelor under their cuſtody, and a proceſs againſt him, couched in the moſt artful and acrimonious terms.

The new colony in Darien began now to thrive exceedingly, and ſpread the terror of the Spaniſh arms among the Indian nations. With ſome of theſe Balboa contracted alliances; to which the accidental diſcovery of two Spaniards, who had deſerted from Nicueſſa on his firſt arrival in Veragua, greatly contributed. They had lived among the natives, had acquired their language, and gave the firſt intimations of the extraordinary wealth of this part of America, eſpecially towards the ſouth. Theſe imperfect notices were confirmed by the teſtimony of an Indian prince, who offered to conduct the governor to a country where the precious metal was found in as great abundance as iron, by the accounts of the Spaniards, was in Europe. Balboa had alſo contracted an intimacy with a neighbouring cazique named Careta, whom he had firſt taken priſoner, and afterwards releaſed on the aſſurance of his friendſhip, and a promiſe that he would ſupply the colony with proviſions. Careta was then at war with another cazique, whoſe name was Ponca; and this prince learning that the Spaniards took part with his enemy, fled to the mountains, leaving his country to be waſted, and his treaſures to be pillaged by the allies.

By theſe means the Spaniſh influence became daily more conſiderable. Several princes ſolicited the friendſhip of Balboa; and, among others, the cazique

A. D. 1511.

Cemagre, lord of the adjacent country, who advanced with his ſeven ſons, to invite the governor to his city. The Spaniards were ſtruck with the magnificence of Cemagre's palace, where they were hoſpitably entertained, and which far exceeded any thing they had beheld in America. It was an hundred and fifty paces in length, and eighty in breadth, raiſed upon wooden pillars, and incloſed by a ſtone wall, with rails at the top, ſo beautifully carved that the Europeans were aſtoniſhed at the workmanſhip. But what was more peculiarly pleaſing to Balboa's attendants, was the great abundance of proviſions, which they found in the ſtorehouſe, together with a variety of red and white pleaſant liquors drawn from Indian wheat, roots, and the palm. The wealth and generoſity of this prince farther increaſed their ſatisfaction. His eldeſt ſon, deſirous of obliging the Spaniards by every method in his power, ordered ſeveral pieces of gold, equally valuable for their workmanſhip and purity, and weighing about four thouſand peſos, to be preſented to Balboa and

his

CHAP. III. A. D. 1511.

his followers; and it was on the diviſion of theſe preſents that they quarrelled, when the young prince, perceiving them on the point of proceeding to acts of violence againſt one another, tumbled the gold out of the balance and cried, "Why do you conteſt about ſuch a trifle? If the Spaniards are ſo paſſionately fond of gold, as to forſake their native country, and diſturb the peace of diſtant nations in ſearch of it, I will conduct them to a kingdom, where they may enjoy it in profuſion, and where the meaneſt utenſils are made of this metal ſo highly prized." In anſwer to their eager inquiries, occaſioned by ſuch agreeable intelligence, he farther informed them, that, at the diſtance of ſix ſuns, that is of ſix days journey, towards the ſouth, they ſhould diſcover another ocean, near to which this wealthy kingdom was ſituated; but, if they intended to make war upon it, that a powerful force would be neceſſary *.

The young prince's information was confirmed by the teſtimony of the more grave and experienced Indians; and Balboa having now before him objects ſuited to his boundleſs ambition, and the enterpriſing ardour of his genius, was impatient to ſet out on an expedition, which promiſed both to himſelf and his country ſuch an acceſſion of wealth and power. But previous negociations and preparations were requiſite to inſure ſucceſs. He therefore diſpatched one of his officers to ſolicit Ferdinand for the neceſſary reinforcement, and to lay before the Spaniſh miniſtry the inexhauſtible ſource of riches, which he hoped to diſcover; ſending at the ſame time, in order to enforce his requeſt, the king's fifth of the gold found by the new colony †.

While this affair was negociating, and Balboa employed in ſecuring the friendſhip of the neighbouring caziques, Don Diego Columbus, governor of Hiſpaniola, was taking meaſures for the conqueſt of Cuba. He gave the command of the troops deſtined for this ſervice to Diego Velaſquez, one of his father's companions in his ſecond voyage, and who was well qualified for conducting ſuch an enterpriſe. The iſland abounded with inhabitants; but they were of the ſame unwarlike character as the natives of Hiſpaniola, and ſeemed to have formed no concert for their common ſafety. The only obſtruction which the Spaniards met with was from Hatuey, a cazique who had fled from Hiſpaniola, and taken poſſeſſion of the eaſtern extremity of Cuba. Rendered deſperate by adverſity, he ſtood upon the defenſive at their firſt landing; and afterwards encamped, with a conſiderable body of Indians, in the woody grounds, which were inacceſſible to the Spaniſh cavalry. There he maintained his ſtation for ſome time, but was at length diſlodged by the ſuperior ſkill and courage of the Spaniards, who drove him to the heart of the iſland, took him priſoner, and burnt him alive; according to that barbarous maxim, which made them conſider every Indian, who endeavoured to throw off their uſurped authority, as a ſlave who had rebelled againſt his maſter. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, a Franciſcan friar labouring to convert him, promiſed him immediate admiſſion into the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Chriſtian faith.

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. ix. c. 1. † Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1511.

"Are there any Spaniards," ſaid Hatuey, after a pauſe, "in that region of bliſs which you deſcribe to me?"—"Yes," replied the monk; "but only ſuch as are worthy and good."—"The beſt of them," returned the indignant cazique, "have neither worth nor goodneſs: I will not go to a place where I may meet one of that accurſed race *." On pronouncing theſe words he was inſtantly committed to the flames: and this dreadful example of unjuſt vengeance ſtruck the people of Cuba with ſuch terror, that Velaſquez, almoſt without farther oppoſition, annexed that extenſive and fertile iſland to the Spaniſh monarchy †.

About the ſame time Ponce de Leon, who had acquired both wealth and fame by the reduction of Porto Rico, impatient to engage in ſome new project, fitted out three ſhips at his own expence for a voyage of diſcovery. He directed his courſe towards the Bahama iſlands; and after touching at ſeveral of them, he ſtood to the ſouth-weſt, and diſcovered a country hitherto unknown to the
A. D. 1512. Spaniards, to which he gave the name of Florida, becauſe he fell in with it on Palm-Sunday, called *Paſqua de Flores* by his countrymen. He landed in different places, but met with ſuch vigorous oppoſition from the natives as convinced him, that he had not ſufficient force to attempt a ſettlement: he therefore contented himſelf with taking poſſeſſion of the country in the name of his Catholic Majeſty, and erecting a ſtone with an inſcription ‡.

In the meantime Balboa was uſing every expedient to extend his influence in Darien, and to impreſs the Indians with awful ideas of the power and invincibleneſs of the Spaniards. But though his ſucceſs, in theſe particulars, was anſwerable to his wiſhes, all his great deſigns were on the point of being defeated, by a plot to ſeize his perſon, when two ſhips, with an hundred and fifty men, fortunately arrived from Hiſpaniola. This ſupply enabled Balboa to break the conſpiracy, and reduce the mutineers to reaſon, without ſtriking a blow, or ſhedding a drop of blood. His authority was even more firmly eſtabliſhed than formerly: he therefore determined to go in queſt of the ocean, and the rich country mentioned by the young cazique. Though ſenſible that his force was ſtill too ſlender for ſuch an attempt, the fear of being ſuperſeded in the government of the colony made him reſolve to hazard it, and aim at performing ſo ſignal a ſervice, as would ſecure him the preference to every competitor.

In order to carry his deſign effectually into execution, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages under which he laboured, Balboa began with animating his people, and inflaming their ambition with the proſpect of immenſe wealth and immortal honour. When he had rouſed a ſpirit of emulation among them, he ſelected an hundred and ninety men, on whoſe ſtrength, courage, and attachment to his perſon he

* B. de las Caſas. † Herrera, dec. I. lib. ix. c. 2. ‡ Herrera, dec. I. lib. ix. c. 5. Ponce de Leon was not prompted to undertake this voyage merely by the paſſion of ſearching for new countries: he was influenced by one of thoſe viſionary ideas, which at that time often mingled with the ſpirit of diſcovery, and rendered it more enterpriſing. A tradition prevailed among the natives of Porto Rico, that in the iſle of Bimini, one of the Bahamas, there was a fountain of ſuch wonderful virtue as to renew the youth, and recal the vigour of every perſon who bathed in it: and Ponce de Leon and his followers ranged through the iſlands with fruitleſs ſolicitude, in hopes of finding this grand reſtorative, which had been the chief object of their expedition. Id. ibid. Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book iii.

could

could rely. A thouſand Indians attended them to carry their proviſions; and to complete their warlike array, they took with them ſeveral of thoſe fierce dogs, which were no leſs formidable than deſtructive to their naked enemies. With all theſe Balboa embarked in two brigantines and a great number of canoes, and ſailed to the territories of the cazique Careta, by which means he ſhortened his march conſiderably. He afterwards proceeded by land, and experienced the moſt incredible hardſhips of every kind. Though the Indians had repreſented the breadth of the iſthmus of Darien to be only a journey of ſix days, the Spaniards ſpent twenty-five in forcing their way through woods, marſhes, and mountains, before they ſaw any proſpect of terminating their labours and their ſufferings, or of reaching thoſe great objects which had inſpired them with ſuch enthuſiaſtic courage. They had been obliged to combat ſeveral caziques; ſome of them were ſeized with the diſeaſes peculiar to the country; and many of them were ready to ſink under ſuch uninterrupted fatigue in that ſultry climate, when their guides aſſured them, that, from the top of the next mountain, they ſhould behold the ocean which they ſo much longed to diſcover.

CHAP. III. A. D. 1513.

Sept. 1.

After climbing, with incredible toil, up the greater part of the ſteep aſcent, Balboa ordered his men to halt, and advanced alone to the ſummit, that the firſt tranſports of his joy, or the agonies of his diſappointment, might be peculiarly his own; and as ſoon as he beheld the South Sea, ſtretching in endleſs proſpect before him, he fell on his knees, and in a kind of prophetic ecſtaſy, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, as if he had foreſeen all the advantages that would accrue to Spain from the diſcovery, returned ſolemn thanks to God, who had conducted him to that ſcene of riches and glory. Having finiſhed this act of devotion, he turned towards his followers, who had ruſhed forward to join in his exultation and gratitude, and bid them behold the end of all their toils. They held on their courſe towards the ſhore with that courage and perſeverance which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed their character, bearing down all oppoſition, and ſurmounting every obſtacle. When they arrived at the ocean, Balboa, advancing up to the middle in the waves with his buckler and ſword, took poſſeſſion of it in the name of his Catholic Majeſty, and vowed to defend, with theſe arms, the right of the crown of Spain to it againſt all competitors *.

Sept. 25.

That part of the South Sea, which Balboa firſt viſited, is ſituated to the eaſt of Panama, and ſtill retains the name of the Gulph of St. Michael, which he gave to it. From ſeveral of the petty princes in the neighbourhood he extorted gold and proviſions: others ſent both to him voluntarily, and alſo a conſiderable quantity of pearls; which he learned to his unſpeakable ſatisfaction, were found in great abundance in the ocean which he had diſcovered. Theſe ſerved to encourage his followers; and he received accounts which confirmed his ſanguine hopes of future and more lucrative advantages. All the people on the coaſt of the South Sea concurred in informing him, that there was a rich and power-

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. x. c. 1. Gomara, c. 62, &c. This declaration of Balboa, and the circumſtances accompanying it, ſavour ſtrongly of the romantic ſpirit of chivalry; which, blended with religion and avarice, appear to have had conſiderable influence on the firſt Spaniſh adventurers in the New World.

ful

BOOK I. A. D. 1513.

ful kingdom ſituated towards the eaſt, the inhabitants of which had certain tame animals to carry their burdens. Theſe, from the figure of them, which the Indians drew upon the ſand, though nothing more than the Lamas or ſheep, afterwards found in Peru, (the only American beaſts of burden) the Spaniards miſtook for camels, which they ſomewhat reſemble; and concluded, according to the erroneous theory then received, as the camel is deemed an animal peculiar to Aſia, that the New World muſt be near to the Eaſt Indies *.

But impatient as Balboa was to viſit this rich country, which has ſince proved ſuch an inexhauſtible ſource of wealth to Spain, his prudence reſtrained him from attempting to invade it with an handful of men, worn out by fatigue and enfeebled by diſeaſe. He therefore reſolved to lead back his followers, to the ſettlement at Santa Maria in Darien, and to return next ſeaſon with a force more adequate to ſuch an enterpriſe: and in order to acquire a more perfect knowledge of the iſthmus, as well as to extend the fame of the Spaniards among the Indian nations, he marched back by a different route from that which he had formerly taken. His dangers and difficulties, however, were not fewer. But to men elated with ſucceſs, and animated by hope, nothing is impoſſible. Balboa and his companions ſurmounted all obſtructions, and re-

A. D. 1514.

turned to Santa Maria, after an abſence of four months, with greater glory and more treaſure, than had hitherto been acquired by the Spaniards in any expedition in the New World †.—Nor was their ſucceſs ſuperior to their deſerts. The men were all enthuſiaſtically brave; but courage was not the only merit of their officers. Balboa diſplayed every quality of a great commander, inſpiring confidence into his own people, and gaining the reſpect of the Indians; forming alliances with all the nations through which he paſſed; marking every circumſtance that could facilitate further diſcoveries, and promote the deſign which he had planned of repeating the expedition. Francis Pizarro alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf peculiarly in this incurſion; aſſiſting with the moſt heroic ardour in opening a communication with that opulent and powerful empire, to which he afterwards conducted the victorious arms of Spain, and where he triumphed over the power of the Incas ‡.

Balboa's firſt care on his return to Darien, after an impartial diviſion of the ſpoil, was to ſend an account to the Spaniſh court of the diſcovery he had made, with the king's fifth of the riches acquired, which he hoped would efface all bad impreſſions of his conduct that might be produced by the machinations of his enemies; and to demand a reinforcement of a thouſand men, in order to enable him to accompliſh that important conqueſt which he had projected. But though the diſcovery of the New World ſcarce occaſioned greater joy in Spain, than the unexpected information, that a paſſage was at laſt found to the Great Southern Ocean, which it was hoped would lead to a ſhare in the lucrative commerce of India, Ferdinand was ſo ungenerous as to overlook Balboa's ſervices, which marked him out as the moſt proper perſon to finiſh that great undertaking which he had begun, and to appoint Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien, and ſupply

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. x. c. 2. † Ut ſupra. ‡ Gomara, c. 64.

him

him with a force ſuperior to what Balboa demanded. Pedrarias embarked with twelve hundred ſoldiers, on board fifteen ſtout veſſels, fitted out at the public expence, with a liberality which had never been beſtowed upon any former armament deſtined for the New World: and ſo ſanguine were the hopes entertained from the diſcovery of the South Sea, where, as fame reported, it was only neceſſary to throw in a net and pull out gold, that fifteen hundred gentlemen voluntarily accompanied the new governor. But what was their ſurpriſe, when they arrived at Santa Maria, and found Balboa, of whoſe great exploits they had heard ſo much, and of whoſe opulence they had formed ſuch high ideas, clad in a canvas jacket, with ſhoes made of pack-thread, employed, together with ſome Indians, in thatching his own hut with reeds!

Even in this ſimple dreſs, which correſponded ſo ill with the expectations of his new gueſts, Balboa received them with dignity. His perſonal reputation, and the fame of his diſcoveries, had drawn ſo many adventurers from the iſlands, that he was now more than a match for the forces which Pedrarias brought with him; but though his veteran troops murmurred loudly at the injuſtice of the king in ſuperceding their commander, Balboa ſubmitted with implicit obedience to the will of his ſovereign. Determined not to obſtruct the public ſervice out of private reſentment, he received the new governor with all the deference due to his rank *.

The ſevere meaſures, however, of Pedrarias, who appointed a judicial inquiry to be made into the conduct of his predeceſſor, while acting under Nicueſſa and Enciſo, and impoſed a conſiderable fine upon him, on account of the irregularities of which he had then been guilty, broke all the moderate reſolutions of Balboa, and rendered the two commanders implacable enemies. The diſſentions occaſioned by their mutual animoſity were extremely detrimental to the ſettlement at Santa Maria, and additional misfortunes loaded it with calamities ſtill more fatal. A violent and deſtructive malady, which carried off ſix hundred perſons in the ſpace of a month, broke out among the ſoldiers who accompanied Pedrarias. An extreme ſcarcity of proviſions augmented this diſtreſs; dejection and deſpair ſpread through the colony; many of the principal volunteers ſolicited their diſmiſſion, and departed for Spain by the return of the fleet, glad to relinquiſh all their hopes of wealth, in order to eſcape from diſeaſe and famine. Thoſe who remained were expoſed to new miſeries. The miſconduct of Pedrarias, and the avarice of the perſons he employed, raiſed ſuch a multitude of enemies, as threatened the colony with total ruin. More attentive to preſent gain than to the means of facilitating their future progreſs, thoſe rapacious adventurers, regardleſs of the alliances formed by Balboa, plundered without diſtinction wherever they marched, ſtripping the natives of every thing valuable, and treating them with the greateſt inſolence and cruelty. In conſequence of theſe violent proceedings, all the Indian princes became hoſtile to the Spaniards; who were thus inconſiderately deprived of the advantages they might have

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. x. c. 3.

BOOK I. A. D. 1514.

reaped from the friendſhip of the caziques, in extending their conqueſts towards the South Sea, for the ſake of an inconſiderable quantity of the precious metal, purchaſed at the expence of national honour *. Nor were the Spaniards always ſucceſsful. In ſome of their pillaging expeditions, they were all cut off to a man; in others they were robbed of that booty which they had purchaſed at the expence of blood; and on many occaſions they experienced hardſhips, or periſhed by ſufferings only too mild for their unexampled barbarities, adequate to which no puniſhment can be found.

Balboa, who during theſe tranſactions remained unemployed at Santa Maria, beheld with ſorrow the execution of his favourite ſcheme retarded by ſuch pernicious meaſures, and ſent violent remonſtrances to Spain againſt the conduct of Pedrarias, who had ruined by his tyrannical government a happy and flouriſhing colony. Pedrarias, on the other hand, accuſed his predeceſſor of having deceived the king by magnifying his own exploits, as well as by falſe repreſentations of the opulence of the country, and the facility of proſecuting further and more valuable diſcoveries. Ferdinand weighed both charges; and as he naturally poſſeſſed an excellent underſtanding, he became ſenſible of his imprudence in ſuperceding the moſt active and experienced officer he had in the New World, and by way of compenſation to Balboa, appointed him Adelantado, or lieutenant-

A. D. 1515. governor of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extenſive powers, enjoining Pedrarias, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt him in all his enterpriſes, and to conſult with him concerning every meaſure which he himſelf ſhould purſue †.

But Balboa's commiſſion was for a while merely nominal. Enraged at the honour conferred upon a man, whom he conſidered as his implacable enemy, Pedrarias, in violation of his inſtructions, uſed all poſſible means to thwart the deſigns, blaſt the reputation, and endanger the life of the adelantado. Inſtead of leaving the care of farther diſcoveries to Balboa, and ſupplying him with the neceſſary force, he ſent Gaſpar de Morales, one of his officers, with ſixty men towards the South Sea, apparently with no other intention than to plunder the Indians, and incenſe them ſo much againſt the Spaniards, that all the adelantado's endeavours to re-unite them, and form alliances, might be fruitleſs; and conſequently his utmoſt diligence to plant colonies, and make conqueſts acroſs the iſthmus, be exerted to no purpoſe.

Mortified, however, as Balboa was at this treatment, he had no remedy. The power of the governor was uncontroulable, and the adelantado's fortune being exhauſted by the payment of his fine, and other exactions of Pedrarias, he was unable to make ſuitable preparations for taking poſſeſſion of his new government. He could only vent his grief in letters to the court, charging Padrarias with the moſt fatal errors, and the moſt obſtinate contempt of his inſtructions. A dread of the conſequences which might reſult from theſe, and the interpoſition of the biſhop of Darien, who had formed the higheſt idea of Balboa's merit, at length brought about a reconciliation; and in order to cement this union

* Id. ibid. Relacion de B. de las Caſſas. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. i. c. 1.

more

CHAP. III.

more firmly, the governor agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the adelantado *.

A. D. 1516.

Balboa, in appearance, now enjoyed the governor's favour, and was appointed to ſettle a colony at the port of Acla. There he prepared timber, which was carried by land to the river de la Balſas; where, after various obſtructions, and incredible misfortunes, he built two brigantines, with which he entered the South Sea. Many adventurers reſorted to him: he increaſed the number of his veſſels to four; and in theſe, with three hundred choſen men, (a force ſuperior to that with which Pizarro afterwards undertook the ſame expedition) he was preparing to invade Peru, when he received an unexpected meſſage from his father-in-law.

As the reconciliation of Pedrarias with Balboa had never been cordial, the progreſs made by the adelantado revived the governor's ancient enmity, and added to its rancour. He dreaded the elevation and proſperity of a man, whom he had ſo deeply injured: he ſuſpected that ſucceſs would encourage him to aim at an independent juriſdiction; and ſo violently did the paſſions of hatred, fear, and jealouſy operate upon his mind, that, in order to gratify them, he ſcrupled not to defeat an expedition of the utmoſt importance to his country. Under falſe but plauſible pretexts, he deſired the adelantado to poſtpone his voyage for a ſhort time, and to repair to Acla, that he might have an interview with him. Balboa repaired to the place appointed, with the unſuſpecting confidence of a ſoldier, and the firmneſs of a man conſcious of no crime; but no ſooner did he make his appearance, than he was arreſted by order of Pedrarias: an accuſation of diſloyalty to the king, and of an intention to revolt againſt the governor, was preferred againſt him; and he was tried, condemned, and publicly executed, notwithſtanding the warm interceſſions of his countrymen, who univerſally conſidered him as more capable of forming and executing great deſigns, than any officer that had yet commanded in America †.

A. D. 1517.

In conſequence of the death of Balboa, the expedition which he had planned was relinquiſhed; and Pedrarias was not only ſcreened from the puniſhment due to his violence and injuſtice, by the powerful patronage of the biſhop of Burgos and other courtiers, but continued in the government, notwithſtanding the manifold proofs of his miſconduct, and the ſignal ſervices of the man whoſe blood he had cruelly ſpilt. Soon after this tragical event, he obtained permiſſion to remove the colony from its unhealthy ſtation at Santa Maria to Panama, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſthmus ‡; where, though it did not gain much in point of healthfulneſs, the commodiouſneſs of the ſituation greatly contributed to make the Spaniards more intimately acquainted with the vaſt countries bordering on the South Sea, as well as to facilitate their conqueſts in that quarter.

During theſe tranſactions in Darien, and previous to the death of Balboa, Juan Diaz de Solis, an eminent Spaniſh navigator, in two ſhips fitted out by Ferdinand for the diſcovery of the Spice Iſlands, ſailed along the coaſt of South America, as far as the mouth of the great river de la Plata, where endeavouring

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. i. c. 3. † Ibid. c. 1—4. ‡ Ut ſup. c. 4.

to

BOOK I. A. D. 1517.

to make a deſcent, he and ſeveral of his crew were ſlain by the natives; who, in ſight of the ſhips, cut their bodies in pieces, roaſted, and devoured them. Terrified at this ſhocking ſpectacle, and diſcouraged by the loſs of their commander, the ſurviving Spaniards made the beſt of their way to Europe, without attempting any farther diſcovery *.

But important diſcoveries were ſoon after made in other parts of the New World. One hundred of the gentlemen adventurers, who left the colony at Santa Maria during the ſcarcity of proviſions, had embarked for the iſland of Cuba, which was ſtill governed by Velaſquez, as the deputy of Don Diego Columbus; and under his prudent adminiſtration it was become one of the moſt flouriſhing of the Spaniſh ſettlements. Velaſquez, who aimed at rendering his authority altogether independent, received his diſtreſſed countrymen with the greateſt cordiality, and promiſed to embrace the firſt opportunity of promoting their intereſt. As Cuba lay to the weſt of all the iſlands occupied by the Spaniards, and as the ocean which ſtretches beyond it towards that quarter, had not hitherto been explored, the governor was naturally invited, by theſe circumſtances, to attempt new diſcoveries. A hint to this purpoſe was offered to the adventurers from Darien; and as they were prepared for any deſperate project, they inſtantly ſeized the idea, and entered into an aſſociation to undertake a voyage of diſcovery. Velaſquez countenanced the deſign; and Franciſco Hernandez Cordova, an eminent planter, celebrated for his wealth, valour, and public ſpirit, who was at the expence of the expedition, was perſuaded to command it. He accordingly ſailed from St. Jago de Cuba, on the 8th of February 1517, with an hundred and ten active volunteers, on board three ſmall veſſels, furniſhed with every thing requiſite for traffic or war †.

Cordova, by the advice of his chief pilot, Antonio Alaminos, who had ſerved under the great Columbus, ſtood directly weſt; relying on the opinion of that illuſtrious navigator, who uniformly maintained, that a weſterly courſe would lead to the moſt important diſcoveries. On the twenty-firſt day after their departure, they ſaw land, which proved to be the eaſtern part of that large peninſula, projecting from the continent of America, which ſtill retains its original name of Yucatan. As the ſhips approached the ſhore, two canoes came off full of people, who were kindly received by Cordova. They were dreſſed in ſhort cotton jackets, without ſleeves, and had pieces of the ſame cloth wrapped round their middle; an aſtoniſhing ſpectacle to the Spaniards, who had found every other part of the New World poſſeſſed by naked ſavages. But though it was evident, from this circumſtance, that the natives of Yucatan had made ſome little progreſs in the arts, it was alſo obſervable, that the dreſs, arms, ſhips, and beards of the Spaniards, were great novelties to them. From the favourable report of his ſubjects, who were delighted with ſome trifling preſents which Cordova had made to them, the cazique next day approached the ſhips, with twelve canoes filled with men, crying out *Conez Cotoche*, "Come to my houſe;"

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. i. c. 1. † Ibid. c. 3.

whence

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1517.

whence the Spaniards gave the name of Cape Cotoche to this promontory, which lies oppoſite, and at no great diſtance from the weſtern extremity of the iſland of Cuba. And ſo preſſing was this prince in his ſolicitations, and ſo great the ſhew of friendſhip made by the Indians in general, that Cordova yielded to their entreaties: he went aſhore; and as he advanced into the country, he obſerved with new wonder ſome large houſes built with ſtone and mortar. But while he was gratifying his curioſity in ſurveying theſe ſpecimens of growing refinement, he was rouſed from his contemplations by its too common attendant, treachery. A body of Indians, planted by the cazique behind a neighbouring wood, ruſhed out from their ambuſcade on a ſignal given, and ſurrounded the Spaniards. They were clad in armour of quilted cotton, and furniſhed with targets, wooden ſwords edged with flint, wooden cutlaſſes, ſpears, ſlings, and bows. Their heads were adorned with plumes of feathers, and their faces bedaubed with a kind of paint, which rendered them perfectly hedious. They began the attack with frightful ſhrieks and howling, to which they joined the ſound of ſeveral inſtruments, rather noiſy than muſical; pouring in upon the Spaniards, at the ſame time, full flights of arrows. Cordova's companions did not exceed twenty-five; but they made ſo brave a defence, and plied their fire-arms with ſo much dexterity, that the Indians, ſtruck with terror by the repeated exploſion, and amazed at the execution done by thoſe and other weapons of their new enemies, fled with precipitation: and Cordova ſuddenly quitted a country where he had met with ſuch an hoſtile reception, carrying off with him two priſoners, who afterwards embraced the Chriſtian faith, and the furniture of a ſmall temple, which he plundered in his retreat.

On leaving Cape Cotoche, Cordova continued his courſe towards the weſt; and in ſixteen days arrived at Campeachy, on the other ſide of the peninſula. There the natives received him more hoſpitably than thoſe he had laſt viſited; but not finding a proper ſupply of water, he proceeded ſome leagues farther along the coaſt, and landed at the mouth of a river near Potonchan. Every precaution was here taken to prevent a new ſurpriſe; the troops being drawn up in form, to protect the ſailors employed in filling the caſks, and boats kept ready to receive both, in caſe of any preſſing neceſſity. But all theſe prudent regulations were inſufficient. The Indians ruſhed upon them with ſuch deſperate reſolution, and in ſuch numbers, that forty-ſeven of the Spaniards were killed upon the ſpot; and the reſt, all covered with wounds, with difficulty made their way to the ſhips. Cordova himſelf was wounded in twelve different places, and died ſoon after his return to Cuba, to which he now haſtened with his ſhattered forces *.

This expedition, notwithſtanding its diſaſtrous concluſion, ſerved rather to animate than damp the ſpirit of enterpriſe among the Spaniards. They had diſcovered an extenſive, and ſeemingly a rich country, ſituated at no great diſtance from one of their moſt flouriſhing colonies, and inhabited by a people far ſu-

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. i. c. 3. Oviedo, lib. xvii. Gomara, c. 52.

BOOK I. A. D. 1517.

perior in improvement to any they had hitherto viſited in America. Theſe circumſtances were ſufficient to excite romantic hopes. Great numbers offered to engage in a new expedition; and Velaſquez ſolicitous, as has been already obſerved, to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome ſervice ſo meritorious as might entitle him to claim the independent government of Cuba, not only encouraged their ardour, but at his own expence fitted out four ſhips for the voyage. The command of this ſquadron, on board which two hundred and forty volunteers embarked, was given to Juan de Grijalva, a young man of known abilities, aſſiſted by Antonio Alaminos, principal pilot in Cordova's expedition.

A. D. 1518.

Grijalva ſailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the 8th of April 1518. Alaminos held the ſame courſe as in the former voyage, but the violence of the currents carrying the veſſels to the ſouth, the firſt land which they diſcovered was an iſland to the eaſt of Yucatan, ſince known by the name of Cozumel. As all the inhabitants had fled to the woods and mountains on the approach of the Spaniards, and all endeavours to eſtabliſh an intercourſe with them proved fruitleſs, Grijalva kept on his courſe along the coaſt of Yucatan, and without any remarkable occurrence, reached Potonchan, on the oppoſite ſide of the peninſula. A deſire of revenging the death of his countrymen, who had been ſlain there, concurred with his ideas of ſound policy, in prompting him to land, and chaſtiſe the Indians of that diſtrict with ſuch exemplary rigour, as might ſtrike terror into the neighbouring tribes. He accordingly diſembarked his troops, and carried aſhore ſome field pieces; but the Indians fought with ſo much courage, that the Spaniards gained the victory with difficulty, and were confirmed in their opinion of the ſuperior valour of the natives of this country.

From Potonchan, Grijalva continued his voyage towards the weſt, keeping as near to the ſhore as poſſible, and caſting anchor every night, in order to prevent the accidents to which he might be expoſed in an unknown ſea. During the day, the eyes of the Spaniards were turned continually towards land, with an equal mixture of ſurpriſe and wonder at the beauty and novelty of the objects which they beheld. In the villages ſeated along the coaſt, they could diſtinguiſh houſes built of ſtone, which ſeemed white and lofty at a diſtance: theſe, in the warmth of their admiration, they miſtook for the towers and pinnacles of ſpacious cities; and one of the ſoldiers happening to remark, that the country reſembled Spain in its appearance, Grijalva, in a kind of tranſport, called it New Spain*; a name which was afterwards extended to all Mexico, and which ſtill diſtinguiſhes that large and opulent province of the Spaniſh empire in America.

Grijalva and his companions landed at the mouth of a river, to which the natives gave the name of Tabaſco; and the fame of their victory at Potonchan, having reached this place, they were permitted to diſembark without obſtruction. The natives, however, diſcovered their jealouſy, by ſurrounding the boats with a number of canoes filled with armed men; but Grijalva, willing to allay their fears, ſent the two Indians taken by Cordova, and baptiſed by the names of Melichor and Julian, to acquaint the Tabaſcans, that his purpoſe was to eſta-

* De Solis, lib. i. c. 5.

bliſh

bliſh a friendly intercourſe, which might prove mutually beneficial. In conſequence of this information, and ſome preſents of European toys, all hoſtile intentions were laid aſide, and the Spaniards were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. The cazique in perſon viſited Grijalva, and without heſitation went on board his ſhip, preſenting him with a complete ſuit of gold armour; with a wooden helmet plated with gold, and ſtudded with ſtones reſembling emeralds; with ſeveral breaſt-plates and coverings for targets of ſolid gold, together with ſix collars, and various other ornaments of the ſame metal, to an immenſe value. Grijalva, in return, preſented the cazique with ſeveral changes of fine linen; with a coat of crimſon velvet, and a cap of the ſame; with knives, ſciſſars, beads, bells, and other trinkets, which he prized above all the gold of the New World *.

Several of the Spaniards were well diſpoſed to remain in a country which exhibited ſo many ſpecimens of riches and fertility; but as it was evident, notwithſtanding the cazique's liberality and kindneſs, that he was not inclined to favour a colony, Grijalva ordered them to re-embark, being ſenſible that the people were too warlike and powerful to permit him to eſtabliſh a ſettlement by force. As he continued his courſe along the ſhore, the Indians were ſeen on the coaſt in a warlike poſture, with ſhields of tortoiſe-ſhell; which, by the reflection of the ſun beams, made a brilliant and martial appearance. The country ſeemed to be extremely populous; and in many places the natives held up flags of cotton upon long poles, as ſignals for the Spaniards to land. Theſe invitations tempted Grijalva to ſend aſhore Franciſco de Montejo, one of his officers, accompanied by twenty ſoldiers, with orders to give immediate notice to the ſhipping if he found the Indians inclined to hoſtilities. When Montejo landed, the natives perfumed him with incenſe of gum Copal, offering him fowls, fiſh, bread, and fruits of various kinds. Encouraged by theſe civilities, Grijalva went aſhore in perſon, attended by a large body of his followers, all deſirous of ſharing in the liberalities of a people, who appeared to be equally opulent and generous. He was received on landing with the moſt profound reſpect, by the governors of the diſtrict. A traffic with the inhabitants ſoon took place; and the Spaniards, in the ſpace of ſix days, obtained ornaments of gold to the value of fifteen thouſand peſos, in exchange for European toys, and trinkets of ſmall value †.

Leaving this place, which was ſituated in the province ſince known by the name of Guaxaca, Grijalva continued his courſe towards the weſt, and diſcovered ſeveral little iſlands. One he called Iſla Blanca, a ſecond la Verde, and a third the Iſle of Sacrifices; becauſe here the Spaniards beheld, for the firſt time, the horrid ſpectacle of human victims, which the barbarous ſuperſtition of the natives offered to their gods. He touched at another ſmall iſland, to which he gave the name of St. Juan de Ulua, where the ſame frightful objects were preſented to his view: he alſo landed on the continent, which was only half a league diſtant, and thence diſpatched Pedro de Alvarado, one of his officers, to Velaſquez, with

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. i. c. 4. Gomara, c. 52. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 1.

an

BOOK I. A. D. 1518.

an account of the important diſcoveries he had made, and with all the treaſure he had acquired by trafficking with the natives.

After the departure of Alvarado, Grijalva proceeded with the remaining veſſels along the coaſt, as far as the river Panuco, the country ſtill appearing to be populous, fertile, and opulent. During this navigation ſeveral of his officers contended, that it was not enough to have diſcovered thoſe delightful regions, or to have performed the empty ceremony of taking poſſeſſion of them for the crown of Caſtile, and that their glory was incomplete, unleſs they planted a colony in ſome proper ſtation, which might ſecure the Spaniſh nation a footing in the country. Some even went ſo far as to affirm, that, with the reinforcements which they were certain of receiving, they might ſubject the whole to the dominion of Ferdinand. But Grijalva, though poſſeſſed of both ambition and courage, was deſtitute of the ſuperior talents capable of forming or executing ſo great a plan; he therefore judged it more prudent, as he had fulfilled the purpoſe of his voyage, and his proviſions were almoſt exhauſted, to return to Cuba, from which he had been abſent near ſix months *.

Meanwhile Velaſquez, elated with the information brought by Alvarado, and tranſported at the ſight of the treaſure, had diſpatched a perſon in whom he could confide, to carry an account of the ſucceſs of this expedition to Spain, and to ſolicit ſuch an increaſe of authority as might enable him to attempt the conqueſt of the rich countries diſcovered by his means. Without waiting, however, for the return of the meſſenger, or the arrival of Grijalva, of whoſe courage or conduct he was become ſo diffident, that he reſolved no longer to employ him, he began to make preparations for an armament ſo powerful, as might prove, under an able and gallant commander, equal to the important enterpriſe he had in view. All things were ſoon in great forwardneſs: but as this new excurſion terminated in one of the moſt memorable revolutions in the hiſtory of mankind, it will be proper to introduce the account of it with ſome degree of form †.

CHAP.

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 1. Oviedo, lib. xvii.

† The author might here, in imitation of a learned hiſtorian, ſuſpend the curioſity of the reader, in order to introduce an elaborate diſſertation concerning the character of the Americans; to prove that, though diſtinct from the reſt of the human ſpecies, in mental as well as perſonal qualities, they are the deſcendants of the ſame common parent; and he might inquire with ſyſtematical ſolemnity, whether America was firſt peopled from the north of Europe or of Aſia: but as he is fully perſuaded, that the original inhabitants of America were natives of the ſoil, this laſt inquiry becomes unneceſſary; and as he has ever been of opinion, that the characters of nations, whether ſavage or civilized, are more perfectly obtained from a particular delineation of their manners and cuſtoms, than from any general theoretical ſurvey, (the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics even of barbarous tribes, though ſprung from the ſame common ſtock, being often obſerved to differ eſſentially,) he propoſes to continue the thread of his narration. However, he thinks it proper to notice thoſe leading diſtinctions, which mark the Americans as a particular race of men, and which induce him to conſider them as aborigines of that portion of the earth which they inhabit.

The firſt peculiarity that ſtrikes us on the view of a native of the New World is his copper colour, which is nearly the ſame in every latitude; beneath the vertical rays of the ſun, in the milder climates, and in the regions of eternal froſt. The ſecond grand perſonal diſtinction is, the

CHAP. IV.

The Invaſion of Mexico, *and the Progreſs of the* Spaniſh *Arms, till the Arrival of* Cortez *at the Capital of that opulent and extenſive Empire.*

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1518.

THE moſt embarraſſing ſituation in which a perſon poſſeſſed of delegated power can find himſelf, is to be obliged to undertake what he diſtruſts his ability to perform, or to employ another in a ſervice that, properly executed, would do honour to his own character, and which may exalt his deputy above him. Such was the ſituation of Velaſquez, when he had almoſt completed that armament, deſtined to attempt the conqueſt of the rich country diſcovered by Grijalva. Though a man of aſpiring ambition, and not without talents for government, he had neither that daring courage, nor that vigour and activity of mind, neceſſary for the command of ſuch an armament, or which could incite him to conduct it in perſon. In order to extricate himſelf from this dilemma, he fondly aimed at impoſſibilities: he formed the viſionary ſcheme, not only of conquering by means of a deputy, but of ſecuring to himſelf the glory of conqueſts ſo made. A little obſervation made the difficulty of realizing this chime-

the want of a beard, or hair upon any part of what is properly called the body. From this peculiarity ariſes a third, of which the ſecond appears to be the ſymptom; namely a defect in manhood, or at leaſt an almoſt total inſenſibility to the paſſion of love, and an indifference to the pleaſure of the ſexes. This indifference is univerſal, though not every where in the ſame degree. The heads of both ſexes are alſo univerſally covered with lank black hair, and the bodies of both are alike ſmooth; but if we may judge from the ardour with which the American women met the embraces of the Spaniards, the coldneſs of deſire ſeems to be more peculiar to the men.

From theſe general characteriſtics, however, muſt be excepted one American nation; namely, the Eſquimaux, who inhabit the country extending from the coaſt of Labrador towards the pole, as far as it is habitable, and appear to be a race different from the reſt of the natives of the New World. Their complexion though ſwarthy, by being continually expoſed to the rigour of a cold climate, inclines to the European white rather than to the copper colour of America, and the men have beards, and other ſigns of virility. From this circumſtance, perhaps, they aſſume to themſelves by way of eminence, as oppoſed to the other Americans, the name of Keralit or Men; a dignity which would certainly be ſuſtained by them, notwithſtanding the inferiority of their ſtature, in a female court of honour.—Thoſe who are inquiſitive on this ſubject, or doubtful in regard to the foregoing facts, may conſult Henepin, Mœurs des Sauvages, Ulloa, Notic. Americ. Recherches Philoſ. ſur les Americains. Ellis's Voyage to Hudſon's Bay, and Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. b. iv.

Some readers may perhaps be ſurpriſed, that nothing is here ſaid of the ſuppoſed giants of Patagonia; but the exiſtence of ſuch a race is not yet ſufficiently authenticated to be made the foundation of hiſtorical reaſoning. The moſt intelligent navigators who have viſited Patagonia aſſert, that the natives, though ſtout and well made, are not of a ſize ſo extraordinary as to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the human ſpecies; and as experience tells us, that if animals any where riſe above the uſual ſtandard of their kind, it is in mild climates, or where they find the moſt nutritive food in the greateſt abundance, it is not likely that man ſhould attain a ſuperiority of ſize and vigour, beyond what he has reached in any other part of the earth, in the uncultivated waſte of the Magellanic regions. But that point will be cleared up, and various other particulars relative to the Americans noticed, in the hiſtory of the different countries.

BOOK I. A. D. 1518.

rical idea conſpicuous: ſuch officers as appeared worthy of being truſted with the ſucceſs of the expedition were too high ſpirited, he perceived, to be the ſervile inſtruments of his will, while ſuch as ſeemed more docile were unequal to the charge. But though Velaſquez could not find a perſon, who united the very oppoſite qualities of courage and meanneſs, the ability to command with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, (for ſuch a one only would have ſuited his purpoſe) his choice was directed to an officer, who poſſeſſed every requiſite of a general and ſoldier, without ſuch reputation or conſequence as to excite his jealouſy. This officer was Fernando Cortez; a man whoſe exploits have placed him on a level with the moſt illuſtrious heroes of ancient or modern times, and of whom it will be proper to give ſome account, before we follow him to that ſcene of riches and glory to which he conducted his countrymen.

Cortez was a native of the province of Eſtremadura in Spain; and being deſtined by his parents, who were of noble deſcent, but very moderate fortune, to the ſtudy of the law, he ſpent ſome years at the univerſity of Salamanca. But an academic life not ſuiting his ardent and active genius, he obtained his father's conſent to engage in the ſervice of his country, and proſecute his fortune as an adventurer in arms. In conſequence of this reſolution, young Cortez propoſed to embark for Italy, in order to learn the rudiments of the military art under the famous Gonzalvo de Cordova, commonly known by the name of the Great Captain, then at the head of the Spaniſh army in that country; but being prevented by a dangerous illneſs from accompanying a reinforcement bound for Naples, he turned his views towards the New World, whither he was allured by the proſpect of the advantages he might derive from the powerful patronage of his kinſman Obando, at that time governor of Hiſpaniola. He accordingly ſet ſail for St. Domingo in 1504, being then in the nineteenth year of his age; and his reception on his arrival, was equal to his moſt ſanguine hopes. He was employed by Obando in ſeveral honourable and lucrative ſtations; but theſe not ſatisfying his ambition, he obtained permiſſion to accompany Velaſquez in his expedition to Cuba, in 1511. In this ſervice he diſtinguiſhed himſelf eminently; and though he had afterwards ſome violent conteſts with Velaſquez, which had almoſt coſt him his life, that gentleman was ſtill ſo ſenſible of his merit, that he took him again into favour, made him a liberal grant of lands and Indians, the uſual recompence of deſerving adventurers in the New World, and even raiſed him to the office of Alcade of St. Jago *.

Such

* De Solis, lib. i. c. 9. It ſhould ſeem that Dr. Robertſon, in giving an account of the conqueſt of Mexico, did not think his own reputation ſafe, without deſtroying that of this celebrated writer, on whom he hath paſſed a moſt cruel cenſure. The Doctor had reaſon to be jealous; for De Solis is the moſt elegant, the leaſt ſuperſtitious, and leaſt credulous of all the Spaniſh hiſtorians, who have treated of American affairs: and notwithſtanding ſome redundant and ill-choſen metaphors, his hiſtory of the conqueſt of Mexico will ever be conſidered, by men of taſte and judgement, as one of the moſt excellent hiſtorical productions in modern times. He was hiſtoriographer and ſecretary to the king of Spain; and as ſuch had opportunities of information to which no foreigner could have had acceſs. His chief fault ſeems to be, a too ardent zeal for the character of Cortez, which leads

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1518.

Such was the condition of Fernando Cortez, when appointed by Don Diego Velaſquez to the command of that armament from which he expected ſo great an acceſſion of riches and glory, and in regard to the ſucceſs of which he was ſo jealous. Velaſquez was directed to this choice, equally unfortunate for himſelf and advantageous to his country, by Amador de Lares, the royal treaſurer, and Andres Duero, his own ſecretary; two perſons in whoſe judgment he chiefly confided, and whom he conſulted on all momentous occaſions. He therefore flattered himſelf that he had at laſt found, what he had ſo long ſought for in vain, a general not likely to become his rival in power, yet able to execute his ambitious projects; for though Cortez had not hitherto acted as commander in chief, he had diſplayed, on ſeveral trying occaſions, ſuch uncommon military talents, as made all men of diſcernment regard him as capable of performing the greateſt achievements, and of conducting the moſt extenſive operations: and Velaſquez hoped by this new mark of confidence to attach him for ever to his intereſt.

The character of Cortez is differently repreſented by hiſtorians: but they all agree, that to great ſtrength of body, and the ability of enduring the moſt exceſſive fatigue, he united great vigour and perſeverance of mind; that he had a graceful perſon, an engaging aſpect, was ſingular for dexterity in all warlike exerciſes, and poſſeſſed in an eminent degree that addreſs and inſinuation neceſſary to acquire an aſcendency over the minds of others. To theſe high qualities his admirers add, a ſagacity that foreſaw every thing; a preſence of mind not to be diſturbed by the moſt untoward events; calm prudence in concerting his ſchemes, ſteady reſolution in executing them; animated by that enthuſiaſtic love of glory, which has ever been conſidered as the leading qualification in a hero, and which may rather be ſaid to command ſucceſs, than to earn it. But the moral portrait of this extraordinary man is beſt delineated in his actions; by which the reader, if he ſhould judge it neceſſary, may correct the foregoing ſketch.

Having received his commiſſion from the governor, with the warmeſt expreſſions of reſpect and gratitude, Cortez immediately erected his ſtandard before his

leads him on ſome occaſions to extenuate the errors of that commander, and to exaggerate his virtues. Gomara, Cortez's domeſtic chaplain after his return to Spain, and who firſt wrote an account of this conqueſt, is equally partial to his hero, and full of other extravagancies. Caſtillo was one of Cortez's companions in the expedition to Mexico, and wrote his hiſtory of the conqueſt of that empire, in order to detract from the merit of Cortez, or at leaſt from that which Gomara had aſſigned him, and to exalt his own, and that of his companions of an inferior claſs. Herrera was hiſtoriographer to his Catholic majeſty, and predeceſſor to de Solis in that office. He appears to have been a man of patient induſtry, but little genius, and has written a general hiſtory of Spaniſh America, and all the diſcoveries connected with it, from the firſt voyage of Columbus to the year 1554; four years later than the period at which Dr. Robertſon concludes the narrative part of his work lately publiſhed on the ſame ſubject. But though Herrera deſerves great praiſe for the prodigious number of facts which he has collected and arranged in chronological order, his account of the conqueſt of Mexico is leſs perfect, even in reſpect to information, than that of De Solis, who, beſides what original papers afforded him, has taken from Caſtillo every thing worthy of preſerving; among which are many curious particulars, entirely omitted, or miſrepreſented by Herrera.

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BOOK I. A. D. 1518.

own houſe, appeared in a military dreſs, and aſſumed all the enſigns of his new dignity. He exerted his utmoſt influence and activity in perſuading his friends to engage in the ſervice: he ſupplied the wants of ſuch as were unable to equip themſelves in a manner ſuitable to their rank; and in order to inſure the ſucceſs of the expedition, he not only expended all his ready money, but all that he could raiſe by mortgaging his eſtates, in purchaſing an extraordinary ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores. Laudable, however, as this zeal was, his diſappointed competitors were malicious enough to give it a turn to his diſadvantage *: they repreſented him as aiming already, by an oſtentatious and intereſted liberality, at acquiring an independent authority over his troops. They reminded Velaſquez of his former diſſentions with the man in whom he now repoſed ſo much confidence: they even inſinuated that all his generoſity had not been able to efface from the mind of Cortez the reſentment of paſt injuries; and they entreated him to conſider theſe circumſtances maturely, before it was too late to repair an error which might prove fatal to his honour and his life, as well as to the public ſervice, and the intereſts of religion and his country.

Velaſquez at firſt received ſuch remonſtrances as what they really were, the effuſions of malice and diſappointed ambition; but they ſoon made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on his ſuſpicious mind, that Cortez obſerved ſome ſymptoms of growing alienation, and by the advice of his friends haſtened his departure, leſt theſe

Nov. 15. ſhould break out in open violence. He accordingly ſet ſail from St. Jago, after taking leave of the governor in a friendly manner, and proceeded to Trinidad, a ſmall ſettlement on the ſame ſide of the iſland. There he was joined by a great number of volunteers, many of whom were perſons of the beſt condition in Cuba; a circumſtance which furniſhed his enemies with freſh arguments to impeach his fidelity, and which enabled them ſtill farther to poiſon the governor's mind with diſtruſt and jealouſy. Theſe produced the deſired effect: the armament being no longer under the eye of Velaſquez, imagination co-operated with the ſuggeſtions of envy and perſonal animoſity in increaſing his ſuſpicions, and his fears of the man whom he lately eſteemed ſo worthy of the important command with which he had veſted him; and he haſtily diſpatched two couriers to Trinidad, with letters to all his confidants, and expreſs orders to Verdugo, the chief magiſtrate there, to proceed againſt Cortez in a judicial way, and deprive him of his commiſſion †.

But Cortez had already made ſuch progreſs in gaining the eſteem and confidence of his troops, as encouraged him on the firſt intimation of this deſign to aſſemble them in a body; to inform them of the machinations of his enemies, and requeſt their advice how to act; declaring, that he ſhould conſider himſelf as innocent or guilty, by the judgment which they ſhould paſs on his conduct. The report was anſwerable to his expectations. The ſoldiers to a man declared, that

* Herrera repreſents this whole affair to the diſadvantage of Cortez; but he is contradicted by Caſtillo, who, as De Solis well obſerves, cannot be ſuſpected of partiality.

† Caſtillo, c. 20. Gomara, c. 7. De Solis, lib. i. c. 11.

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CHAP. IV. A. D. 1518.

they were ſubjects only to the king of Spain; that they knew no commander but Cortez, and were determined to defend his authority with the laſt drop of their blood. He informed Verdugo of the reſolution of his troops; and hinted, that as he had already found it difficult to reſtrain them within the bounds of obedienee, he could not anſwer for the conſequences, ſhould that magiſtrate proceed to execute his inſtructions. As Verdugo was a man of diſcernment and candour, he was ſenſible of the injuſtice of the governor's orders; of the merit of the general; of the danger that would attend any attempt to ſuperſede him, and the detriment that the public ſervice muſt ſuſtain from the diviſions which would neceſſarily enſue: he therefore told Cortez, that he would not only ſuſpend the execution of his inſtructions, but uſe his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade Velaſquez from his raſh purpoſe. In this conciliatory plan he was joined by all the gentlemen of the town and fleet, who had any influence with Velaſquez; and Cortez accompanied their remonſtrances with a letter from himſelf, complaining in the gentleſt terms of the governor's diſtruſt, of the confidence repoſed in his enemies, and the facility with which calumnies injurious to his reputation were liſtened to *.

Having taken theſe ſteps, which he judged neceſſary to his own ſecurity, and ſufficient to quiet the jealouſy of Velaſquez, Cortez ſet ſail for Havana. During this ſhort voyage, he was ſeparated from the fleet in a ſtorm, and in great danger of being ſhipwrecked; an accident which had almoſt proved fatal to his authority. All the other ſhips arriving ſafe at the place of rendezvous, but no accounts being heard of the admiral for the ſpace of a week, the adventurers were divided in their opinion of his fate, as well as how to act: ſome regarded him as loſt, others adviſed that veſſels might be ſent in ſearch of him, and a few propoſed that a commander ſhould be appointed in his abſence. Of the laſt opinion was Diego de Ordaz; who, as the friend and confidant of Velaſquez, thought he would aſſuredly be confirmed in the command, if once nominated by the ſoldiers. In this ſcheme, however, he was diſappointed by the ſudden appearance of Cortez, who was received by the troops with joyful acclamations, and immediately ſet up his ſtandard in the city, where he was joined by ſeveral gentlemen of rank, valour, and experience. He ſent the artillery on ſhore, to be cleaned and proved; gave an order for a great number of cotton quilts, in the form of large jackets, which were found to be a ſufficient defence againſt the weapons of the Indians, and were lighter than the Spaniſh armour: he exerciſed his ſoldiers in the uſe of their fire-arms, at that time but imperfectly underſtood, and taught them the ſeveral evolutions neceſſary in action. Every preparation was at laſt completed, and the day was fixed for the departure of the fleet, when poſitive injunctions arrived from Velaſquez to Pedro Barba, governor of Havana, inſtantly to arreſt Cortez, and ſend him priſoner to St. Jago, under a ſtrong guard †. Theſe orders had been iſſued by Velaſquez not from any new cauſe of jealouſy, but from a conviction that he ought no longer to rely on a man of whom he had

* Ut ſupra.

† De Solis, lib. i. c. 12.

BOOK I. A. D. 1518.

ſo openly diſcovered his diſtruſt; he therefore reſolved to make one attempt more, in order to wreſt the power out of ſuch dangerous hands.

But Velaſquez was no better obeyed on this, than on the former occaſion. Before the arrival of the meſſenger, Cortez had notice of his danger, and therefore was prepared to meet it. Violently incenſed at this new attack upon his honour, as well as on his liberty and authority, he began leſs ſcrupulouſly to think of providing for his own ſafety, and the ſucceſs of the armament under his command, in which his friends and the public in general were ſo deeply intereſted. When he reflected on the indignities he had ſuſtained, he blamed his own patience, and was inclined to believe, that the virtue of obedience may be carried to a criminal exceſs, and degenerate into mere puſillanimity. Theſe conſiderations determined him to come to an open rupture with Velaſquez, from whom he had now nothing to fear, as he was certain of the affection of his troops. His firſt ſtep was to remove from Havana Diego de Ordaz, an officer of great merit, but whoſe fidelity he had reaſon to ſuſpect, both on account of that attempt which he had made to ſupplant him in the command and his known attachment to Velaſquez. He gave him the care of a veſſel deſtined to take on board ſome proviſions in a ſmall harbour beyond Cape Antonio. Having thus made ſure of the abſence of the only man he had occaſion to fear, without ſeeming to diſtruſt him, Cortez ſhewed himſelf to the troops, and acquainted them with the new perſecution to which he was expoſed by the malice of his enemies. As officers and ſoldiers were equally impatient to ſet out on an enterpriſe, in preparing for which moſt of them had expended all their fortune, they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment and indignation at that illiberal jealouſy to which Velaſquez ſeemed determined to ſacrifice not only the honour of their general, but all their ſanguine hopes of wealth and glory: they repeated their declarations to Cortez, of eternal attachment to his perſon and fortune, entreating him not to abandon the important ſtation to which he had ſo good a title; and they became ſo tumultuous, that it was with difficulty he could prevent them from flying to arms. Nor were all his arguments ſufficient to quiet their clamorous and intemperate zeal, till Pedro Barba publicly declared, that he would delay the execution of his orders, being unwilling to be the inſtrument of ſo flagrant an act of injuſtice and oppreſſion. This declaration was received with tranſports of military applauſe: the menaces of the ſoldiers were converted into joyful acclamations; and Barba ſhewed the ſincerity of his intentions, by excuſing himſelf to Velaſquez for not interpoſing in an affair of ſo much delicacy and conſequence, remonſtrating on the impropriety of any attempt againſt an officer ſo beloved by his troops, and repreſenting in the ſtrongeſt terms the commotions excited among the ſoldiers by the report of the injury intended their commander. He concluded with pathetic ſolicitations, that Velaſquez would endeavour to regain Cortez by acts of friendſhip and generoſity, and rely on his gratitude for what could be accompliſhed neither by threats, force, nor perſuaſion *.

* De Solis, lib. i. c. 13.

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CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1518.

This difficulty being ſurmounted, Cortez prepared with all expedition for his departure: but the armament which he conducted, though the united effort of the Spaniſh power in Cuba, and though deſtined for the conqueſt of a populous and extenſive country, by report a great and powerful empire, was ſo inconſiderable as muſt aſtoniſh the preſent age. The fleet conſiſted of eleven veſſels, the largeſt of which, called the Capitana or Admiral, did not exceed an hundred tons. On board of theſe were embarked ſix hundred and ſeventeen men; of whom five hundred and eight belonged to the land ſervice, the reſt being ſailors or artificers: and as the uſe of fire-arms, even among the nations of Europe, was at that time confined to a few battalions of regularly diſciplined infantry, only thirteen ſoldiers were armed with muſkets. They had no more than ſixteen horſes, ten ſmall field-pieces, and four falconets *.

Cortez divided the ſoldiers into eleven companies, according to the number of the ſhips, to every one of which he appointed a captain: and to each of theſe captains, when on ſhore, was committed the command of that company, which had been on board the veſſel he commanded, while at ſea. Their names were, Juan Velaſquez de Leon, Alonſo Hernandez Portocarrero, Franciſco de Montejo, Chriſtoval de Olid, Juan de Eſcalante, Franciſco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Franciſco de Saucedo, Alonſo Davila, Gines de Nortes. Cortez himſelf commanded the Capitana. The artillery was under the direction of Franciſco de Orozco, an officer formed in the wars of Italy. The experienced Alaminos acted as chief pilot.

Theſe appointments being made, and proper orders drawn up, in caſe of any unexpected contingency, Cortez and his followers quitted Havana, animated by religious enthuſiaſm, the love of glory, and the thirſt of gold. No leſs eager to plunder the opulent country whither they were bound, than zealous to propagate the Chriſtian faith among its inhabitants, they ſet ſail with that confidence, ſlender as their armament was, which ariſes from ſecurity of ſucceſs, rather than with the ſolicitude natural to men going upon dangerous ſervice. Perſuaded of the divine protection, a large croſs was diſplayed in their ſtandards, with this inſcription: "Let us follow the CROSS, for under this ſign we ſhall be victorious †." Feb. 10, A. D. 1519.

The iſland of Cozumel was the place appointed for the rendezvous of the fleet, in caſe of ſeparation. There Pedro de Alvarado firſt arrived. He had been diſpatched towards the north coaſt of Cuba, in ſearch of Diego de Ordaz; but miſſing his courſe, he ſteered for Cozumel, and landed near a ſmall town, which he remembered ſince the voyage he had performed with Grijalva. Finding the place deſerted, and believing inaction in a ſoldier to be a crime, Alvarado marched with a party of his men to ſurvey the country, and came to another town, which was likewiſe abandoned by the inhabitants. This laſt place he pillaged, ſeizing upon all the proviſions he could find, and whatever elſe appeared to be valuable. Nothing eſcaped his zeal or his rapacity. He deſtroyed the idols in a temple, and deſpoiled it of all its gold ornaments, with-

* Caſtillo, c. 19. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 3. † Id. ibid.

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BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

out reflecting that he was injuring the ſervice, by giving the Indians bad impreſſions of the Spaniards.

When Alvarado returned to his ſhip with this booty, and a few priſoners, he was joined by Cortez and the fleet: and on giving an account of his conduct, he was publicly cenſured by the general, and the priſoners were ſet at liberty; being informed, before their departure, by means of the Indian interpreter Melichor, whom I have already had occaſion to mention, how diſagreeable the injuries done them were to Cortez, and how contrary to the general intention of the expedition, which was to cultivate friendſhip and form alliances with all the Indian nations. The booty taken by Alvarado's ſoldiers was likewiſe reſtored, and ſome preſents were made to the captives, in hopes that, from their favourable report, an intercourſe with the natives might be eſtabliſhed, and all apprehenſions of violence removed.

Cortez now encamped for three days on the coaſt, leſt by advancing farther into the country, he ſhould give freſh alarm to the inhabitants, before the informations of the captives had quieted their fears. This interval he employed in muſtering his army, and in ſetting before them the importance of the expedition in which they were engaged; nor did he conceal from them the toils and perils which they muſt expect to encounter, in order to render it ſucceſsful. "I have no deſign," ſaid he, "to diminiſh the danger of our undertaking. We muſt expect obſtinate engagements, incredible fatigues, and ſuch multitudes of enemies, as will require the full exertion of all our valour: but the glory of conqueſt will be the greater. You have been accuſtomed to fight and to endure hardſhips, in thoſe iſlands which Spain has already ſubdued. The object of our preſent expedition is more important: we muſt therefore purſue it with ſuperior vigour, proportioning our courage to the greatneſs and the difficulty of our enterpriſe. We are few in number; but union multiplies armies: in our agreement will conſiſt our ſtrength. We muſt all, my companions, be of one mind to reſolve, and as one hand to execute. Our intereſts are the ſame, and the wealth and the glory of conqueſt ſhall be equally ſhared by the deſerving *."

Before Cortez had finiſhed his harangue, notice was brought that the Indians began to appear at a diſtance, in ſmall parties. He immediately put himſelf in a poſture of defence, in order to guard againſt the poſſibility of ſurpriſe; ranging the ſoldiers, however, behind the lines, that they might not diſcourage the natives by their hoſtile appearance. In conſequence of this precaution, ſome of the more reſolute Indians ventured into the camp; where they were ſo kindly received, that they called to their companions to follow their example, on which great numbers came, and mingled with the Spaniards without fear, ſurveying every thing with ſigns of wonder and amazement. Next day Cortez was honoured with a viſit from the cazique, accompanied with a preſent; both which he re-

* De Solis, lib. i. c. 14. In the introduction to this ſpeech, as found in the author here quoted, Cortez makes uſe of an argument highly characteriſtic of the times. "We may rely, ſays he, on the aid of Heaven; for God in fighting our battles, will fight his own!"

ceived with profound acknowledgments, and proteſtations of his ſincere deſire to cultivate a perpetual friendſhip with ſo reſpectable a prince. In anſwer to theſe profeſſions the Indian chief replied, that he accepted the friendſhip offered, and would preſerve it as a man who underſtood the value of the gift.

It was during this viſit that Cortez accidentally got intelligence of certain Spaniards, who were detained priſoners on the neighbouring continent. He overheard one of the Indians in the cazique's retinue repeat the word Caſtilla; and on ordering the interpreter to inquire into the Indian's meaning, was told that his men very much reſembled certain priſoners kept in Yucatan, who ſaid they were natives of a country of that name. On farther inquiry he found, that the captive Spaniards were in the hands of Indians of the firſt quality, who reſided two days journey within the province. He inſtantly expreſſed his reſolution of ſetting them at liberty, and was adviſed by the cazique to attempt it in the way of ranſom, leſt their maſters ſhould be induced to maſſacre them, from fear or reſentment, if recourſe was had to force; a caution which gave Cortez an high opinion of the good ſenſe and ſound policy of the Indian prince. Diego de Ordaz, who had now joined the fleet, was accordingly ordered with his veſſel to the coaſt of Yucatan, charged with a letter from Cortez to the priſoners, and with preſents for their ranſom. Theſe ſome Indians undertook to deliver, and to bring back an anſwer in eight days; but as they were not able to perform it ſo ſoon, Ordaz returned without executing his commiſſion, imagining that he had been artfully cheated of the preſents; and that either no Spaniards were detained in Yucatan, or that no attempt had been made to procure their releaſe.

This diſappointment was the ſource of real concern to Cortez; who, beſides the pleaſure of ſetting countrymen and fellow Chriſtians at liberty, entertained great hopes from the ſervices of the captives as interpreters, as it was probable they muſt have acquired the language of the country. Happily, however, before he quitted Cozumel, he was joined by the Indian meſſengers; who, though retarded by accidents, had very honourably diſcharged their engagements, and brought back with them the priſoner, whoſe name was Jerome de Aguilar. This man, according to his own account, had been eight years a priſoner among the Indians. Having been ſhipwrecked in his paſſage from Darien to Hiſpaniola, he eſcaped with twenty others in the long-boat, which was driven on the coaſt of Yucatan. All his companions except one, who married an Indian woman of rank, and conformed to the cuſtoms of the natives, among whom he choſe to remain, had either periſhed from the hardſhips to which they were expoſed, or been ſacrificed to the gods of the country, and afterwards devoured by the Indians, he being ſpared by reaſon of his meagre appearance; and having acquired the Yucatan language, certain fortunate circumſtances raiſed him, by degrees, to rank and conſideration in the province *.

While the Indian meſſengers were employed in treating for the releaſe of Aguilar, Cortez was not idle. He marched with his whole army to take a view

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c 3.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

of the iſland, though with no hoſtile intention. On the contrary, he diſſuaded his men from offering violence by the moſt effectual of all arguments, by repreſenting to them the poverty of the people; which, as he very juſtly obſerved, could furniſh no temptation to break through the regulations of diſcipline and the laws of hoſpitality. He told them, that there they were to ſtamp that impreſſion of their characters, on which muſt depend, in a great meaſure, the ſucceſs of all their future undertakings, as the reputation they acquired in Cozumel would ſoon be diffuſed over the continent; and he concluded with remarking, that the fame of their integrity, humanity, and generoſity, would promote their intereſt, and extend their conqueſts more powerfully than the ſword. He ſuffered them, however, to barter trinkets with the natives for gold and proviſions; by which means the army was amply ſupplied with all the neceſſaries that the country afforded *.

March 4. From Cozumel Cortez, doubling Cape Cotoche, proceeded with his whole fleet to the river of Tabaſco, in hopes of a reception as friendly as Grijalva had met with there, and of obtaining gold in the ſame abundance. He intended, however, only to make a ſhort ſtay, his thoughts being wholly bent on proceeding to the capital of Mexico; the deſcription of which, as given by Aguilar and the Indians, excited both his curioſity and ambition. Skirmiſhes in the remote provinces, he was ſenſible, could only ſerve to diminiſh the number of his troops, and weaken the force of that army which ought to be reſerved entire for the grand enterpriſe. But as the ſoldiers were very earneſt in their ſolicitations to go on ſhore, he reſolved to gratify them at all events; and accordingly made an attempt to land, when a multitude of canoes, filled with men completely armed, and giving tokens of hoſtile intentions, were obſerved to line both ſides of the river. Cortez advanced in cloſe order in his boats, forbidding any of his men to fire till commanded. As ſoon as they came within an audible diſtance, Jerome de Aguilar found that he underſtood the language of the Indians, and acquainted the general, that their cries were menaces and declarations of war, unleſs he returned to the ſhips. Aguilar was now diſpatched in one of the boats, with an offer of friendſhip; but he ſoon returned with intelligence, that the natives were obſtinate in their reſolution to defend the mouth of the river, and even refuſed to liſten to his propoſals †.

Cortez was ſtill averſe to war, for the reaſons already aſſigned; but as he was afraid he might be lowered in the opinion of his ſoldiers, if he ſuffered the inſolence of the Tabaſcans to paſs unpuniſhed, he made the neceſſary preparations for forcing his way. Willing, however, to accommodate matters, he ſent Aguilar a ſecond time with aſſurances, that he had nothing in view but mutual advantage. This declaration was anſwered by a ſignal to attack. Cortez had drawn up his fleet of boats in the form of a creſcent, towards which

* De Solis, lib. i. c. 15.

† This hoſtile diſpoſition is ſaid to have been occaſioned by a dread that the Spaniards, now more numerous than formerly, were returned to ſettle in the country. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 4.

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

the Tabaſcans advanced with the force of the current; and when within a proper diſtance, they diſcharged ſuch a flight of arrows as greatly embarraſſed the Spaniards to ward off: but having ſuſtained the firſt ſhock, they returned it with a vigour which the Tabaſcans were unable to reſiſt. Broken and aſtoniſhed, they precipitately retired with their canoes, leaving a free paſſage for the boats. Many of them were ſo ſtruck with terror by the ſmoke, fire, and exploſion of the muſketry, and the ſudden death of their companions, that they threw themſelves into the water, imagining the heavens were falling *.

In conſequence of this advantage the boats put to ſhore, and the Spaniards began to land; but at a place ſo inconvenient, that the Tabaſcans recovered their ſpirits, and renewed the attack. The ſituation of Cortez was now very critical: at laſt, however, his valour and conduct triumphed over every obſtacle. He animated his men alike by his exhortations and example, and without ceaſing to maintain his fire, drew up one line, which ſupported the charge until others were formed, and in a condition to cover the debarkation of the whole army †. As ſoon as the landing was completed, he diſpatched one of his officers with an hundred men, in order to reduce the town of Tabaſco, while he himſelf fell upon the incredible multitude of his enemies, with ſuch impetuoſity and conduct, that they yielded to the ſhock, and fled towards the city, on which they perceived the Spaniards had deſigns. Cortez purſued them; and with ſuch celerity, that he arrived at Tabaſco as ſoon as the detachment, and inſtantly gave orders for an aſſault. "Let us follow the victory," cried he, "before theſe barbarians forget that we have taught them to fly, or our delay allow them leiſure to collect their ſcattered ſpirits and reaſſemble their forces." In uttering theſe words, he drew his ſword, and led the attack. The town was fortified with long ſtakes, fixed deep in the ground, in the manner of paliſades, and ſo joined, that the Tabaſcans had room to diſcharge their arrows at certain openings. It had no outworks; but at the joining of the circle, the extremity of one line covered the opening in the other, and compoſed a narrow ſerpentine ſtreet, reſembling a ſpiral line, defended by little wooden towers at the entrances. This was an extremely commodious defence againſt ſuch arms as were uſed by the Americans; and though not proof againſt artillery, and the improvements in the military art made by the European nations, it greatly embarraſſed the Spaniards. But nothing could reſiſt the ardour of Cortez: he gained the foot of the paliſades under a cloud of arrows that darkened the ſky, and the muſketeers kept up ſo perpetual a fire through the openings, that the Tabaſcans, deſerting their poſts, gave the Spaniards an opportunity of cutting a paſſage in the wooden ramparts, and of forcing their way to the very heart of the town. There the combat was renewed; but, after a ſhort reſiſtance, the Tabaſcans were defeated and diſperſed, and their capital was yielded as the reward of the conquerors ‡. In this action fourteen Spaniards were wounded, but none ſlain. The ſlaughter of the natives was conſiderable, and the number of their wounded very great. Cortez, however, found

† De Solis, lib. i. c. 17. † Id. ibid. ‡ De Solis, lib. i. c. 18.

no

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

no booty in Tabaſco, except proviſions for his troops, the inhabitants having removed their families and moſt valuable effects before the commencement of the aſſault.

The day being now far advanced, the Spaniards took up their quarters during the night in three temples, ſituated near that part of the town where they had laſt engaged; and Cortez kept up as ſtrict a watch as if the Tabaſcans had been experienced veterans, commanded by an able general, who could take advantage of the ſlighteſt opportunity. Next morning the country ſeemed entirely deſerted: not a human figure was to be ſeen. The woods were ſearched, and found to be equally ſolitary; yet Cortez, apprehenſive of ſome ſtratagem, continued his former caution. The very ſilence, that reigned ſo univerſally, ſerved to rouſe his ſuſpicions; which were further confirmed by the deſertion of Melichor, the Indian, whom he had carried with him to ſerve as an interpreter. In order to relieve himſelf from this uncertainty, he detached two of his officers, with an hundred men each, to examine the country more narrowly. Before they had made much progreſs, they were ſurrounded by a multitude of the natives, and with difficulty made their way back to the main body. On examining ſome priſoners taken upon this occaſion, it was diſcovered that the Tabaſcans founded their obſtinacy upon the aſſurances of the deſerter Melichor, that the Spaniards were but a handful; that they were not immortal; and that their fire-arms, ſo terrible in appearance, were leſs deſtructive than might be imagined. The captives alſo related, that the caziques of the adjacent provinces were ſummoned to the aſſiſtance of the lord of Tabaſco, and that next day a very powerful army, compoſed of their united forces, was to take the field *.

On receiving this intelligence Cortez called a council of his principal officers, and laid before them the difficulties in which they were engaged, the preparations of the Indians to deſtroy them, and the inequality of their own numbers. He next expatiated on the glory of overcoming ſuch a multitude of enemies; the experience and valour of the Spaniards; the timidity and ſimplicity of the Tabaſcans: but he more eſpecially inſiſted upon the bad conſequences which would reſult from diſcovering any ſymptoms of fear on the preſent occaſion, as the report of their diſgrace, and the triumph of the barbarians, might reach Mexico, which they muſt hope to conquer, more by the reputation of invincible valour, than by force of arms. In his opinion, therefore, they ought either to abandon all thoughts of the enterpriſe againſt New Spain, or proceed no farther till they had humbled the Tabaſcans. Theſe, however, he obſerved, were only his own ſentiments, which he would willingly ſubmit to the judgment of the council.

The reſolution of the council of war was entirely conformable to the general's opinion; and Cortez, thus ſupported in his meaſures, made preparations for facing the enemy next morning. The wounded were ordered on board, the horſes landed, the artillery got in readineſs, and ſuch ſpirits were infuſed into the

* Ibid. lib. i. c. 19.

troops,

troops, as preſaged a fortunate iſſue to the expected engagement. Committing the infantry to the care of Diego de Ordaz, Cortez marched, as ſoon as it was light, with his few cavalry in the front, accompanied by the artillery, to which they ſerved as a guard: and in this order he advanced to the place where, according to the information of the priſoners, the enemy's forces were to aſſemble. Not perceiving there a ſingle human figure, he proceeded a mile farther, to a place called Cinthla; whence he diſcovered, advancing towards him, the moſt numerous army he had ever beheld, and ſtretching ſo far from right to left, to uſe the pompous language of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, that the eye could not take in both extremities. But without any hyperbole, the number of the Indians was incredibly great, not leſs than forty thouſand; nor were they ſo contemptibly armed, as to free the Spaniards from thoſe diſquieting apprehenſions which are naturally excited by the appearance of ſuperior force *. Their weapons were bows and arrows; the bowſtrings made of the tendons of beaſts or twiſted thongs of deer-ſkin, and their arrows armed with bones ground ſharp, or pointed fiſh bones, the Americans being all unacquainted with the uſe of iron. They uſed alſo long darts, which they managed according to the occaſion, either as pikes or javelins. Their ſwords, made of wood, and edged with flint, were ſo long and heavy, that they were wielded by both hands. Some of them had large clubs armed with flint, and great numbers uſed ſlings, which they managed with much dexterity, throwing ſtones with amazing ſtrength and ſkill. Perſons of diſtinction wore quilted cotton armour, and breaſt-plates and ſhields of wood or tortoiſe ſhell, adorned with plates of gold or copper. The troops of every province were led by their proper cazique; but although there was a kind of ſubordination eſtabliſhed, it was generally laid aſide in battle, every man relying for ſucceſs upon the ſtrength of his own arm, his own valour and addreſs.

Such was the army that ruſhed, like an inundation, upon the Spaniards, and

* Dr. Robertſon has omitted the particulars of almoſt all the engagements between the Spaniards and Americans, from a perſuaſion that there was "no equality of danger," and conſequently that "no power of words could render the recital intereſting." But if we conſider the diſproportionate number of the Spaniards, and the inconſiderable few that were armed with muſkets; that thirty-two only had croſs bows, and the reſt merely ſwords and ſpears, we ſhall find reaſon to believe, that the learned hiſtorian took his idea of the inequality of danger, rather from the inequality of the numbers killed, as he ſeems to intimate, than from a compariſon of the weapons of the two parties. This, however, is known to be a very unfair method of computing danger; the principal ſlaughter, before the regular uſe of fire-arms, being always committed in the purſuit, and the Spaniards were generally here victorious. By the ſame way of judging the doctor might ſuppoſe the danger ſo unequal as to render the particulars of the battle of Creſſy unintereſting, becauſe twelve hundred French knights, and fourteen hundred gentlemen were killed in it, and only one Engliſh eſquire, and three knights; a loſs more diſproportionate, ſhould we even take in the comparative numbers of the common men ſlain, than that of the Spaniards in their famous battle with the Tabaſcans, to the particulars of which this note is a prelude. An example of a like kind occurs in the hiſtory of Scotland. Edward Baliol, with two thouſand five hundred Engliſhmen, defeated an army of near forty thouſand Scots, and killed between twelve and thirteen thouſand of them, with the loſs of only thirty lives. But he would be accounted a madman, who ſhould hence conclude, that the danger of Baliol and his party was not ſufficient to create anxiety.

 ſeemed

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

ſeemed to cover the whole face of the country. The attack began upon the foot, while Cortez was taking poſt on an eminence, whence his fifteen horſe and the artillery could do moſt execution. The Tabaſcans firſt ſhot their arrows, and then cloſed in with ſo much impetuoſity, that the Spaniards not being able to annoy them with their fire-arms and croſs bows, had recourſe to their ſwords and ſpears; while the cannon, from the higher ground, made dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, deſtroying whole companies as they heedleſly puſhed on in crowds. Yet were they ſo obſtinate, that, inſtead of retreating, they threw handfuls of duſt into the air to conceal their ſlain, and advanced with redoubled fury; inſomuch that Diego de Ordaz, who commanded the infantry, and behaved with great gallantry, muſt have yielded to the infinite ſuperiority of numbers, had not Cortez ſeaſonably fallen upon the rear of the Tabaſcans with his cavalry, breaking through the thickeſt ranks, ſlaſhing with his ſword, and trampling under the feet of his horſes thoſe half-naked wretches, who were ſeized with a ſudden panic on the firſt appearance of ſo extraordinary an animal. Obſerving the diſorder and terror of the enemy, Ordaz collected all his ſtrength, and preſſed on with ſo much vigour, that this vaſt multitude fluctuated, like the rolling of the ſea, from the van to the rear, and at laſt broke and diſperſed, leaving eight hundred ſlain upon the field, and many wounded, whom they had not leiſure to carry off. Cortez had two ſoldiers killed, and ſeventy wounded. He could have taken more priſoners than he thought proper to ſeize; being content with a few to ſet on foot a negociation of peace, and demonſtrate to the Tabaſcans, that the Spaniards harboured no hoſtile deſigns againſt them *. The defeat of ſuch a vaſt army, by an handful of men, juſtly raiſed the reputation of Cortez, and appeared ſo wonderful to the Spaniſh writers of thoſe days, that they thought a miracle neceſſary to gain it belief; and therefore relate that St. James, the guardian of Spain, fought at the head of their countrymen, and by his proweſs gave a fortunate turn to the battle †.

The day after this victory Cortez ordered the priſoners, among whom were ſome perſons of diſtinction, to be brought before him. They diſcovered in their faces ſymptoms of the ſtrongeſt fear, imagining they were to be ſacrificed to the gods of the ſtrangers, agreeably to the inhuman practice of their own country: how great then was their ſurpriſe to find themſelves treated with the utmoſt reſpect, and ſet at liberty with preſents, as if they had performed ſome ſignal ſervice! — Cortez told them, that he knew how to forgive as well as to conquer: and

* De Solis, lib. i. c. 19. † Gomara is the firſt who mentions this apparition of St. James, which B. Diaz del Caſtillo treats with that ludicrous contempt it deſerves. "It may be," ſays that reſpectable veteran, (who was preſent in the engagement, and ſeems unwilling to be robbed of his ſhare of the honour by St. James) "that the perſon whom Gomara mentions as having appeared on a dappled grey horſe, was the glorious apoſtle Signor St. Jago, or Signor St. Pedro; and that I, as being a ſinner, was not worthy to ſee him. This I know, that I ſaw Franciſco de Morla on ſuch a horſe, but as an unworthy tranſgreſſor did not deſerve to ſee any of the holy apoſtles. It may have been the will of God, that it was ſo as Gomara relates; but until I read his chronicle, I never heard among any of the conquerors that ſuch a thing had happened." Verd. Hiſt. c. 34.

his generoſity on this occaſion was ſoon perceived to be true policy. A few hours after the priſoners had been releaſed, crowds of Indians came to the Spaniſh quarters, laden with proviſions of all kinds; and next morning an embaſſy, from the cazique of Tabaſco, arrived with propoſals of peace. But Cortez refuſed to give the deputies audience, being informed by Aguilar that they were perſons of inferior condition; whereas it was cuſtomary with the Indians to intruſt men of eminence with ſuch commiſſions: he therefore bid the interpreter acquaint them, that if their cazique was deſirous of his friendſhip he muſt ſolicit it with more reſpect and decency.

It appeared in the ſequel that Cortez was right in his judgment: ſtrangers commonly eſtimate men in proportion to the value which they ſet on themſelves: the cazique apologized for his error, and repaired it by ſending thirty perſons of better quality, richly attired, and followed by a numerous train, bearing preſents of various kinds, who ſolicited an audience with great formality. Their requeſt was granted, and Cortez, attended by his principal officers, received them with much ſtate and ſolemnity. The ambaſſadors advanced with profound ſubmiſſion; and having perfumed the Spaniards with incenſe of gum anime, delivered their inſtructions: they expreſſed their concern for the late hoſtilities, and the cazique's warm regard for Cortez, entreating that peace might be granted upon ſuch terms as the Spaniſh general ſhould think proper. After repreſenting to them the imprudence of the cazique's conduct, the vanity of all attempts to oppoſe the Spaniards by force of arms, and the mutual benefit that would reſult from a friendly intercourſe, Cortez diſmiſſed the embaſſy with aſſurances of his ſincere deſire to cultivate the eſteem of the Tabaſcans, and ſome preſents of European toys, with which the ambaſſadors were highly pleaſed.

The day following the cazique in perſon, attended by a numerous train, honoured the Spaniards with a viſit. On his entrance, he made Cortez a preſent of ſeveral pieces of fine cotton cloth, many beautifully variegated plumes, and ſome plates of gold. Reciprocal compliments, and proteſtations of friendſhip were exchanged, by means of the interpreter Aguilar; and the Indian prince, on taking leave, gave Cortez a ſtriking proof of his ſincerity, by ordering all his ſubjects to return with their families to Tabaſco, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prove ſerviceable to the ſtrangers. As a farther mark of his regard, he ſent Cortez a preſent of twenty female ſlaves, ſkilled in dreſſing meat, and baking bread of Indian wheat. Among theſe was one of ſuperior beauty and talents, who engaged the general's affections, and became famous under the name of Donna Marina *.

From the river Tabaſco, Cortez continued his courſe to the weſtward, keeping as near the ſhore as poſſible, in order to obſerve the country; but could diſcover no proper place for landing, till he arrived in the gulph of St Juan de Ulua. As he entered the bay, two large canoes full of people, approached the April 2.

* De Solis, lib. i. c. 20. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 4.

fleet.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

fleet. In each appeared to be a perſon of diſtinction, who made ſignals of peace and amity. Cortez invited them on board his ſhip: they came without fear or diſtruſt, and addreſſed him in a moſt reſpectful manner, but in a language unknown to Aguilar. Fortunately, however, Donna Marina, who was preſent at this interview, underſtood them, and told the interpreter, in the Yucatan dialect, that they ſpoke the Mexican tongue. Having been born in one of the provinces of that empire, and carried off captive by an hoſtile party, ſhe fell, after a variety of adventures, into the hands of the Tabaſcans, whoſe language ſhe had acquired without loſing her own *.

Tedious and troubleſome as it was for Cortez to converſe by the intervention of two interpreters, he was ſo happy at being releaſed from his diſtreſſing embarraſſment, and in diſcovering any method of intercourſe with the people of a country where all his hopes and fears centered, that he conſidered it as a viſible interpoſition of Heaven in his favour. By means of his interpreters he learned, that the two perſons whom he had received on board of his ſhip were deputies from Pilpatoe and Teutile; the firſt governor of that province, under a great monarch called Montezuma, the ſecond captain-general of his forces there; that they were ſent to inquire, what were the deſigns of the commander of that fleet in coming upon their coaſt, and to offer him what aſſiſtance might be neceſſary in order to enable him to continue his voyage. Cortez replied, that he came, in a friendly manner, to treat of affairs of the utmoſt importance to their ſovereign and his empire; and deſired an interview with the governor and general, to whom he would make his purpoſe more fully known. Without waiting for an anſwer, he landed his forces next morning; and having choſen proper ground, began to fortify a camp, in caſe of any ſudden attack. Branches were cut for making entrenchments, and for erecting huts, in order to ſhade the troops from the intenſe heat of the ſun-beams, while the artillery was ſo diſpoſed as to command the ſurrounding country.

In theſe operations the Spaniards were aſſiſted by the natives; though not from any motives of kindneſs or generoſity, as ſuppoſed by Dr. Robertſon †, but from the maxims of that timid and ſelfiſh policy, which ſeeks to avert danger by civilities or benefits, inſtead of relying for protection on the power of defence. Teutile was at the head of a conſiderable army, which had been employed in eſtabliſhing the emperor's authority in ſome parts of this province lately conquered: but it was inferior to that which the Spaniards had defeated at Tabaſco: the ſlaughter of the Tabaſcans had been occaſioned by their obſtinacy; and as the news of Cortez's victory and clemency arrived here before him, orders were iſſued to the inhabitants, by the governor and general, to ſupply the ſtrangers with proviſions, and a detachment was ſent from the army to aid them in erecting their temporary dwellings ‡. The ſame timid policy, accompanied with a hope that the Spaniards did not mean to reſide in the country, alſo in-

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 2. De Solis, lib. i. c. 21. † Hiſt. Amer. book v. ‡ De Solis, lib. i. c. 21.

fected

fected the mind of Montezuma, and proved, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, the ſource of all his misfortunes.

The day following Pilpatoe and Teutile, with a numerous train of attendants, entered the Spaniſh camp; where they were received with equal ſtate by Cortez, in the midſt of his officers and ſoldiers. As ſoon as the firſt compliments were exchanged, he deſired the interpreters to acquaint them, that, before he diſcloſed the motives of his voyage, he muſt comply with the duties of his religion, and recommend to the God of all gods the ſucceſs of his commiſſion. The governor and general were now conducted to a place, where an altar and croſs, intended for the purpoſes of a chapel, had been erected. Maſs was there celebrated to the aſtoniſhment of the Mexicans, who liſtened and gazed with an air of devotion and wonder. When divine ſervice was over, Pilpatoe and Teutile were conducted to the general's quarters, and entertained with all the pomp and ceremony of which his circumſtances would admit. The repaſt being ended, Cortez informed them, That he came as ambaſſador from Don Carlos of Auſtria, king of Spain, the greateſt monarch of the Eaſt *, concerning matters of ſuch moment, not only to the welfare of Montezuma, but alſo to the happineſs of all his ſubjects, that he could communicate his inſtructions only to the emperor in perſon; and therefore required them to conduct him immediately to the ſeat of the court, where he hoped to be admitted into the royal preſence, and to be received with that civility and reſpect due to the dignity and the generous intentions of the king his maſter.

The Mexican officers could not hide their uneaſineſs at this requeſt, which they knew muſt be diſagreeable to their ſovereign, and which they feared might conceal ſome dangerous deſigns againſt his perſon and throne. But though determined not to comply with the demand of Cortez, they were anxious to conciliate his good will; and therefore ordered a preſent, which they had prepared, to be brought in, before they attempted to diſſuade him from his purpoſe. Immediately twenty or thirty of the natives appeared laden with choice proviſions, fine cotton cloth, rich plumes of various colours, and a large box, in which were ſeveral pieces of gold plate curiouſly wrought. Theſe being delivered, Pilpatoe and Teutile ventured to reply, That the ſmall preſent now offered was made by two ſlaves of the great Montezuma, who had given orders to entertain, with the utmoſt civility, ſuch ſtrangers as might appear upon his coaſts; adding, however, that Cortez muſt think of purſuing his voyage, nor farther urge a requeſt too preſumptuous to be mentioned to the auguſt monarch whom it concerned, and to approach whoſe preſence, without leave, was death.

The Spaniards were ſo much engaged in examining the particular articles of the preſent, which produced an effect very different from what was intended,

* Charles V. emperor of Germany, king of Spain, ſovereign of the Low Countries, &c. certainly the greateſt monarch in Europe, if not in the whole ancient continent. He had ſucceeded to the Spaniſh crown in 1511, in conſequence of the death of his grandfather Ferdinand, and was elected emperor in 1519.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

that the pompous anſwer of the Mexican officers was little heeded, and leſs regarded. Impatient and eager to become maſter of a country which yielded ſuch valuable productions, Cortez, in a haughty and determined tone, renewed his demand of a perſonal audience of Montezuma. "It is your buſineſs," added he, "inſtead of oppoſing ſo reaſonable a requeſt, at leaſt to acquaint your ſovereign of my arrival, and what I claim as the repreſentative of a powerful and magnanimous prince: how to act afterwards is mine." Overawed by ſo bold a ſpeech, Pilpatoe and Teutile became more compliant, requeſting Cortez not to move from his preſent quarters, till the return of a courier from the emperor *.

During this interview ſome painters, in the train of the Mexican chiefs, were diligently employed in delineating upon white cotton cloths, prepared for the purpoſe, repreſentations of the ſhips, ſoldiers, arms, artillery, and whatever elſe attracted their notice, as ſingular. Teutile had ordered theſe paintings to be executed for the emperor's better information. To render them more intelligible, and to point out particulars, certain marks were placed over certain figures, to explain their meaning; whence it may be inferred, that, though the Mexicans could not convey all their ideas without the images of material things, yet they were not wholly unacquainted with the uſe of arbitrary ſymbols †.

When Cortez obſerved the Mexican artiſts at work, and was informed that their labours were intended for the uſe of Montezuma, he reſolved to exhibit ſuch a ſpectacle, as would afford them an opportunity of rendering the pictures ſtill more animated and intereſting, and impreſs both them and their ſovereign with awful ideas of the proweſs and arms of the Spaniards. For this purpoſe, he mounted his horſe along with his officers; the trumpets ſounded the alarm; the troops, in a moment, formed in order of battle, and diſplayed, in a variety of martial exerciſes, the effect of their different weapons, their own addreſs, and the ſtrength and agility of the horſes. The Mexicans beheld, with equal pleaſure and ſurpriſe, the regular evolutions of the infantry, and the rapid and impetuous movements of the cavalry; they could even ſtand the diſcharge of the ſmall arms, though not without evident ſigns of trepidation; but at the exploſion of the cannon many fled with rapidity, ſome fell to the ground with fear and aſtoniſhment, and all were ſo much alarmed and amazed, that Cortez found it difficult to recompoſe their ſpirits. The painters had now freſh ſubjects on which to exerciſe their genius, and fell again to work, inventing new figures and characters to repreſent the extraordinary things they had ſeen, and ſupply what was wanting in their former deſcriptions ‡.

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 1. † This ſubject ſhall be more fully explained, when we come to conſider the arts of the ancient Mexicans. ‡ Caſtillo is extremely minute in his deſcription of theſe hiſtorical paintings. He affirms, but is accuſed of exaggeration by De Solis, that all the different objects in the Spaniſh camp were diſtinguiſhed in landſcapes ingeniouſly diſpoſed, and that all the portraits of the principal officers ſtrikingly reſembled the originals; that the horſes were painted with great exactneſs and ſtrength of colouring; that the artillery was repreſented by fire and ſmoke, and even ſome idea of the exploſion conveyed by the ſimilitude of lightning, and the undulating tremulous appearance of the ſurrounding objects. Verd. Hiſt. c. 39.

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

Theſe painted advices, containing not only a repreſentation of whatever was ſingular in the Spaniſh camp, but an account of every thing that had paſſed ſince the arrival of the ſtrangers, were immediately tranſmitted to Montezuma, together with ſome European curioſities from Cortez, which though of no great value, he thought might be acceptable by reaſon of their novelty: and though the capital, where the emperor reſided, was upwards of one hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan de Ulua, and though the Mexicans had no domeſtic animals to accelerate the ſpeed of man, Cortez's preſents were delivered, and an anſwer to his requeſt received in ſeven days. This extraordinary diſpatch was accompliſhed by means of a refinement in police, unknown at that time in Europe. The Mexican emperors, in order to obtain early information from all the corners of their extenſive empire, had couriers poſted at proper ſtations along the principal roads; and as theſe were trained to agility by a regular education, and relieved each other at moderate diſtances, they conveyed intelligence with ſurpriſing celerity *.

But though this regulation ſufficiently accounts for the quick return of Montezuma's anſwer, we are ſtill at a loſs how to reconcile to probability the arrival of a magnificent preſent at the ſame time, ſaid to have been conveyed with equal ſpeed, and which Pilpatoe and Teutile delivered to Cortez, before they ventured to make known the determination of their maſter. It was carried on the ſhoulders of an hundred Indians, (who may be ſuppoſed to have been relieved, as the couriers were, at certain diſtances) and conſiſted of various kinds of cotton cloth, ſo finely manufactured as to rival ſilk in the delicacy of its texture; pictures of animals, plants, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colours, diſpoſed and mingled with ſo much taſte and ſkill, as to emulate the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation, without the aid of artificial tints; bows, arrows, targets, and other military weapons of curious materials and workmanſhip; two large plates of a circular form, the one of maſſive gold, curiouſly emboſſed, repreſenting the ſun, the other of ſilver, an emblem of the moon; bracelets, collars, rings, and other ornaments of gold; boxes filled with pearls and precious ſtones, and grains of virgin gold, as found in the mines or rivers †.

Theſe rich materials were placed upon mats ſpread on the ground, in ſuch order as to be ſeen to the greateſt advantage, and far exceeded any idea that the Spaniards had hitherto formed of the wealth of the Mexican empire ‡. When Pilpatoe and

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 2.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 2. Caſtillo, c. 39. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 2.

‡ In order to avoid the apparent improbability, that this preſent was conveyed with the ſame celerity that the couriers, who carried Montezuma's anſwer, performed their journey, Dr. Robertſon ſuppoſes, that it "had been prepared for Grijalva, when he touched at the ſame place ſome months before." But unfortunately for the Doctor, (who on this occaſion abandons his two chief guides, Caſtillo and Herrera, to follow a conjecture of Gomara) he does not give us the ſmalleſt hint in the former part of his narration, that Grijalva landed on the continent at St. Juan de Ulua; nor does any Spaniſh writer repreſent his appearance on that coaſt as alarming to the inhabitants, with whom he trafficked in an amicable manner: it is therefore

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

and Teutile obſerved the ſatisfaction of Cortez and his companions, they informed the general, That the great emperor Montezuma ſent him thoſe things in return for his preſent, and as expreſſions of his friendſhip for the monarch of the Eaſt; but that he did not think it proper, nor was it indeed poſſible at that time, ſuch was the poſture of affairs, to grant his requeſt of paſſing to the court of Mexico. This refuſal the Mexican officers endeavoured to palliate by many ſpecious arguments; founded on the badneſs of the roads, the ſavage nations that would take up arms and obſtruct his journey, and the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, which made it inconvenient for the emperor to receive him. But Cortez, who was not to be diverted from his purpoſe by ſuch evaſions, after expreſſing his ſenſe of the munificence of Montezuma, and his unwillingneſs to offend him, replied in a tone more reſolute than formerly, That he could not, without diſhonour, return to his maſter, until he had been admitted into the preſence of the prince whom he was appointed to viſit in his name; and therefore muſt inſiſt on his firſt demand, with that earneſtneſs due to the reputation of a crown jealous of its honour, and revered by the greateſt ſovereigns in the world. Aſtoniſhed at ſeeing any man dare to oppoſe that will, which they had been accuſtomed to conſider as ſupreme and irreſiſtible, yet afraid of precipitating their country into an open war with ſuch formidable enemies, Pilpatoe and Teutile offered to conſult Montezuma a ſecond time, and Cortez diſmiſſed them with another preſent of European manufactures more conſiderable than the former; acquainting them, at the ſame time, that he would expect the emperor's anſwer without ſtirring from his preſent ſtation, and ſhould be ſorry if any unneceſſary delay obliged him to remove nearer the capital, for the greater conveniency of ſoliciting his requeſt *.

After the Mexican officers retired, the Spaniards found leiſure to examine Montezuma's preſent with more deliberation and accuracy: all admired its magnificence, but the inferences drawn from it, in regard to their future conduct, were very different. Some of them, eſtimating the power of Montezuma, by this proof of his wealth, drew unfavourable concluſions concerning the event of the expedition, affirming that it would be an act of the wildeſt frenzy to at-

therefore leſs improbable to ſuppoſe, that an hundred choſen men, alternately relieving each other, or being relieved by a freſh company, ſhould be able to travel with a light burden, at the command of a deſpotic monarch, three hundred and ſixty miles in ſeven days, than that a preſent of ſuch magnificence as exceeded even the romantic ideas of the Spaniards concerning the wealth of the Mexican empire, ſhould be ſent by Montezuma to a roving adventurer on his coaſts, who had never recognized his dignity, or ſeemed formidable to his power.

According to Caſtillo, the ſilver plate repreſenting the moon, was alone equal in value to twenty thouſand peſos, near five thouſand pounds ſterling. Verd. Hiſt. c. 39. The gold emblem of the ſun was double the weight of this; and therefore muſt have been immenſely valuable, independent of the workmanſhip. Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 2.—The author of this work has hitherto uniformly, he thinks, uſed the word *peſo* in ſpeaking of the ſums acquired by the Spaniards in the New World; but the reader is deſired to obſerve, leſt any other term ſhould have eſcaped him, or may afterwards occur, that the Spaniſh coins, *peſo*, *caſtellano*, and *piece of eight*, are each of the ſame value; namely, about 4s. 6d. of our money.

* Caſtillo, c. 39. Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 2. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 2.

tack

tack ſo great a monarch with a handful of men, in want of proviſions, unſupported by any ally, and already enfeebled by the diſeaſes of a ſultry climate; while others, of a more ardent diſpoſition, deſpiſing danger or hardſhips, when ſo great a prize was in view, anticipated in imagination the immenſe riches which they ſhould acquire by the conqueſt of a country, whoſe treaſures appeared to be inexhauſtible, and the pillage of a capital where ſuch prodigious wealth centered. Cortez ſecretly applauded the advocates for bold meaſures, but without declaring his own opinion, though his reſolution was already formed; and in order to divert the attention of his ſoldiers from too minute an inquiry into his conduct, he determined to keep them fully employed. For this purpoſe he diſpatched Franciſco de Montejo with two veſſels, and ſome of the moſt turbulent ſpirits, to run along the coaſt, with which he was acquainted, in ſearch of a more commodious harbour for the fleet, and a better ſtation for the camp; the ſhips being greatly expoſed to the north winds, and the vigour of the ſoldiers waſted by the intenſe heat of the ſun-beams, reflected in a ſandy and gravelly ſoil. The reſt of the army he kept conſtantly occupied, either in military exerciſes, or in preparing ſuch materials as he imagined might prove uſeful in facilitating the progreſs of his deſigns *.

Meanwhile the court of Mexico was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion and perplexity by the repeated ſolicitations of the Spaniſh general, and the firmneſs with which he inſiſted on an interview with the emperor. This firmneſs ſhould naturally have brought the negociation between Cortez and Montezuma to a ſpeedy concluſion: the Mexican monarch ſhould either have received him with the confidence of a friend, or have oppoſed him openly, and reſolutely as an enemy. He had no other choice. But ſeveral circumſtances conſpired to ſtagger the reſolution of Montezuma, and incline him, on this occaſion, to temporize, and deliberate, when he ought to have acted or decided. The account which the painted diſpatches gave of the fire-arms, artillery, and horſes of the Spaniards, filled that prince with aſtoniſhment and terror. All his miniſters and courtiers were ſummoned to attend in ſolemn conſultation, and public ſacrifices were offered in the temples, in order to avert the impending danger. The people caught the alarm, and univerſal conſternation rapidly ſpread through the whole empire. Ignorant men labouring under the apprehenſions of fear conſider every unuſual appearance in the heavens, in the air, or on the earth, as ſo many preſages of their ruin. In every country the miniſters of ſuperſtition have taken advantage of theſe imaginary horrors; and on this baſis they have ſometimes erected a power, to which every other was ſubordinate. The Mexicans were equally ignorant and ſuperſtitious, and conſtrued into frightful omens certain natural phenomena, which are ſaid to have appeared about this time, and occaſioned a general deſpondency. One of theſe was a comet of extraordinary luſtre, in the ſhape of a pyramid, which began to be viſible about midnight, and advancing ſlowly towards the ſouth, vaniſhed at the approach of morning; another was a

* Caſtillo, c. 40. Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 2. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 2.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

kind of meteor or exhalation, which roſe in the weſt at noon, and being converted into the figure of a fiery ſerpent with three heads, ran rapidly towards the eaſt, until it was loſt in the clouds. One of the Mexican temples caught fire, by what means could never be diſcovered, and was entirely conſumed, in ſpite of every attempt to extinguiſh the flame. The very ſtones were ſuppoſed to burn, and liquify in a manner deemed altogether ſupernatural. The great lake of Mexico overflowed its banks without any viſible cauſe, with a kind of bubbling reſembling boiling water; yet no uncommon heat was perceived. Many perſons affirmed, that they heard lamentable voices in the air, predicting the overthrow of the monarchy; and the prieſts cheriſhed the ſuperſtitious fear of the people, by making the idols utter ſuch oracles as beſt ſuited their purpoſes *.

Theſe pretended predictions and extraordinary appearances, which at moſt only happened accidentally to coincide with the landing of Cortez, were ſuppoſed to be connected with that event in the nature and order of things; and the imaginations of the Mexicans being ſtrongly affected by the firſt ſight of a new race of men, their credulity and ſuperſtition inſtantly repreſented the Spaniards, as the inſtruments deſtined to bring about that fatal revolution ſuggeſted by their fears. The Mexican council therefore, on the arrival of the ſecond meſſage from Cortez, gave up all for loſt, and regarded the empire, though the moſt powerful in America, as already on the verge of ruin. Montezuma however, though labouring under the ſame apprehenſions, ſtill retained ſome degree of courage, and in a tranſport of rage natural to a haughty prince, unaccuſtomed to meet with any oppoſition to his will, threatened to ſacrifice thoſe preſumptuous ſtrangers to his gods. But, on cooler reflection, his courage ſunk; and inſtead of carrying his menaces into execution, he again aſſembled his miniſters, to conſult and deliberate on the moſt prudent and effectual meaſures for expelling ſuch troubleſome intruders. They deliberated, debated, and conſulted, but always broke up with divided ſentiments. Some of them were for oppoſing the Spaniards by force of arms, interpreting the omens as ſo many warnings to rouſe them to a vigorous defence, and avert the threatening danger; while others, more timid, inſiſted on the valour of the ſtrangers, the force of their weapons, the irreſiſtible ſtrength of their furious animals, and the terror of their lightning, of which the Tabaſcans had fatal experience.

Montezuma, on mature deliberation, determined to ſteer a middle courſe between the two opinions, being unwilling either to proceed to hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, or to manifeſt his own perturbation, by admitting their general to his preſence. He therefore ſent Cortez another preſent, and at the ſame time commanded him immediately to quit his dominions, hoping by theſe means

* All theſe ſuppoſed prodigies and prophecies, are uniformly aſcribed, by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, to the interpoſition of Heaven in favour of their countrymen. Even de Solis gives into this flattering error. "Horrible and wonderful portents," ſays he, "which God either commanded, decreed, or permitted, in order to cruſh the ſpirit of that fierce people, and render their overthrow leſs difficult to the Spaniards." Hiſt. de las Conq. de Mexico, lib. ii. c. 3.

either

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1519.

either to bribe or terrify him into obedience; but reſolving, if neither threats nor preſents had the deſired effect, to raiſe a powerful army, and chaſe the obſtinate invaders to their ſhips, or overwhelm them by means of numbers *. Nor would it have been poſſible for the Spaniards, notwithſtanding their ſuperior arms and diſcipline, to have withſtood the forces that Montezuma could ſuddenly have aſſembled, had he attacked them while encamped on the barren and unhealthy coaſt of St. Juan de Ulua, deſtitute of proviſions, and unſupported by any ally. They muſt either have taken refuge in their ſhips, and abandoned the enterpriſe, or have periſhed in ſuch an unequal conteſt.

The Mexican empire was, at this period, in the zenith of its glory; and though, according to tradition, it had ſubſiſted only one hundred and thirty years, it extended in length, from eaſt to weſt, above five hundred leagues, and near two hundred in breadth, from north to ſouth, comprehending under its dominion ſome of the moſt populous and wealthy provinces in the New World. The people were warlike and enterpriſing: the authority of the ſovereign was unlimited; his revenues were conſiderable; and the prince upon the throne was one of the moſt martial and politic who had ever ſwayed the Mexican ſceptre. He was alſo more haughty, more violent, and more impatient of controul, than any of his predeceſſors: his ſubjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror; both being impreſſed with the moſt affecting ideas of his power and capacity †. But though the talents of Montezuma might have proved ſufficient to maintain that deſpotic dominion which he had eſtabliſhed, they were inadequate to the critical ſituation in which he now found himſelf. He was not politician enough to conceive it poſſible for any perſon uniformly to profeſs friendſhip and intend war; and being deſirous to get rid of his new gueſts, yet afraid to uſe violence againſt a people ſo formidable, he afforded the Spaniſh general leiſure to perfect his ſchemes, and all his own ſubjects and tributaries, many of whom were ſecretly diſaffected, an opportunity of obſerving his timidity, in his profuſe generoſity to the ſtrangers.

While Cortez was endeavouring to acquire ſome knowledge of the character of this prince, and of the ſtate of his empire, and to inſpire the Spaniards with the ſame great hopes of which his own heart aſſured him, Montejo returned from his coaſting voyage, having diſcovered a town called Quiabiſlan, about thirty-ſix miles to the northward, ſituated in a fertile ſoil, with a good harbour, and every other conveniency wanted for the fleet or army. Thither Cortez was propoſing to remove: but before he had come to any reſolution, Teutile arrived with Montezuma's anſwer, or rather his command to quit the Mexican dominions. It was delivered in terms ſo harſh and diſagreeable, that not the valuable preſent which accompanied it was ſufficient to prevent the Caſtilian pride from being hurt; and when Cortez, inſtead of complying, renewed his requeſt of an audience, Teutile ſtarted up haſtily, and told him with much emotion, That hitherto the great Montezuma, having conſidered him as a

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 4.

† De Solis, lib. ii. c. 3.

gueſt,

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

gueſt, had ſhewn him all the civilities required by the ſacred laws of hoſpitality, but that he muſt lay the fault upon his own obſtinacy, if he found himſelf henceforth treated as an enemy. This ſpeech being finiſhed, the Mexican turned his back abruptly, and left the Spaniſh camp with looks and geſtures ſtrongly expreſſive of his reſentment and ſurpriſe *.

Cortez, though ſomewhat uneaſy at theſe ſymptoms of more vigorous meaſures, or more violent councils, had ſufficient preſence of mind to turn round to his officers with a ſmile, and ſay, "We ſhall ſee where this challenge will end. Threats are commonly the effects of fear. We have already had a ſpecimen of the Mexican proweſs." And while they were collecting the different articles of Montezuma's preſent, he added, "Theſe riches may be regarded as proofs, rather of the emperor's weakneſs, than of his generoſity; but it is our buſineſs to guard againſt all contingencies." He accordingly ordered the guards to be doubled that night, and kept himſelf till morning in a poſture of defence †.

As ſoon as day began to appear, it was perceived, that all the Mexicans had withdrawn themſelves. Even thoſe employed in ſupplying the camp with proviſions kept away: not a man was to be ſeen in all the ſurrounding country. While Cortez was ruminating on this alarming proſpect of want and approaching hoſtilities, five Indians were introduced to him by Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo; who, while ſtanding centinel with another ſoldier, obſerved them advancing towards one of the avenues of the camp, and thinking their number too ſmall to give any diſquieting apprehenſions to the army, ſuffered them to draw near. On their approach, they gave him to underſtand by ſigns, that they came with a friendly meſſage to the general, to whom they were immediately conducted. Cortez received them with much civility; and learned by his interpreters, though with ſome difficulty, by reaſon of the variation of their dialect from the Mexican, that they were ſent by the lord of Zempoalla, a conſiderable town at no great diſtance, to requeſt the alliance of thoſe brave men, whoſe gallant actions in the province of Tabaſco had reached his ears ‡.

The Spaniſh general accepted the proffered alliance with pleaſure, conſidering it as a particular mark of divine favour, that this embaſſy ſhould arrive at the very time when the Mexicans had withdrawn themſelves, and when he was at a loſs what courſe to take. His ſatisfaction was increaſed when he underſtood, that Zempoalla lay in the road to that commodious ſtation which Montejo had diſcovered on the coaſt, and whither he now propoſed to remove his quarters. But how great was his joy, when he diſcovered, in conſequence of the queſtions which

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 5. † Id. ibid. ‡ The Zempoallan ambaſſadors are here introduced on the authority of Herrera, who is rigidly exact in the chronological arrangement of events. De Solis introduces them later, and Dr. Robertſon later ſtill; and both reaſon ingeniouſly on their appearance. But the author of this work is of opinion, that the natural order of every incident immediately connected with the main ſtory, if its conſequences are properly deduced, is preferable to any mechanical diſpoſition; which is more ſuited to the hiſtoric *fable*, where intereſt and probability are the only objects, than to the detail of hiſtorical *facts*.

he put to the ambaſſadors, that the cazique of Zempoalla, though ſubject to the Mexican empire, and ſeveral other tributary princes in his neighbourhood, were impatient of the yoke, and deſired nothing ſo much as an opportunity of cementing a powerful league againſt Montezuma, whoſe tyranny was become altogether inſupportable!—A ray of light and hope broke in upon the mind of Cortez, and he diſcerned at one glance all the advantages of his ſituation. Senſible that the ſtrength of a ſtate depends upon union, and the power of a ſovereign on the love of his people, he conjectured, that it could be no difficult matter to overturn the throne of a tyrant by the arms of his own ſubjects. Full of this great idea, which time and other fortunate circumſtances enabled him to mature, he diſmiſſed the Zempoallan ambaſſadors with warm expreſſions of friendſhip, and aſſurances that he would ſoon viſit their maſter in perſon, and yield him what aſſiſtance he might require *.

But all the lofty ſchemes of Cortez were in danger of being overturned in a moment, by the diſaffection of his followers. No ſooner was his reſolution of removing to Quiabiſlan known, which was conſidered as a certain indication of his deſign of ſettling in the country, than the adherents of Velaſquez murmured loudly, and at length openly exclaimed againſt ſuch a meaſure; inſiſting on the neceſſity of returning to Cuba, in order to refit the fleet, and augment the army, before any ſettlement was attempted, or any thought entertained of achieving the conqueſt of Mexico.

Cortez was too well acquainted with the ſentiments of his troops to believe that this inclination would be general. He therefore ſuffered himſelf to be addreſſed by the malcontents. Diego de Ordaz, whoſe diſaffection had long been known, ſpoke in the name of the reſt, and told the general, with a military freedom, That the ſoldiers were much diſſatisfied, and on the point of laying aſide all obedience, having been informed that he deſigned to proſecute the enterpriſe, in the preſent feeble ſtate of the armament, when neither the number of men, the condition of the ſhips, nor the reſerve of proviſions or warlike ſtores, bore any proportion to the difficulty of the undertaking: that they could not be blamed, as no man had ſo little value for his own life as to throw it prodigally away, in order to pleaſe the caprice of another; and that it was now full time to think of returning to Cuba, that Velaſquez might take the neceſſary meaſures for accompliſhing the purpoſe of the expedition, to which their ſlender, ſickly, and ill-provided army was altogether inadequate.

Cortez liſtened to this ſpeech without any appearance of emotion, and replied with a compoſed voice and countenance, That he was obliged to thoſe who had taken the trouble to inform him of the diſcontent of the ſoldiers, as he had every reaſon to believe they were well ſatisfied, and deſirous to proceed; that as yet none could complain of fortune, except thoſe who were weary of being happy. A voyage favoured by the winds and ſeas, without one untoward accident, and ſucceſſes ſuch as their hearts could wiſh: the remarkable interpoſition

* Caſtillo, c. 41. Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 2. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 6.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

of Heaven at Cozumel, in furniſhing them with an interpreter; a glorious, and almoſt bloodleſs victory at Tabaſco, and ſuch a profuſion of riches in the country where they now reſided!—were not, he coolly remarked, preſages that ought to diſcourage needy adventurers. Nor would it be for their honour to give up the undertaking in which they were at preſent engaged, before they had ſeen the ſhadow of danger; eſpecially when it was conſidered, that difficulties always appear greateſt at a diſtance, and vaniſh, like the other phantoms of imagination, as we approach them. But if the ſoldiers were already ſo dejected, he artfully added, as not to be rouſed by the ſplendid proſpect of riches and glory which lay before them, it would be folly to rely on their ſervices: he ſhould therefore deliberate, without loſs of time, on returning to Cuba, as had been propoſed; declaring that the backwardneſs of the private ſoldiers did not make ſuch an impreſſion upon him, as the ſurpriſe of finding their reſolution to abandon the enterpriſe accompanied by the advice of his friends *.

Cortez carried his diſſimulation yet farther. As ſoon as the malcontents retired, at once pleaſed and diſſatisfied with their reception, he gave directions for publiſhing his return to Cuba; ordering the captains immediately to embark, with their reſpective companies, on board the veſſels under their command, and be in readineſs to ſail early next morning. No ſooner was this feigned reſolution known, than the diſappointed adventurers exclaimed loudly againſt it: the emiſſaries of Cortez mingled with them, and inflamed their reſentment: the clamour became general; the whole camp ſeeming to be in mutiny, and eagerly demanding their general, whom they accuſed of deceiving them. Cortez was not long in making his appearance; when, with one voice, they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment and indignation at the orders which they had received. It was unworthy, they ſaid, of the Caſtilian courage to be daunted at the firſt aſpect of danger, and infamous to turn their backs before they had drawn their ſwords; declaring that, for their parts, they were determined not to abandon an enterpriſe which had hitherto proved ſo ſucceſsful, and which tended ſo viſibly to ſpread the knowledge of true religion, and to advance the glory and the intereſt of Spain; that they were ready, under his command, to encounter every difficulty, in queſt of thoſe treaſures and eſtabliſhments with which he had ſo long flattered them; but if he was ſeriouſly reſolved to return to Cuba, and tamely relinquiſh all his hopes of wealth and fame to an envious rival, they would chuſe another general to conduct them in the path of their wiſhes, while he, and ſuch as were of the ſame puſillanimous opinion, might enjoy their eaſe, and ſuffer that contempt which they merited, for deſerting ſo illuſtrious a project.

Delighted with this ardour, Cortez took no offence at the boldneſs with which the remonſtrance was delivered. The ſentiments were ſuch as he himſelf had inſpired, and the warmth of expreſſion convinced him they were felt. Affecting however to be ſurpriſed at what he had heard, he declared that his orders to prepare for returning to Cuba, had been iſſued from a perſuaſion that his troops

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 5.

were

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519

were ſo diſpoſed; that nothing could be more oppoſite to his own inclination; and deference to what he had been told (by thoſe who were principally intereſted in the ſucceſs of the expedition) was the general wiſh of his ſoldiers, only could have brought him to ſuch a reſolution: that he was now ſenſible he had been miſinformed; and as he perceived they were animated by that heroic ſpirit which informed the breaſt of every true Spaniard, he would ſtay with pleaſure, and reſume with freſh ardour his original plan of conqueſt and colonization, not doubting but he ſhould conduct them, in the career of victory, to acquiſitions worthy of their valour. But he at the ſame time intimated, that he would have no ſoldiers againſt their inclinations, the ſervices of war ſuiting ill with reluctance, and that tranſports ſhould immediately be got ready for ſuch as were unwilling to follow his fortune.

This declaration was no ſooner made than the air rung with ſhouts of univerſal applauſe. Many expreſſed their joy, becauſe they really approved of the meaſure; others, who ſecretly condemned it, were obliged to join in the acclamations, partly to conceal their diſaffection from the general, and partly to avoid the imputation of cowardice from their fellow ſoldiers; none being ſo hardy as to oppoſe making a ſettlement in Mexico, or ſo daſtardly as to think of deſerting their companions, on account of the danger or difficulty of the undertaking. Without allowing the one party leiſure to reflect, or the ardour of the other time to cool, Cortez ſet about carrying into execution that deſign which he had long formed. As an introductory ſtep to the ſettling of a colony, he ſummoned a council of his principal officers, and by their ſuffrage elected a council and magiſtrates, in whom the government was to be veſted, after the manner of a Spaniſh corporation. Alonzo Hernandez Porto Carrero, and Franciſco de Montejo, were appointed alcades; Alonzo Davila, Pedro and Alonſo de Alvarado, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, were conſtituted regidores, and Juan de Eſcalante and Franciſco Alvarez Chico, were raiſed to the dignities of chief alguazils and procurators general. All theſe gentlemen, and alſo the inferior magiſtrates, were firmly attached to Cortez, and the inſtrument of their election was framed in the king's name, without any mention of their dependance on Velaſquez. After taking the accuſtomed oath, to obſerve reaſon and juſtice, according to their duty, for the greater ſervice of God and the king, they began to exerciſe their ſeveral employments with the uſual ſolemnity, calling their intended ſettlement *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, "the Rich Town of the True Croſs;" a name ſeemingly dictated by the two principles, religion and avarice, which chiefly prompted the Spaniards to all their attacks on the New World.

The firſt meeting of theſe magiſtrates was diſtinguiſhed by a meaſure of great importance; the carrying of which into action appears to have been Cortez's principal motive for ordering their election, before he removed to the place where the ſettlement was to be eſtabliſhed. As ſoon as the new council aſſembled, he deſired leave to enter, and approaching, as a private perſon in civil affairs, with many marks of profound reſpect, which added dignity to the tribunal, and ſet an example of reverence for its authority, he ſpoke to the following effect, and in terms highly flattering to perſons juſt entering on their authority: "Since, by the mer-

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

cy of God, we have in this council the perſon of the king repreſented, I come into your preſence, as if I appeared before him, without any other view than that of the public ſervice; in which kind of ambition you will allow me the merit of not being your inferior. You are now deliberating on the means of eſtabliſhing this infant colony, happy already in depending upon your guardianſhip; and it will not, I hope, be deemed foreign to the purpoſe, for me to inform you of my thoughts and reſolutions, that you may not have occaſion to deliberate afreſh, and take new meaſures, by proceeding upon ill-founded ſuppoſitions. The corporation which to-day begins to take a form, under your government, is founded in a country but imperfectly known, full of people, and where we have already ſeen ſigns of reſiſtance ſufficient to convince us that we are engaged in an undertaking which will require the utmoſt exertion of our mental and perſonal abilities. This is not a time to depend upon peaceful maxims, or unarmed councils: your firſt care muſt therefore be to preſerve the army, which ſerves you as a rampart; and it is my duty to inform you, that it is not at preſent in ſuch a condition as is requiſite for our hopes and our ſecurity. You all know, that I command this army without any other commiſſion than that which I received from Diego Velaſquez, and which was recalled ſoon after it was given me. I ſet aſide the injury which he did me by his diſtruſt; but I cannot fail to be ſenſible, and I am bound to mention it, that the military power, which we ſo much ſtand in need of, is lodged at preſent in my perſon, contrary to the inclinations of the man who beſtowed it. It is founded on a title that cannot conceal the weakneſs of its origin. The ſoldiers are not ignorant of this defect; and I am too fully acquainted with it to deſire to command them by ſuch authority, at a time when the moſt perfect obedience is neceſſary, in order to render the enterpriſe in which we are engaged ſucceſsful.

"It belongs to you, gentlemen, to apply a remedy to this inconveniency. The council, which here repreſents the king, may, in his royal name, provide for the government of his troops, by appointing to the command, and inveſting with proper authority, ſome perſon capable of conducting the future operations of the army. Several perſons ſo qualified may be found: and that you may proceed without delay to ſuch election, and deliberate with all imaginable freedom, I reſign, from this moment, all right that can accrue to me from poſſeſſion, and ſurrender into your hands the title by which I have held it. As my ſole ambition is to promote the public ſervice, I can, be aſſured, without offering the leaſt violence to myſelf, take up a pike with the ſame hand that lays down the truncheon, and act with equal alacrity in the humble ſtation of a private ſoldier, as in the exalted character of a general; for if, in war, men learn to command by obeying, there are alſo caſes, in which the duty of obedience is taught by commanding"

Having finiſhed his ſpeech, Cortez threw upon the table his commiſſion from Velaſquez, kiſſed the truncheon, and delivering it into the hands of the alcades, retired to his tent. As he had already concerted meaſures with his confidants, he was under little anxiety about the event; and the reſolution of the council ſoon relieved him from any degree of ſuſpence. They admitted his re-

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

resignation; but, as he had given the most satisfying proofs of his abilities for command, they unanimously elected him chief justice of the colony, and captain-general of the forces, ordering his commission to be made out in the king's name, with the most ample powers, which were to continue in force until the royal will should be known. In order to stamp this act with general approbation, and silence every cavil against its legality, the council immediately called together the troops, who were prepared for the occasion, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. The army with loud huzzas ratified the choice of the council; and the magistrates instantly waited upon Cortez, accompanied by a large body of the soldiers, now the only citizens, and presented him with his new commission, which he received with many professions of respect and gratitude *.

Cortez having thus brought his intrigues to the desired issue, and shaken off his mortifying dependance on the governor of Cuba, began to exercise more extensive powers. He had formerly felt himself the deputy of a subject, who had revoked his sub-delegated jurisdiction, but to whom he was still accountable for his conduct: he now acted as the representative of his sovereign, and assumed a proportional degree of authority. He had no occasion henceforth to temporize, and court those whom he had a right to command. His resolutions became more firm, and his manner more stately. The adherents of Velasquez, observing this change in his behaviour, and aware of its cause, could no longer continue silent spectators of his actions. They declaimed openly against the proceedings of the council as illegal, and those of the army as mutinous. Cortez, at first, did all that lay in his power, in order to remedy this evil, without proceeding to extremities; but finding that gentle measures had not the desired effect, he ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Escudero, and Juan Velasquez de Leon, the chief propagators of these seditious principles, to be seized, loaded with chains, and carried on board the fleet. Astonished, and overawed, by this well-timed act of severity, their associates remained quiet; and Cortez, more desirous to reclaim than to punish his prisoners, sought their friendship with so much assiduity and address, while he threatened them with the loss of their heads, that a perfect reconciliation was brought about, without any mean compliance on the one side, or any servile advance on the other. Nay, what is truly remarkable, and equally for the honour of both parties, these very men became the firmest friends, and most favoured officers of Cortez; and on the most trying occasions, neither their connexion with the governor of Cuba, nor the remembrance of the indignity which they had suffered, tempted them to swerve from an inviolable attachment to his interest, nor did he ever betray the least jealousy or diffidence of their conduct †.

Having now established his authority on the most solid basis of which circumstances would admit, Cortez began to take measures for removing the fleet and army to the place where the settlement was to be founded. For this purpose it was necessary to send a party in search of provisions, which grew extremely scarce in the camp. Pedro de Alvarado was accordingly dispatched with an hundred

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 7. Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 3. † Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

men, to range the neighbouring country, which he found entirely deſerted, and returned in a ſhort time with a plentiful ſupply of Indian wheat, fowls, and other neceſſaries. Every thing was now diſpoſed for quitting St. Juan de Ulua. The fleet ſet ſail for the bay of Quiabiſlan, and Cortez proceeded with the army by land, taking the road of Zempoalla, and ſending out ſcouts to examine the country. On his arrival on the frontiers of this province, he found all the houſes and villages abandoned by the inhabitants, and even without any furniture or proviſions; a circumſtance which created ſuſpicion, that the cazique's overtures of friendſhip were inſincere. The temples only were left in their former ſituation. There the Spaniards found ſeveral idols, inſtruments for ſacrificing, made of flint, the fragments of ſome human victims, and certain books, ſuppoſed to contain the principles of the Mexican religion, made of long ſkin or varniſhed cloth, ſo folded that every doubling made a leaf, and written or painted with that kind of imagery, ſymbols, or hieroglyphics, uſed in the diſpatches ſent by Teutile to Montezuma.

The army took up their quarters the firſt night in ſome of the beſt houſes, and continued their march next morning through the ſame ſuſpicious ſolitude, expecting every moment to be attacked, till they entered ſome delightful meadows, or ſavannas, where they met twelve Indians laden with proviſions, as a preſent to Cortez from the cazique of Zempoalla, and a ſecond invitation to come to his town, where he ſhould be more plentifully entertained. This gave Cortez ſome encouragement to proceed, though it did not entirely efface the doubts which he entertained concerning the cazique's fidelity; he therefore retained ſix of the Indians as guides, that he might have an opportunity of aſking them queſtions.

When Cortez approached the city of Zempoalla, the capital of the province of the ſame name, he was accoſted by twelve noble Indians, who complimented him in their cazique's name, and apologized for their maſter not doing himſelf the honour of paying his reſpects in perſon. The town was large, and ſituated between two rivers, which deſcending from ſome mountains at a ſmall diſtance, fertilized the country, and added to the beauty of the proſpect. The buildings were of ſtone, covered or adorned with a ſort of lime, white and ſhining, which made one of the ſcouts return exclaiming, that the walls were of ſilver; a miſtake which occaſioned much merriment in the army, and was afterwards made a jeſt of by many who probably believed it at the time. The ſquares and ſtreets were filled with vaſt crowds of people, aſſembled to behold the entry of the Spaniards; but without any arms that could give the leaſt ſuſpicion, or any noiſe except what uſually proceeds from an admiring multitude. The cazique came out to the gate of his palace, ſupported by ſome of his nobles, to whom he ſeemed to owe all his motion, being exceedingly fat and unwieldly. His habit was a mantle of fine cotton thrown over his naked body, enriched with various jewels and pendants, which he alſo wore in his ears and lips, and altogether made a moſt ludicrous appearance. Cortez found it neceſſary to check the riſibility of his ſoldiers; and as he had occaſion to put ſome reſtraint upon himſelf, the order was given with a forced ſeverity. But as ſoon as the cazique began to ſpeak, re-

receiving

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

ceiving the general with his arms, and welcoming the reſt of the officers, his good ſenſe was conſpicuous, and gained the reſpect of the underſtanding. His diſcourſe was ſhort, and to the purpoſe, deſiring Cortez to retire to reſt after his journey, and quarter his troops in the apartments provided for them; adding, that he would take an opportunity to viſit him next morning, when they could talk more at leiſure concerning their common intereſts.

As an introduction to this viſit, the cazique ſent Cortez a preſent of jewels and gold, to the value of about two thouſand peſos. He came ſoon after himſelf, with a ſplendid retinue, carried on men's ſhoulders, in a kind of litter or palanquin. Cortez went out to receive him, attended by his principal officers; and, after the firſt compliments were over, retired into a private apartment, accompanied by the cazique and his interpreters, judging it prudent to talk to him without other witneſſes. Having made the uſual ſpeech relative to the grandeur of the king his maſter, the purpoſe of his coming, and the errors of idolatry, Cortez proceeded to tell the cazique, That one of the chief objects of his embaſſy was to redreſs wrongs, puniſh violence, and take part with juſtice and reaſon; touching on this point with a view of leading him, by degrees, to complain of Montezuma, and to diſcover what advantages might be drawn from his diſlike of that monarch. The change of his countenance ſoon diſcovered that the proper ſtring had been touched. Before he attempted any anſwer, he began to ſigh, and at laſt broke out into bitter lamentations of his unhappy condition; telling Cortez, that all the caziques of the neighbouring provinces were under a miſerable and ſhameful ſlavery, groaning beneath the oppreſſions and tyrannies of Montezuma, without ſufficient force to free themſelves, or even courage to think of a remedy. He intimated a wiſh, that the gallant ſtrangers might aſſiſt in recovering the liberties of the Mexicans; but ſaid it was not his deſign, by any trifling preſents which he had the power of beſtowing, to engage the general in ſo difficult an undertaking, nor would it be conſiſtent with the laws of friendſhip to ſell his inſignificant ſervices at ſo high a price.

Cortez diſcovered a mixture of art and generoſity in this diſcourſe, which he anſwered by giving the cazique the higheſt opinion of the Spaniſh valour and juſtice. He little regarded Montezuma's power, he ſaid, having Heaven on his ſide, and a natural predominancy over tyrants; but he was under an indiſpenſable neceſſity, he added, of paſſing on to Quiabiſlan, where the oppreſſed and injured might apply for his protection, and all who, having juſtice on their ſide, ſtood in need of his arms. This information he deſired the cazique to communicate to his friends, and aſſure them, that Montezuma would ceaſe to tyrannize, or fail in the attempt, while he undertook their defence*.

Immediately after this interview Cortez prepared for his departure, extremely well ſatisfied with his reception at Zempoalla, and the diſpoſition in which he had found the cazique, whence he drew preſages favourable to his great deſign: and other circumſtances conſpired to convince him of the cazique's ſincerity. When

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 8. Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 3.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

he was ready to march, that prince ſent him, as a particular mark of his friendſhip, a preſent of twenty maidens, all of them the daughters of principal men, for the uſe of himſelf and his officers; and alſo ſupplied the army with a number of thoſe Indians called *Tamames*, whoſe office was to perform all ſervile labour, in order to carry the baggage and proviſions. Theſe men were a great relief to the Spaniſh ſoldiers, who had hitherto not only been obliged to carry their own baggage, but alſo to drag along the artillery.

Cortez, on his arrival at Quiabiſlan found the town, though naturally ſtrong, entirely deſerted; nor could he meet with any perſon to give him the leaſt intelligence of the cauſe of ſuch deſolation, till coming to a ſquare, where ſome temples ſtood, fourteen or fifteen prieſts came out pompouſly dreſſed, and accoſted him in a moſt reſpectful manner, uſing every argument in their power to deprecate his diſpleaſure. He encouraged them by careſſes and preſents; when recovering from their fright, which they had affected to conceal, they gave him to underſtand, that their cazique had withdrawn himſelf in order to avoid engaging in a war with ſuch terrible enemies, or endangering his perſon, by truſting to the generoſity of ſtrangers, and that it was impoſſible to prevent the inhabitants from following his example; but as ſoon as they ſhould be made acquainted with the goodneſs of ſuch honourable gueſts, they would immediately return to their houſes, and account it a particular happineſs to ſerve and obey them. Cortez gave the prieſts freſh aſſurances of his friendly intentions; and by their perſuaſion ſeveral families returned to the town that night, and next day it was full of inhabitants.

Among others the cazique returned, bringing with him the chief of Zempoalla, who undertook to apologize for the diffidence which his neighbour had ſhewn of the Spaniards. This matter being ſettled, they both voluntarily introduced their complaints of Montezuma, and teſtified their ſincerity by the tears which they ſhed, and the keen expreſſions of their reſentment. They pathetically repreſented the miſery of the people, and the diſhonour of the nobility; and the cazique of Zempoalla added, by way of climax, "This tyrant, alike rapacious and cruel, beſides impoveriſhing us by his exactions, and raiſing his wealth out of our calamities, demands our ſons to be offered as victims on the altars of his gods, while his officers forcibly tear from us our wives and daughters, in order to ſacrifice them to purpoſes more diſhonourable *.

Cortez endeavoured to comfort the diſconſolate chiefs, by aſſuring them of his protection, and was inquiring into their ſtrength, and the number of tribes that would take arms, in order to reſcue themſelves from ſuch an ignominous ſlavery, when two or three Indians entered, with all the marks of horror and ſurpriſe in their looks, and whiſpered ſomething to the caziques, which made them quit the apartment in great confuſion, without the ceremony of taking leave. The cauſe of this alarm was preſently known. Six of Montezuma's royal commiſſaries, ſuch as uſually went through the empire to levy his tributes, had entered the town, and were then paſſing before the Spaniſh quarters. Cortez went out, accompanied

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 9. Herrera dec. II. lib. iii. c. 4.

by

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

by his captains, to ſee the proceſſion, which was a ſpectacle altogether new to the Spaniards. The commiſſaries were carried in litters on men's ſhoulders attended by a great number of ſervants and inferior officers, who with large fans, made of beautiful feathers, cooled their maſters, or ſhaded them from the ſun, as occaſion required. Their dreſs was magnificent, conſiſting of fine cotton mantles adorned with gold and precious ſtones, rich plumes on their heads, and jewels in their ears, noſes, and lips. They paſſed Cortez, in much ſtate, without deigning to pay him the leaſt mark of reſpect. On the contrary, they ſeemed to eye him with a look of indignation and contempt; which ſo irritated the Spaniſh ſoldiers, that they would have chaſtiſed the haughty Mexicans, had they not been reſtrained by the general, who reſted ſatisfied, at the time, with ſending Donna Marina, attended by a ſufficient guard, in order to gather an account of their proceedings. By her means he learned, that, having ſeated themſelves in the town-houſe, they ſummoned the caziques to appear before them; and after reprimanding them ſeverely, for daring to hold any intercourſe with thoſe ſtrangers whom the emperor had commanded to quit his dominions, they demanded, as an expiation for that guilt, twenty human victims, to be ſacrificed to the gods of the great Montezuma.

As ſoon as Cortez was informed of this horrid demand, he ſent for the caziques in the moſt private manner. On their appearance, he told them, that being able to penetrate into their moſt ſecret thoughts, he found they were diſpoſed to yield obedience to the cruel command of the Mexican officers; and while they ſtood amazed at this ſeeming myſtery, he charged them, under pain of his diſpleaſure, not to countenance ſuch abominations, or any longer comply with the ſhocking impoſition of tributes in human blood; but, on the contrary, to aſſemble their people, to ſeize the commiſſaries, and leave him to maintain what was done by his advice. The boldneſs of this order terrified the caziques, who dreaded the anger of Montezuma, and were grown ſo puſillanimous by the habit of ſuffering, that they even reſpected the rod of tyranny: at firſt they poſitively refuſed to execute it; but when Cortez repeated his charge, in a reſolute tone, they collected their retainers, and ſeized the officers, to the great joy of the populace, who were delighted with this ſpirited exertion, and enjoyed in idea the puniſhment which they hoped to ſee inflicted on thoſe inſtruments of tyranny and barbarity.

The caziques propoſed to execute their priſoners in the moſt ignominious manner; but finding Cortez averſe to ſuch a meaſure, they deſired permiſſion at leaſt to ſacrifice them to their gods, as if this had been a kind of lenity, their ſuperſtition being no leſs barbarous than that of the Mexicans. Willing in the meantime, to prevent bloodſhed, Cortez put the commiſſaries under a Spaniſh guard; and as he did not entirely approve, on mature deliberation, of commencing hoſtilities againſt Montezuma, without ſome better reaſon, nor thought it adviſable to hazard the diſpleaſure of that party which was forming among the malcontents, he reſolved to ſteer a middle courſe; to ſuſpend the effects of the reſentment ſhewn by the caziques, and, without diſguſting his new allies, to make a merit with the emperor of having ſaved his officers from the intended

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

puniſhment. In conſequence of this reſolution, he ordered two of the priſoners to be brought to him with the utmoſt ſecrecy at midnight; and after receiving them courteouſly, he told them, that he had ſent for them in order to ſet them at liberty; that they owed this favour ſolely to his friendſhip, and might aſſure Montezuma, that he would endeavour to procure the releaſe of the other priſoners, as well as to convince the caziques of their fault, in refuſing obedience to the ſacred orders of their ſovereign. For his own part, he ſaid, he was deſirous of peace, and hoped to deſerve, by his exemplary conduct, all the reſpect and gratitude due to the ambaſſador of a great and generous prince.

The Mexican officers expreſſed in the warmeſt manner their ſenſe of the obligation conferred, but intimated their fear of being again ſeized, on which Cortez ordered them be be conveyed in a boat beyond the limits of Zempoalla. Nor did his fineſſe end here. Next morning when the caziques acquainted him, in the utmoſt terror and confuſion, that two of the priſoners had made their eſcape, he affected to be much ſurpriſed and incenſed, blaming ſeverely their want of vigilance; and under this pretence, he ordered the remaining priſoners to be carried on board the fleet, ſaying, that he would take upon himſelf the care of their impriſonment: an artifice by which he not only ſecured the confidence of the two caziques, but opened a road to favour with Montezuma, by charging his officers to treat the priſoners with all poſſible kindneſs.

Thus did Cortez purſue his ſchemes with the moſt refined policy, the good effects of which were ſoon evident. The fame of the valour, juſtice, and benignity of the Spaniards, quickly ſpread through the neighbouring provinces; and the caziques of Quiabiſlan and Zempoalla acquainted all their friends and allies of the happineſs they enjoyed under the protection of the ſtrangers; being freed from oppreſſion, and ſecured in their liberties, by an invincible people, who knew the very thoughts of men, and ſeemed of a ſuperior nature. It was even rumoured, that the gods had come down to Quiabiſlan, darting lightning at Montezuma for his impiety; and this report gained ſo much credit, as produced a veneration, that greatly facilitated the deſigns of the Spaniards. Above thirty caziques, lords of a fierce and warlike people, called Totonaques, who inhabited the mountainous part of the country, and were inveterate enemies of Montezuma, came and paid their reſpects to Cortez, offered their troops to aſſiſt him in any enterpriſe, and ſurrendered themſelves wholly to his obedience, ſolemnly ſwearing fidelity and vaſſalage to the king of Spain *.

This confederacy being formed, the mind of Cortez was more at eaſe, and he reſolved to found the town of Villa Rica, which had hitherto exiſted only in name, as the next grand ſtep to the ſucceſs of his undertaking. For that purpoſe the plain between Quiabiſlan and the ſea was pitched upon, becauſe of its fertility and conveniency, abounding in wood and water, and being contiguous to a good harbour. The workmen were diſtributed according to their ſeveral profeſſions; and the Indians of Zempoalla and Quiabiſlan aſſiſting, with equal

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 4. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 10.

ſkill

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

ſkill and induſtry, the houſes, or rather huts, began to riſe incredibly faſt, and the compaſs of the town was marked out by a mud wall, of ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the aſſaults of an Indian army. The principal Spaniſh officers laboured with as much diligence as the meaneſt ſoldier, Cortez himſelf ſetting them an example of activity and perſeverance in toil. Not ſatisfied with that ſcanty induſtry, which is thought ſufficient in a ſuperior to encourage others, he applied both his hands and his ſhoulders to the work; rouſing perſons of all ranks to a generous emulation, by convincing them, that every thing is honourable and praiſe-worthy that contributes to the public good *.

While the Spaniards were thus occupied in ſecuring themſelves a retreat, by the efforts of their united induſtry, the councils of Montezuma were diſtracted by contradictory reſolutions. When informed of the reception given to the obnoxious ſtrangers, by the chiefs of Zempoalla and Quiabiſlan, he was ſo highly enraged, that he commanded a numerous army to be aſſembed, at the head of which he propoſed to march in perſon, in order to puniſh the perfidious caziques, threatening to ſeize the Spaniards alive, and ſacrifice them to his gods. But on the arrival of the officers whom Cortez had releaſed, a new reſolution was formed. They dwelt on the valour, generoſity, and courteſy of the captain of the ſtrangers, whoſe views were wholly pacific, and whoſe reſpect for the great Montezuma was as profound as that of the moſt faithful of his ſubjects. The anger of the haughty monarch was appeaſed, and he determined to try once more the effect of a negociation recommended by preſents. In order to give more weight to his ſuit, he appointed two of his nephews, aſſiſted by five aged caziques, as counſellors, and attended by a magnificent retinue, to wait upon Cortez.

This embaſſy arrived when the new city was almoſt finiſhed. After delivering the preſent, together with the emperor's thanks for the civilities ſhewn to his officers, the ambaſſadors complained of the diſloyalty and preſumption of the caziques; remarking that, though Montezuma could entirely rely on the leader of the ſtrangers for the releaſe of the reſt of his officers, he could not help expreſſing his ſurpriſe, that ſo wiſe and gallant a people ſhould chuſe to reſide among rebels: and they concluded with the emperor's requeſt that the Spaniards ſhould immediately leave that country, that he might have an opportunity of puniſhing the traitors without breach of friendſhip; admoniſhing Cortez, at the ſame time, to lay aſide all thoughts of advancing to the court of Mexico, as the dangers and difficulties of the journey were inexpreſſibly great. On this laſt point they enlarged with a myſterious tediouſneſs, it being the principal article in their inſtructions.

Cortez received the Mexican ambaſſadors with great reſpect; and, in order to conciliate their good will, before he returned his anſwer, he commanded the four impriſoned officers to be brought from on board the fleet, and delivering them up, ſaid, That he hoped the error committed by the caziques was amended by the reſti-

* Id. ibid.

tution

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

tution now made; that the commiſſaries, by their cruel and extravagant demands, had in ſome meaſure drawn upon themſelves the inſult of that impriſonment; and that he had reaſon to reſent their ſeverity, as it was occaſioned by the civilities generouſly ſhewn to him and his companions, when abandoned by Pilpatoe and Teutile, contrary to the laws of hoſpitality and of nations: but having nothing in view but peace, he was unwilling, he remarked, to dwell upon grievances; and that Montezuma might reſt aſſured, that no attempt ſhould be made to the prejudice of the royal authority by the caziques of Zempoalla and Quiabiſlan, nor by thoſe of the mountains, who were entirely at the devotion of their new gueſts. As to what regarded himſelf, he added, that he would explain the purpoſe of his embaſſy, when he had the honour of being admitted into the emperor's preſence; in bar of which, ſo neceſſary viſit, dangers and difficulties would be diſregarded, the Spaniards being inured to hardſhips, and accuſtomed to ſeek glory amid the greateſt perils.

This ſpeech Cortez delivered in a tone ſo firm, that the Mexican ambaſſadors did not dare to reply, though it was evident they were diſſatisfied. He diſmiſſed them with many marks of reſpect, and a preſent of European trinkets; in full confidence that, notwithſtanding their diſappointment with reſpect to the principal object of their deputation, their report would prove favourable to the character of the Spaniards. Nor was this the only advantage which Cortez derived from this embaſſy. It exalted him in the opinion of the Indians. They conceived that he muſt be ſome deity, and none of the leaſt powerful, who, with ſo ſmall a force, durſt preſume to oppoſe a mighty monarch, and whoſe friendſhip Montezuma, too proud to kneel even to his gods, ſolicited with preſents, which they conſidered as ſacrifices *.

Cortez had occaſion for all his policy and diſcernment; talents, in his ſituation, no leſs neceſſary than valour. He was obliged to guard againſt the ſelfiſh, and ſecret deſigns of his friends, as well as to oppoſe the open attacks of his enemies. A remarkable inſtance of the former now occurred. The cazique of Zempoalla being the inveterate enemy of the chief of the neighbouring province of Zempazingo, and thinking this a proper opportunity to take vengeance, and enrich himſelf with plunder, told Cortez, that a body of Mexicans were quartered in the capital of that diſtrict, and waſted his fields, and deſolated his territory, on account of his attachment to the ſtrangers. Cortez believed the feigned relation; and thinking it neceſſary to ſupport the reputation of his arms, as well as that character of deliverer, which he had aſſumed, marched with four hundred Spaniards, and two thouſand Zempoallans, to attack the town of Zempazingo; but to his aſtoniſhment, he found the place entirely deſerted. The deceit was diſcovered by means of ſome prieſts, who had ventured to remain in the temples: the Zempoallan captains, whoſe people were already loaded with booty, were ſeverely reprimanded, and threatened, for attempting to make their protector the inſtrument of their private revenge; and the cazique of Zempazingo, charmed with the generoſity

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 10.

A. D. 1519.

of Cortez, who had ordered all the plunder to be reſtored, ſubmitted himſelf voluntarily to the crown of Spain *.

When Cortez returned to Zempoalla, he found the cazique waiting for him, at ſome little diſtance from the town, with great ſtore of proviſions to refreſh the army, and much aſhamed and troubled, that his deceit was diſcovered. He attempted an excuſe, but the general would not hear it; telling him that he had laid aſide his diſpleaſure, and deſired an amendment in future, which was the only atonement for pardoned crimes. Happy to be ſo readily forgiven, the cazique prepared another preſent of eight beautiful virgins of high condition. One of them was his niece, whom he intended for the general, deſiring that he would take her as a wife, and diſtribute the reſt among his officers. But Cortez, after expreſſing his ſenſe of the honour intended him, replied, that it was not lawful for the Spaniards to take wives of a different religion; and therefore declined receiving the damſels, in that character, till ſuch time as they ſhould become Chriſtians.

The intemperate zeal of Cortez, rouſed by this act of ſelf-denial, had almoſt proved fatal to his whole enterpriſe. While attempting in vain to perſuade the cazique to embrace Chriſtianity, ſome of his fanatical ſoldiers entered, and cried, they could no longer bear the impieties which thoſe hardened idolaters daily practiſed in their ſight; and that, before they entered upon any other undertaking, they ought to vindicate the honour of God, which was the chief motive of their coming thither, and for which they were ready to lay down their lives. Cortez commended their pious reſolution; and forgetting at once all the dictates of decency and ſound policy, accompanied them to the principal temple, where, in a tranſport of enthuſiatic fury, he ordered all the idols to be thrown down and broken, and a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary to be erected in their ſtead †. The people beheld this outrage with aſtoniſhment and horror, taking Heaven to witneſs that they had no hand in it: the prieſts excited them to arms; but ſo great was the aſcendency of Cortez, who ordered the cazique and ſome of the chief nobility to be ſecured, that the tumult was appeaſed without bloodſhed; and the Indian maids being now baptized and given away, concord was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed, and the ties of friendſhip ſtrengthened by thoſe of blood ‡.

Cortez having thus renewed his alliance with the Zempoallans, marched immediately for his new ſettlement of Villa Rica; and when he arrived there,

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c 4. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 11. † The arguments made uſe of by Cortez, in order to convert the Zempoallans, as found in Herrera, are very plauſible, though ſomewhat laughable. After telling them, that the God of the Chriſtians was the giver of life, health, and plentiful harveſts, he informed them, that this Divinity had loved mankind to ſuch a degree, as to come into the world for our ſalvation, and take fleſh in the virgin womb of a lady, whoſe image (to which he pointed) was honoured by all the catholic church, and through whoſe interceſſion they might expect greater bleſſings than from their idols. Hiſt. Gen. dec. II. lib. iii. c. 4. ‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 4.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

he found a ſmall veſſel juſt come into the harbour, commanded by Franciſco de Salcedo, accompanied by captain Luis Marin, and ten men, who had left Cuba in order to attach themſelves to his fortune. They brought with them one horſe and a mare *. But the pleaſure which this ſupply gave to the general, though conſiderable in his preſent circumſtances, was much allayed by the intelligence which he received, that Velaſquez, whoſe enmity againſt Cortez was ſtill unabated, had purſued his reſentment with unrelenting rigour, and obtained a commiſſion from the king, appointing him adelantado not only of the iſland of Cuba, but ſole director of all the diſcoveries which ſhould be made on the continent by his means, with power to beſtow employments and equip expeditions, in whatever manner he ſhould think proper †.

The Spaniards had now been above three months in the Mexican dominions, every moment of which had been diſtinguiſhed by the moſt important tranſactions, though not of the military kind, and the ſettlement being almoſt completed, it was reſolved to march up the country; but this new intelligence made it neceſſary for Cortez, in the firſt place, to vindicate his conduct to the court, and efface any bad impreſſions, which might be occaſioned by the miſrepreſentations of the governor of Cuba. He likewiſe thought it eſſential to his ſecurity to have his commiſſion immediately from the king, and wholly independent of Velaſquez; for which purpoſe he determined to ſend diſpatches to Spain, with an account of his proceedings. He accordingly laid his intentions before the magiſtrates of the new colony, and obtained from them a letter to Charles V. containing an account of the ſucceſs of the expedition, with a pompous deſcription of the provinces already brought under the obedience of his Catholic Majeſty, and a view of the ſchemes which they had formed, and the hopes which they entertained, of ſubjecting to his dominion the whole empire of Mexico, the riches of which were beyond credibility: and they concluded with a minute detail of the motives which had induced them to renounce all connexion with Velaſquez, to ſettle a colony dependant on the crown alone, and to veſt the ſupreme power, both civil and military, in Cortez; humbly entreating his majeſty to ratify what they had done by his royal authority. This letter was accompanied by another from the general himſelf, in which he entered more particularly into his juſtification, and gave ſtrong aſſurances of his well grounded expectations of annexing New Spain to the crown of Caſtile ‡.

Cortez, however, did not reſt the ſucceſs of his negociation merely upon theſe repreſentations. Senſible that the Spaniſh court, accuſtomed to exaggerated accounts of every new country by its diſcoverer, would pay little regard to the moſt ſplendid deſcriptions of the Mexican expire, unleſs they were ſupported by a correſponding ſpecimen of its wealth, he ſolicited his officers and ſoldiers to relin-

* The manner in which Herrera mentions this circumſtance is highly expreſſive of the ſituation of the Spaniards, and the importance of which horſes were to them. "This ſhip," ſays he, "brought captain Louis Marin with a mare, and ten ſoldiers, and Salcedo had a good horſe." Dec. II. lib. iii. c. 4.

† Dr. Robertſon entirely omits all theſe particulars, and even the arrival of the veſſel.

‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 4. De Solis, lib. ii. c 13.

quiſh

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

quiſh what they might claim, as their ſhare of the treaſure collected, that the whole, inſtead of the fifth, might be ſent to the king: and ſo great was the aſcendant which he had acquired over their minds, and ſuch their own romantic ideas of future wealth, that an army of indigent and rapacious adventurers, on the firſt intimation of this deſign, voluntarily offered, as a preſent to their ſovereign, the entire fruits of their dangers and toils, that their general might be continued in command. Portocarrero and Montejo, the chief magiſtrates of the colony, were appointed to carry this preſent to Spain. The beſt ſhip in the fleet was given to them, with Alaminos as their pilot, and expreſs orders to ſail through the channel of Bahama, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the governor of Cuba *.

While preparations were making for this voyage, ſome ſoldiers and ſailors, ſecretly attached to Velaſquez, formed the deſign of ſeizing one of the brigantines, and making their eſcape to Cuba, in order to give the governor ſuch intelligence as might enable him to intercept the ſhip which was to carry the treaſure and diſpatches to Spain. Fortunately, however, when they had got poſſeſſion of the veſſel, and were ready to embark, their deſign was betrayed by one of their aſſociates, and they were immediately ſecured. Two of the ringleaders were puniſhed with death, and two whipped. The reſt were all pardoned, except the pilot, who was condemned to loſe one foot †.

This conſpiracy, though ſo ſeaſonably detected, filled the mind of Cortez with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions, and prompted him to carry into execution a deſign which had long engaged his thoughts. It made him ſenſible, that ſome ſparks of ſedition ſtill lurked among his troops, which the firſt appearance of adverſe fortune would be apt to blow into a flame, as long as there was any poſſibility of retreat left: he therefore determined to reduce his followers to the neceſſity of adopting the ſame heroic reſolution which he had himſelf formed, either to conquer New Spain or periſh in the attempt. For this purpoſe he determined to deſtroy his fleet: but as he durſt not venture to execute ſuch a bold meaſure by his ſingle authority, he communicated it to his friends; pointing out to them the deſirable acceſſion of ſtrength which they would derive from the junction of an hundred men, now unprofitably employed as ſailors, and urging the propriety of fixing their eyes and wiſhes ſolely on the great objects before them, without once thinking of a retreat. He next referred his deſign to the council, who immediately ſtamped it with their approbation; and the whole affair was conducted with ſo much addreſs, that the very ſailors ſupported the propriety of the reſolution, declaring that the ſhips had been ſo long at ſea, and were ſo much damaged by accidents, as to be altogether unfit for ſervice. They were therefore ſunk, with univerſal conſent, after bringing aſhore their ſails, rigging, iron-work, and whatever elſe might be of uſe ‡.

Immediately after this effort of magnanimity, to which, all circumſtances conſidered, there is nothing equal in the hiſtory of mankind, Cortez muſtered his

* Id. ibid. † Ut ſupra. ‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 4. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 13.

army,

BOOK I. army, and began his march towards Mexico, with five hundred men, fifteen horſe, and ſix field pieces; the reſt of the troops, conſiſting chiefly of ſuch as from age or infirmity were leſs fit for active ſervice, being left as a garriſon in Villa Rica, under Juan de Eſcalante, the chief alguazil, an officer of merit, and firmly attached to the general's intereſt. The cazique of Zempoalla furniſhed him with proviſions, and with two hundred Tamemes, to carry the baggage, and drag the artillery. This prince, and his allies, alſo offered a conſiderable body of troops; but Cortez was ſatisfied with four hundred of the moſt robuſt, among whom he took care to chuſe ſeveral perſons of ſuch diſtinction as might ſerve as hoſtages for the fidelity of their countrymen. Nothing remarkable occurred till the army reached Zocothlan, the capital of a province of the ſame name. Cortez gave the cazique notice of his arrival and deſigns. The anſwer was favourable, and quarters were provided for the troops. But the civilities of this chief, whoſe name was Olinteth, were far from being cordial, nor was the accommodation or entertainment of the Spaniards by any means to their wiſh; though the general took care to repreſs the anger of his ſoldiers, in order to preſerve the appearance of friendly intentions.

August 16, A. D. 1519.

In an interview with Olinteth, who was a man of capacity, and lord of many towns, Cortez aſked the uſual queſtion, whether he was a ſubject of the emperor of Mexico; to which the cazique inſtantly replied, "Who is not a vaſſal or a ſlave to Montezuma?" Cortez endeavoured to convince him of his miſtake; ſaying that the ſovereign, whom he ſerved, had ſubjects greater than Montezuma. The cazique ſmiled at the bold aſſertion, and without entering into any compariſon, went on extolling Montezuma's grandeur; the immenſity of his riches, the ſtrength of his armies, and above all, the unhappineſs of ſuch as attempted to reſiſt his power, for they were condemned to periſh on the altars of his gods. Cortez perceived the deſign of this diſcourſe, and remarked, with a compoſed air, that he had no occaſion to be troubled at the power of Montezuma, with which he was not unacquainted, as his views were altogether friendly; but, though he deſired peace, that he was not afraid of war. "I will not," ſaid he, "draw the ſword without juſt provocation: but, once drawn, every thing will yield to my diſpleaſure, and univerſal carnage enſue. Nature will aſſiſt me with her prodigies, and Heaven with its lightnings; for it is the cauſe of Heaven which I come to vindicate, by baniſhing your vices, and the errors of your religion, even thoſe ſacrifices of human blood, which render your ſovereign ſo terrible *."

With theſe words Cortez broke off his viſit, and turning to his attendants, ſaid, "This, my friends, is what we ſeek; great dangers and great riches: by the one we acquire fame, by the other fortune." A well timed obſervation, by which he entirely effaced from the minds of his ſoldiers all bad impreſſions that might have been produced by the pompous ſpeech of Olinteth; and in conſequence of his reſolute reply to that chief, the army was better accommodated, and more plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, the greateſt reſpect being ſhewn to the meaneſt Spaniard †.

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 15. † Id. ibid. Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 1.

When

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

When Cortez propoſed to leave Zocothlan, where he had continued five days, in order to refreſh his men after their fatiguing march, a difficulty aroſe concerning the route which he ſhould purſue. The cazique recommended that of Cholula; becauſe the country was fertile, and the inhabitants being more inclined to commerce than war, would grant a ſecure and commodious paſſage to the troops: and he warmly remonſtrated againſt the road of Tlaſcala, as the people of that diſtrict were of a warlike and ſanguinary diſpoſition. But the Zempoallan captains privately told Cortez that he muſt not rely on this advice; that Cholula was a large and populous city, the inhabitants of which were inſidious and treacherous, and that Montezuma commonly there quartered a body of his troops; that the Tlaſcalans were indeed a warlike race, but from them he had nothing to fear, as they were the friends and confederates of the Totonaques and Zempoallans, and waged continual war with Montezuma; and that the Spaniards, being in company with the ancient allies of this people, would not be conſidered as ſtrangers, but entertained as aſſociates. Cortez approved of their reaſoning, and commanded his troops to march towards the province of Tlaſcala; on the frontiers of which he ſoon arrrived, as it bordered on that of Zocothlan.

Tlaſcala was at that time a conſiderable ſtate, abounding with warlike and induſtrious inhabitants, and above fifty leagues in extent. Though not ſo far advanced in the arts of civil life as the ſubjects of Montezuma, the Tlaſcalans had attained to a degree of improvement much beyond their rude neighbours. Their country, though not remarkable for fertility, being mountainous and uneven, was well cultivated; a ſtriking proof that they had made conſiderable progreſs in agriculture. They dwelt in large towns, whoſe ſtructure was rather durable than handſome, being chiefly built on eminences with a view to defence: and they had baths and pleaſure gardens. Their government was at firſt monarchical, but the independent ſpirit of the people not brooking ſubjection to an individual, whom they had found too frequently inclined to abuſe his power, they threw off the yoke; and after living for ſome time in a ſtate of anarchy, formed themſelves into a regular commonwealth. They divided their country into different diſtricts, over which certain magiſtrates preſided, who levied taxes, and adminiſtered juſtice within their ſeveral juriſdictions; but it was neceſſary that their laws and edicts ſhould have the ſanction of the ſenate of Tlaſcala, in which the ſupreme authority reſided. This body was compoſed of citizens choſen out of each diſtrict by an aſſembly of the people. The republic was now in the zenith of its power and glory; having for a ſeries of years foiled all the efforts of Montezuma, and eſtabliſhed its independency on the moſt ſolid baſis, in conſequence of alliances with all the free tribes, who had felt, or dreaded the violences of Montezuma. Among theſe was the Otomies, a brave but barbarous people, fierce in war, and cruel in conqueſt *.

Cortez, informed of theſe particulars, determined to ſend an embaſſy to the ſenate of Tlaſcala, in order to demand a free paſſage for his troops through the

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 5. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 15.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

territories of the republic; and for this ſervice he choſe the four Zempoallan captains, who had adviſed the road of Tlaſcala, that their credit might be peculiarly intereſted in the ſucceſs of the negociation. The Zempoallans, having received their inſtructions, immediately adorned themſelves as ambaſſadors, after the manner of their country. For this pupoſe, they put upon their ſhoulders a mantle of fine cotton, wreathed and knotted at the ends. In the right hand they bore a large arrow, with the point turned down, and on the left arm a ſmall target, made of ſhell. The nature of the embaſſy was known by the feathers of the arrow; the red denoting war, and the white peace. By ſuch inſignia ambaſſadors were known, and reſpected in their journies; but they were obliged to confine themſelves to the high road, in the country whither they were ſent, otherwiſe they loſt all the privileges and immunities of their office, and were liable to be treated as enemies.

With theſe enſigns of their deputation, the Zempoallan captains arrived ſafe at the city of Tlaſcala, the capital of the republic, and were admitted to an audience of the ſenate. The members of that aſſembly were ſeated, according to their ſeniority, on low chairs, called Yopales, made of one piece of wood. When the ambaſſadors entered, they roſe up, and welcomed them with a kind of reſerved civility, and important gravity. After paying their reſpects to the ſenate, the Zempoallans walked leiſurely up to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled down, and without lifting up their eyes, waited for leave to ſpeak. The eldeſt ſenator ordered them to declare their buſineſs; when, all ſeating themſelves on their own legs, the orator of the embaſſy delivered himſelf to the following effect: "Noble republic, potent and valiant Tlaſcalans, the lord of Zempoalla, and the mountain-caziques, your friends and confederates, ſend you health; and wiſhing you plentiful harveſts and the death of your enemies, deſire to acquaint you, that certain invincible men are arrived among them from the Eaſt, who ſeem to be divinities, for they ſail in great palaces, and command thunder and lightning, the peculiar arms of Heaven. They ſerve another God, whom they ſay is ſuperior to ours, and who deteſts tyranny and human ſacrifices. Their captain is ambaſſador from a potent monarch, who, impelled by religious motives, deſires to reform the abuſes of our country; to teach us the knowledge of the true God; and reſcue us from the oppreſſions and violences of Montezuma. Having already delivered our provinces out of bondage, and placed us in a ſtate of liberty, he requeſts to paſs through your republic in his way to Mexico, and to be informed in what the tyrant has offended you, that he may add your cauſe to the many others, which juſtify his undertaking.

"With this notice of their deſigns, and with experience of their benignity, we therefore come before you to entreat, and requeſt in the name of our cazique and all his confederates, that you will receive theſe ſtrangers, as the friends and benefactors of your allies: and, on the part of their captain, we can aſſure you, that his diſpoſitions towards the republic are perfectly pacific and benevolent, and that he only demands a free paſſage through your country after you ſhall be convinced of the ſincerity of his friendſhip, and that his arms are the inſtruments of

juſtice,

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

juſtice, reaſon, and religion, which vindicate the cauſe of Heaven; mild and good in their own nature, and terrible only to the wicked."

This harangue being finiſhed, the ambaſſadors raiſed themſelves upon their knees, and making a profound reverence to the ſenate, ſeated themſelves as before on their legs, expecting their anſwer in that poſture. After a ſhort conſultation, the eldeſt ſenator replied in the name of the reſt, That they admitted the propoſition of their allies, the Zempoallans and Totonaques, with all due reſpect and gratitude; but that their anſwer to the captain of the ſtrangers required farther deliberation.

The Zempoallans now retired to their apartments in the Calipſca, or building appropriated for the accommodation of foreign miniſters, while the ſenate of Tlaſcala ſhut themſelves up, in order to diſcuſs the propriety of granting the demand of Cortez. A variety of opinions divided that aſſembly, and many warm debates enſued. Some were for attacking the ſtrangers, and deſtroying them as dangerous intruders, and enemies to the country in general; others were for granting their demand, and attaching them by civilities to the republic; while a third party ſteered a middle courſe, and adviſed giving them no moleſtation, provided they continued their march without entering the dominions of Tlaſcala. After much altercation, without any general opinion being adopted, Magiſcatzin, one of the oldeſt ſenators, and a perſon of great weight, deſired to be heard. He mentioned the tradition of their anceſtors, that a race of conquerors of divine origin, who had power over the elements, ſhould come from the regions of the riſing ſun, and ſubdue all who oppoſed them *. "The ſtrangers," added he, "come from the Eaſt; their arms are fire, and houſes on the waters are their veſſels. Of their valour you have already heard, by the fame of their actions in Tabaſco: their goodneſs is extolled, even by your own allies; and if we caſt our eyes upon thoſe comets and ſignals from Heaven, which have ſo much terrified us of late, methinks they ſpeak to us, and come as meſſengers of this great novelty. But I will ſuppoſe that theſe ſignals are to be diſregarded as caſual, and that the ſtrangers are men, like ourſelves; yet what harm have they done us, that we ſhould conſult about revenge. Upon what injury ſuſtained ſhall we found this violence? Shall Tlaſcala, which maintains its liberty by its victories, and its victories by the reputation of its arms, by its equity and magnanimity, enter voluntarily into a war, which throws a ſtain upon its juſtice and valour?—Theſe people come in a peaceable manner: their requeſt is to paſs through our republic, which they do not attempt without our permiſſion; where then is their crime? where our provocation?—They arrive on our frontiers, confiding in the protection of our friends; and ſhall we loſe our friends, by committing hoſtilities againſt thoſe who deſire our friendſhip? What will the reſt of our allies think of this action?

* If we may believe the earlieſt and moſt authentic Spaniſh hiſtorians, ſuch a tradition, or apprehenſion, from what ſource ſoever it might flow, or by whatever accident it happened to be ſuggeſted, prevailed univerſally among the natives of New Spain, on the arrival of Cortez and his companions in that country.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

and what will fame report of us, if five hundred men oblige us to take arms? Shall we gain as much by overcoming them, as we muſt loſe in reputation by having feared them? — My opinion is, that we admit them with courteſy, and grant them the paſſage they deſire: if they are men, becauſe their requeſt is reaſonable; and if they are any thing more, becauſe the will of the gods is a ſufficient motive."

This ſpeech was received with general applauſe, and all the ſenate ſeemed inclined to follow the advice of Magiſcatzin, when Xicotencal roſe up; a young ſenator of great ſpirit, valour, and capacity, who on account of his heroic actions, had been raiſed to the command of the armies of the republic, and who anſwered the venerable ſage in words to the following purport. "Grey hairs," ſaid he, "are not always infallible in their deciſions; age being more inclined to cautious maxims than bold undertakings. I pay all due reſpect to the opinion and character of Magiſcatzin; but you will not think it ſtrange, conſidering my time of life and my profeſſion, if influenced by ſentiments leſs ſcrupulous, I become an advocate for politics more daring. When talking of war, we are often deceived by that quality which we call prudence; for whatever reſembles fear is not virtue, but weakneſs. There is, I own, an expectation among us of certain oriental viſitors; an expectation kept up by a prophecy, which is ſlow in completion. It is not my intention to diſcredit a tradition that has become venerable by the conſent of ages: but tell me, I pray you, what ſecurity have we that theſe are the promiſed ſtrangers? Is it the ſame thing to come from the Eaſt as to come from the cœleſtial regions, which we conſider as the birth-place of the ſun?—The fire-arms and great embarkations, which you call ſea-palaces, may be the effects of human induſtry, and only admired for their novelty; or perhaps they may be the illuſions of ſome enchantment, like that deception of the ſight which we call cunning, or ſlight in our diviners. Was what they did in Tabaſco any more, than breaking an army ſuperior to themſelves in number?— and ſhall this be thought miraculous in Tlaſcala, where greater actions are daily performed by natural means? May not the benignity, which they have exerciſed towards the Zempoallans, be an artifice, more readily to gain the people? At leaſt I ſhall deem it ſuch; a delicious ſweetneſs which is offered to the palate, in order to conceal their poiſonous deſigns: for we know too much of their inſolence, ambition, and avarice, to believe them capable of benevolent intentions. Theſe men, if they be not rather monſters flung by the ſea upon our coaſts, rob our natives, live at diſcretion, guided by no other law than that of their own will, thirſting after gold and ſilver, and given up to the delights of ſenſuality. They deſpiſe our civil inſtitutions, and endeavour to introduce innovations, equally dangerous to religion and government. They deſtroy our temples, (as appears from their conduct at Zempoalla and other places) pull in pieces our altars, and blaſpheme our gods; and is this the race you call cœleſtial? and can any one doubt, whether we ſhould reſiſt? and can we liſten without ſcandal to the name of peace? If the Zempoallans and Totonaques have admitted them into their friendſhip, it was without conſulting our republic; conſequently we are under no ties

by

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

by the law of nations. They advanced under no better protection than the want of thought, which deſerves to be puniſhed in them as preſumption, and indiſcretion in thoſe that ſupport them. The frightful appearances ſo magnified by Magiſcatzin, being the conſtant harbingers of calamities and misfortunes, ſhould rather incline us to treat the ſtrangers as enemies, than as benefactors; for Heaven, by its prodigies, does not give us notice of thoſe things for which we wiſh, but which we ought to fear. Our felicities never come accompanied with terrors: nor does Heaven light up comets to lull us aſleep, but to awaken us to a ſenſe of our danger. My opinion therefore is, that we aſſemble our forces, and cruſh thoſe haughty ſtrangers at one blow: for they come into our power pointed out by ſigns in the heavens, in order that we may conſider them as the oppreſſors of our country, and the revilers of our gods; and that, eſtabliſhing the reputation of our arms on their puniſhment, the world may perceive that it is not the ſame thing to be immortal in Tabaſco, and invincible in Tlaſcala."

Theſe arguments being more agreeable to the genius of a people bred up in arms, and breathing nothing but war, than thoſe of Magiſcatzin, ſoon effaced from the minds of the audience every trace left of his more cautious advice, and the ſpeech of Xicotencal was echoed with ſhouts of applauſe. But on re-examining the matter, it was thought, by the more experienced part of the ſenate, an act of the higheſt imprudence, and moſt inconſiderate raſhneſs, and contrary to all the maxims of ſound policy, to riſk the fate of the republic on the event of a ſingle battle. Temilotecal, another of the heads of the commonwealth, endeavoured therefore to ſtrike a medium between the two extremes. He was of opinion, he ſaid, That meſſengers ſhould be diſpatched to the commander of the ſtrangers with intelligence that he ſhould be well received in that city; and, in the meantime, as they had troops in readineſs, that Xicotencal ſhould advance towards him with the Otomies, and try what thoſe men were whom ſome called gods. "If they are vanquiſhed," added he, "Tlaſcala will gain eternal honour: if not, the blame may be laid on the Otomies, as a barbarous and raſh people, and room will ſtill be left for the republic to treat of peace." This counſel being generally approved of, was ordered to be put in execution; after which the Zempoallans were called in, and told, that it was reſolved to receive the ſtrangers in a friendly manner. A pretext was, however, made for detaining the ambaſſadors, in a kind of underhand impriſonment, in order to gain time for Xicotencal to march againſt Cortez, and for the ſenate to return their anſwer according to the event *.

Cortez, having remained eight days encamped on the frontiers of Tlaſcala, in anxious expectation of the return of the ambaſſadors, reſolved, with the advice of his officers and the Zempoallan chiefs, to advance towards the capital, in order to learn the intentions of the republic. In conſequence of this determination, he marched with his army in good order, omitting no precaution

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 1. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 16.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

neceſſary to be obſerved by thoſe who ſet foot, for the firſt time, in the country of an unknown enemy; and taking a road between two mountains, whoſe ſkirts formed a delightful valley, he came to a great wall, which ran from the one mountain to the other, entirely ſhutting up the paſſage. It was twenty feet thick, and a fathom and an half high; and on the top was a parapet, after the manner of European fortifications. The entrance was narrow and winding; the wall in that part dividing, and making two walls, which circularly croſſed each other, for the extent of ten paces. Cortez was informed by the Indians of Zocothlan, that this was the boundary of the province of Tlaſcala, built by the inhabitants in former ages, as a bulwark againſt the invaſions of their enemies; and it was fortunate for the Spaniſh general, that they had not poſſeſſed themſelves of it, in order to oppoſe his march. This neglect may be accounted for two ways; either becauſe the Tlaſcalans did not ſo ſoon expect the arrival of the Spaniards, or becauſe they choſe to engage them in the open field, that their forces might have more room to act to advantage, by ſurrounding the inferior number of the enemy.

Having paſſed the wall without any obſtruction, Cortez again formed his army, and continued his march ſlowly, and in good order, till coming into a more ſpacious country, the ſcouts diſcovered a party of twenty or thirty Tlaſcalans, whoſe plumes (only worn by ſoldiers in actual ſervice) denoted their hoſtile intentions. The general ordered them to be called by ſignals of peace, which they diſregarded, running till they incorporated with another party, then turned about, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. They were attacked by the Spaniſh cavalry; and made ſuch a gallant reſiſtance that, regardleſs of their own loſs, they wounded two men and five horſes, before they offered to give ground. As ſoon as they began to yield, a body of five thouſand Tlaſcalans ruſhed out from the thickets, where they had concealed themſelves, to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen. At this inſtant the Spaniſh infantry happily came up to ſupport their ſlender body of cavalry. The enemy attacked with incredible fury, but they were ſo warmly received, and ſo much diſconcerted by the firſt diſcharge of the fire-arms, that they retired in confuſion, and afforded the Spaniards an opportunity of purſuing them with great ſlaughter: an advantage which Cortez declined, as the day was far advanced, from a ſuſpicion that this ſo eaſy victory might be a ſtratagem to draw him into an ambuſcade.

The Spaniards ſpent the night unmoleſted, and advanced next morning in order of battle, to an eminence, whence they deſcried the whole Tlaſcalan army, compoſed of near forty thouſand men of different nations, drawn up on the plain, under the command of Xicotencal, general of the republic *. The experience which

* It was in their march this morning that the Spaniards, for want of better proviſions, fed upon Tunas, a fruit which the country ſpontaneouſly produces. This Dr. Robertſon conſiders as a proof of the uncultivated ſtate of Tlaſcala; and thence draws a concluſion, that the armies of the republic could not be ſo numerous as generally repreſented. But the ſame neceſſity might happen to an hoſtile army, no larger than that of Cortez, in the extreme parts of the beſt cultivated

which the Spaniards had gained in Tabaſco preventing them from being diſcouraged at the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, they marched down the hill with perfect compoſure; formed themſelves on the plain; brought down the artillery without hurry or confuſion; and diſpoſed every thing for attacking the Tlaſcalans with the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of victory, though they found ſome difficulty in bringing their confederates to be of the ſame opinion. Xicotencal, however, ſhewed his generalſhip, by diſpoſing his troops in ſuch a manner as to ſurround the Spaniards. This manœuvre was no ſooner effected, than he contracted the circle with incredible diligence; ſhowering ſuch quantities of darts, ſtones, and arrows, as almoſt covered the little army of Cortez. But being made ſenſible, by the ſlaughter of his troops, of the inferiority of the Tlaſcalan weapons to the fire-arms of the Spaniards, he cloſed with them, in order to try the effect of his pikes and ſwords. In this reſpect the Tlaſcalans were little more upon an equality with their enemies, though they fought with aſtoniſhing obſtinacy and impetuoſity: they fell in heaps, either by the Spaniſh ſpears, or the vollies diſcharged among them from the artillery, every ſhot doing execution.

It was the practice of the Tlaſcalans, from motives of tenderneſs or miſtaken policy, to carry off their wounded and ſlain, even in the heat of the engagement; by which means their union was often broken, and the force of the impreſſion which they might have made by a joint effort diminiſhed. But Cortez, notwithſtanding this pious ſolicitude, was ſenſible of the decreaſe of their numbers: their fury abated; and they fell back to a greater diſtance, though they ſtill continued the battle. The Spaniards, who had hitherto fought in the form of a ſquare, preſenting a front on every ſide, now formed into a column by the command of the general, and puſhing on with irreſiſtible fury, entirely broke and routed the enemy, after an obſtinate diſpute.

In the purſuit one Nicron, a Spaniſh horſeman, engaging himſelf too far, was ſurrounded, and taken priſoner by the enemy, after they had killed the animal on which he rode, and cut off its head. This accident encouraged the Tlaſcalans to rally and renew the charge, which they began with redoubled fury; and terrible muſt have been the ſlaughter on both ſides, had it continued: but fortunately for the Spaniards, who were now almoſt worn out with fatigue, Xicotencal ordered a retreat to be ſounded, on diſcovering that moſt of his officers were ſlain, apprehenſive that he ſhould not be able to govern ſuch a multitude of ſoldiers by his ſingle authority. The Spaniards, therefore, remained maſters of the field, though the Tlaſcalans alſo exulted, claiming the victory becauſe they had not

ted country in Europe; or even in the interior parts, if care was taken to carry off and deſtroy the proviſions. The Spaniards experienced no want in Tlaſcala, after they entered into an alliance with the republic; nor even during the war, when they had advanced farther into the country. The Tlaſcalan general ordered them to be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, that it might not be ſaid he vanquiſhed an army periſhing of hunger; a circumſtance which favours ſo ſtrongly of the ſpirit of chivalry, that we might ſuppoſe it to be ſuggeſted by the romantic imaginations of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, were not writers the moſt oppoſite in ſentiments, united in atteſting it as a fact.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

been completely defeated; and the head of the Spaniſh horſe, the only mark of their triumph, the rider having been reſcued by his companions, was carried by Xicotencal before the army on the point of a ſpear, preſented to the ſenate, and afterwards ſolemnly ſacrificed to their gods. The loſs of the Tlaſcalans was very conſiderable, though it could not be exactly aſcertained, by reaſon of the practice already mentioned. Of the Spaniards nine were wounded, beſides ſeveral Zempoallans, but none ſlain *.

Cortez having now leiſure for obſervation, diſcovered a village ſeated on an eminence which commanded the country. Of this poſt he poſſeſſed himſelf without oppoſition, the inhabitants having retired on the defeat of the Tlaſcalan army, leaving behind them abundance of proviſions, which proved a very ſeaſonable refreſhment to his troops. Here Cortez fortified a camp, and kept watch in perſon the greater part of the night, with one third of his army; a precaution which might have ſeemed unneceſſary, had he known, that it was a maxim among the Tlaſcalans never to fight after the going down of the ſun. He ſpent next day in ſtrengthening his entrenchments; and as he was neither ſo vain as to think the republic would be ſo much humbled by their loſs as to give up the conteſt, nor ſo confident as not to be ſenſible of the danger of encountering a force ſo much ſuperior, he was diſpoſed, notwithſtanding his paſt ſucceſs, to renew his declarations of friendſhip, but could find no way to introduce the negociation. This dilemma was occaſioned by the return of the Zempoallan envoys, who had broke, as they ſaid, from their confinement, and narrowly eſcaped being ſacrificed, in order to appeaſe the god of war.

Certain it is, that the Tlaſcalans were much affected by the death of ſo many brave officers and men of rank; and this concern might perhaps puſh the ſenate to wild expedients, as it divided them by a variety of counſels. Some, dignifying the Spaniards with the name of immortal, declaimed loudly in favour of peace; but ſtill the majority were for trying the fortune of Tlaſcala in another engagement. Xicotencal ſtood his ground, notwithſtanding the clamours of Magiſcatzin, and animated them by diſplaying the trophy of the horſe's head: he deſired a reinforcement, concealed his loſs, and promiſed ſucceſs with ſo much confidence, that the ſenate was ready to enter into a meaſure dictated by his revenge, when an auxiliary cazique arrived with a body of ten thouſand men. This ſupply being unexpected, was looked upon as ſuccour from the gods: the courage of the republic revived with freſh ardour; and it was unanimouſly reſolved to augment the army, and proſecute the war at all hazards.

Meanwhile Cortez was not idle. After having put his camp in a proper poſture for defence, he advanced with a party towards the capital, and plundered ſeveral villages, carrying off a great quantity of proviſions, and ſome priſoners. From them he had intelligence, that Xicotencal was encamped at the diſtance of two leagues, and diligent in recruiting his forces, which would in a few days be far more numerous than in the former engagement. Senſible that, if victory

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. De Solis, lib. ii. c. 17.

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

depended upon numbers, the Spaniards would have no chance with the Tlaſcalans, Cortez releaſed all his priſoners, ſaying, he would augment Xicotencal's army to ſhew the republic how little he feared her utmoſt ſtrength; an act which gave the enemy the moſt extravagant ideas of his valour and generoſity, and contributed not a little to his future ſucceſs. By the moſt intelligent of theſe priſoners he ſent a meſſage to Xicotencal, the ſubſtance of which was, that the loſs which the republic had ſuſtained gave him much concern, but that the ſenate had only themſelves to blame, having ungenerouſly treated in an hoſtile manner thoſe who came with pacific intentions; that notwithſtanding this juſt cauſe of diſpleaſure, he was ſtill willing to enter upon a negociation, as if nothing had paſſed; but he threatened, if Xicotencal did not immediately diſarm, to deſtroy the republic utterly, and make the name and misfortunes of Tlaſcala a terror to the neighbouring nations *.

This bold meſſage, it was hoped, would intimidate the Tlaſcalan general; but it had the very oppoſite effect, rouſing his reſentment to ſuch a degree, that he ſent the priſoners back mangled for their preſumption, and with an anſwer equally vain-glorious. He deſired them to tell the general of the ſtrangers, That he ſhould ſee him in the field at the firſt riſing of the ſun, it being his intention to carry him and all his people alive to the altars of the gods, and there to ſacrifice them in the name of the republic, that their blood might appeaſe the guardians of Tlaſcala, and ſecure to it the bleſſings of peace; that he gave him this information that he might have time to prepare himſelf, the Tlaſcalans not being accuſtomed to leſſen the glory of their victories by the ſecurity of their enemies.

While the two generals thus irritated each other by their mutual defiances, both were making the moſt vigorous preparations for carrying their threats into execution, and putting an end to the war by a deciſive battle. Cortez kept ſtrict watch during the night, and advanced, as ſoon as day began to appear, about half a league, to an advantageous poſt, where he determined to wait for the enemy, in that diſpoſition which the experience of the former engagement dictated to be neceſſary, and which the information of Xicotencal encouraged him to make with care, from an aſſurance that it would not be made in vain. He ſecured his flanks by the artillery, iſſuing orders in regard to the times and diſtances at which the cannon could be diſcharged to moſt advantage: every contingency was foreſeen; and the general himſelf took his poſt at the head of the cavalry, that he might ſuperintend the whole, ſuccour thoſe who were hard preſſed, and move with more facility and celerity to the different parts of his army as occaſion might require. In a ſhort time the enemy's van-guard appeared, and the ſcouts returned with advice that an army was in motion which covered the whole face of the country. It conſiſted of at leaſt fifty thouſand men, being the entire ſtrength of the republic united to that of her allies. The golden eagle of Tlaſcala, a ſtandard only brought forth on the moſt extraordinary occaſions, was diſplayed aloft in the middle of the multitude, and every thing declared that the combat would be bloody and deciſive, the fate of the commonwealth depend-

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 18.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

ing on the iſſue of the battle. When the Tlaſcalan forces came within a proper diſtance, the artillery poured ſuch deſtruction among them, that their more advanced parties reeled back upon the main body, and that vaſt army ſeemed for a while divided between the different paſſions of fear, ſhame, and reſentment; but the latter at length prevailing, they advanced in a tumultuous manner, and were ſaluted with ſuch vollies from the muſquetry and croſs-bows, as put them a ſecond time in ſuſpence, whether they ought not to leave the field to the enemy. Xicotencal, however, rouſed their drooping courage by his eloquence, and animated them to ſuch a degree by his example, that, ruſhing on like a torrent, in one collected effort, they broke the Spaniards and Zempoallans; and it required all the abilities of Cortez, the valour of his ſoldiers, and the experience of his officers, to form his line again, or withſtand ſo furious a charge, without being entirely defeated. Nor is it certain that the Spaniards would have been able to keep the field, had it not been for ſuch another accident as that which ſaved them in the former engagement.

The Tlaſcalans were of a ſudden obſerved to be in the utmoſt confuſion, their troops moving to different parts, and dividing and bearing upon each other, until the rear-guard retired in a tumultuous manner, and thoſe engaged in the front were left to find their ſafety in flight. Cortez ſuſpected ſome ſtratagem, and therefore purſued with caution; but he ſoon learned from his priſoners, that the proud and paſſionate Xicotencal had affronted one of the moſt powerful of the confederate chiefs, who, reſenting the injury, drew off his forces, and with them the bulk of the auxiliary troops: ſo that Xicotencal was obliged to leave the field, and a complete victory to the Spaniards. The loſs of the Tlaſcalans was very conſiderable; though the exact number could not be aſcertained by reaſon of that practice, already mentioned, of carrying off their killed and wounded. The Spaniards had only one man killed, and twenty wounded: yet were the ſoldiers diſſatisfied, taking ſhame, to uſe the language of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, that they ſhould have been broken and put into diſorder by barbarians, and returned to their quarters melancholy, and diſpirited, like men who had been vanquiſhed. This dejection led to diſſention and mutiny, the ſoldiers blaming each other, and many charging the whole fault upon the general; declaring that they would not ſacrifice themſelves to gratify his raſh humour, but repair to Villa Rica, and leave him to obey the dictates of his ambitious temerity *.

Cortez was immediately informed of theſe diſcontents; but as he was ſenſible that fear is a violent paſſion, which, in its firſt motions, reaſon cannot ſubdue, he retired to his tent, without attempting to reduce his ſoldiers to obedience, till they ſhould be recovered from their fright. The malcontents, however, continuing to murmur; and neither the authority of the officers, nor the arguments of their

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 19. Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 2. The murmurs of the Spaniſh ſoldiers on this occaſion may be deemed an inconteſtible proof that they did not think their victory deciſive, and were afraid to hazard another battle with the Tlaſcalans. Before the engagement began, Xicotencal ſent them a plentiful ſupply of proviſions, that it might not be ſaid he took advantage of their neceſſities. Herrera, ut ſup. c. 4.

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CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

well-affected companions being ſufficient to appeaſe them, Cortez found it neceſſary to ſhew himſelf, and endeavour to bring them back to their duty. For this purpoſe, he ordered all the Spaniards to aſſemble, under pretence of conſulting them on the preſent ſtate of affairs, and placing near his perſon the moſt turbulent, "It admits," ſaid he, "of little doubt what meaſures we are to purſue, conſidering the preſent poſture of affairs, having gained three victories in a ſhort time, in which your valour and the weakneſs of your opponents were equally conſpicuous. Overcoming an enemy, indeed, is not the termination of a war: a victory muſt be improved as well as gained; and the dangers attending ſucceſs are to be guarded againſt, no leſs than thoſe that obſtruct it. But this, my friends, is not what gives me concern: I ſtand in need of your advice on a more important point. Some of the ſoldiers, I underſtand, are again deſirous, and ſtir up others to propoſe, that we ſhould abandon our undertaking. I am willing to believe, they found their opinion upon ſubſtantial reaſons, but a meaſure of ſo much importance ſhould not be treated of in ſecret cabals. Tell me therefore your opinion freely, that we may all reaſon on what is moſt eligible for all; let us conſider coolly our preſent condition, and then reſolve upon ſomething that may not afterwards be contradicted.

"This march was begun with your approbation, I may ſay with your applauſe. Our reſolution was to paſs on to the court of Mexico. We all devoted ourſelves to the undertaking from zeal for our religion and the ſervice of our king, as well as from our hopes of fame and fortune. Our ſucceſs has been anſwerable to our moſt ſanguine wiſhes. The Indians of Tlaſcala, who have endeavoured to oppoſe our deſigns, with all the ſtrength of their republic and her allies, are now humbled, by repeated defeats. It is impoſſible they can long delay to requeſt peace, or to grant us a paſſage. When this happens, how greatly will it add to our reputation! What will theſe barbarians conceive of us, who already rank us with their gods?—Montezuma, who feared our approach, as is evident by his anſwers and repeated embaſſies, will behold us with redoubled terror, after having vanquiſhed the Tlaſcalans, the moſt valiant people in New Spain, and who have by force of arms maintained their liberties againſt him. It is highly probable that he will make us very advantageous offers, leſt we ſhould join with his enemies: and it is poſſible that this ſame difficulty, which we now encounter, may be the means that God makes uſe of to facilitate our deſigns, by making trial of our conſtancy: for he will not work miracles for us, till he has proved both our hearts and hands. But ſhould we turn our backs, all our labours will be loſt, and our ſplendid views will at once vaniſh. What can we then hope for?—and what have we not to fear?—This very vanquiſhed people, now appalled and fugitive, will collect freſh courage; and knowing all the ſhort cuts, and difficult paſſes in the country, will purſue and harraſs us in our retreat. Our Indian friends, who at preſent ſtand by us, contented and courageous, will immediately deſert us, and return home, publiſhing every where our diſgrace; and the Zempoallans and Totonaques, our confederates, and our only hope in misfortune, loſing their opinion of our power, will be apt to conſpire againſt us.

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BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

I repeat it again, let every thing be duly conſidered, what we have to hope from advancing, and to fear from retreating, that we may be able to determine which is moſt eligible: for I leave you at full liberty to reaſon and reſolve, having laid the inconveniencies of a retreat before you, rather to free myſelf from blame, than to influence your opinion."

Scarcely had Cortez finiſhed this ſpeech, when one of the diſſatisfied ſoldiers, convinced by his arguments, ſaid to his companions aloud, "Our general inſtructs us how to act, while he ſeems only to aſk our advice: we cannot now retire without ſacrificing our hopes, our glory, and our lives." The reſt of the malcontents acquieſced, confeſſing their error: the well diſpoſed party rejoiced at this change of opinion; and a reſolution to proſecute the enterpriſe was announced by univerſal acclamations.

Matters went on very differently at Tlaſcala. Nothing was there to be ſeen but confuſion, diſorder, and diſmay. The ſecond defeat of the army ſpread general conſternation. The common people cried out for peace; and the nobility, had they been unanimous, were unable to carry on the war without them. It was the opinion of the more timid, that they ought to retire with their families to the mountains: of the more ſuperſtitious, that the Spaniards were deities, and ought as ſuch to be worſhipped; of the more reſolute, that another engagement ſhould be hazarded; and of the more moderate and prudent, that peace ſhould be ſolicited, and the Spaniards gained by kindneſs, ſince they could neither be conquered by numbers nor valour. Conſultations were held in the ſenate on this ſubject, the reſult of which were, that they did not think the ſtrangers really divinities, but that their actions were ſo extraordinary as to require the aſſiſtance of magical powers: it was therefore reſolved to conſult the magicians of the republic, that the force of one enchantment might be removed by that of another. Theſe ſages were accordingly called in; and pretending that they had already diſcovered by their myſterious art the doubt that was to be propounded to them, and conſidered the caſe, they delivered the following reſponſe, in which they pretended to unfold the cauſe of thoſe ſupernatural acts of valour performed by the Spaniards: That the ſtrangers were the offspring of the ſun, procreated by his active energy in the mother-earth of the oriental regions; that by day, while cheriſhed by his parental beams, they were ſuperior to human force; but when he retired to the weſt, and withdrew his animating heat, that their vigour declined and faded, like the herbs of the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. It was therefore neceſſary, they urged, to attack this wonderful race by night, and deſtroy them before the riſing ſun rendered them invincible *.

In conſequence of this oraculous advice, and profound diſcovery, the truth of which it would have been held impious to diſpute, the ſenate of Tlaſcala reſolved, contrary to one of their moſt eſtabliſhed maxims in war, to attack the Spaniards after the going down of the ſun. Orders to this purpoſe were immediately diſpatched to Xicotencal; and that general, whatever credit he might think due to

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 19.

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CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

the opinion of the magicians, chearfully received his inſtructions, being happy to have the ſenate's authority for fighting, that he might wipe off his former diſgrace. He accordingly advanced towards the Spaniſh entrenchments, under cover of the night, with a body of ten thouſand men, ſelected from the flower of his army. Cortez however, as uſual, was upon his guard: the centinels on the out-poſts brought advice, that the enemy were in motion, and every thing was diſpoſed for their reception without noiſe or confuſion. The Tlaſcalans were ſuffered to aſcend the wall drawn round the camp, before any intimation was given that their deſign was diſcovered; and then ſuch a ſhower of bullets were poured from the cannon, ſmall arms, and croſs bows, as made dreadful havock, and convinced Xicotencal of the miſtake of the magicians. But this diſcovery ſerved only to rouſe his courage, and puſh him on to deſperate efforts. The aſſault was made in three different parts at once, the whole body of the Tlaſcalans ruſhing upon the Spaniſh works; and their exertions of valour were truly aſtoniſhing, conſidering their unacquaintance with the art of forcing entrenchments. They climbed upon each other's ſhoulders, in order to gain the wall, and paid no regard to the death of thoſe who went before, but preſſed on, till they themſelves met with the ſame fate. For ſeveral hours the battle raged with unparalleled fury. At length Xicotencal convinced, by the ſlaughter of his troops, that perſeverance would avail him nothing, ordered a ſignal to be made for retreating. This was no ſooner perceived by Cortez, in the ſlackening of the attack, than he ſent out a party of foot, and all his horſe, to harraſs the enemy's rear; and the Tlaſcalans, ſtruck with terror at the ſound of certain bells, fixed, by deſign in the breaſt plates of the Spaniſh detachment, fled precipitantly, without attempting the ſmalleſt reſiſtance. In the purſuit great numbers of the enemy were ſlain, and many of their dead, which they had not been able to carry off, were found in the neighbourhood of the camp. Cortez's loſs was incredibly ſmall, conſidering the vaſt quantity of darts, arrows, and ſtones, found within the entrenchments; only one Zempoallan being killed, and three Spaniards wounded *.

Convinced by melancholy experience that their magicians had deceived them, and that the ſtrangers were alike invincible during the darkneſs of night, and when the ſun was in his meridian, the Tlaſcalans ſunk into deſpondency. The commonalty grew more clamorous for peace; the nobility were diſſatisfied and divided, and the ſenators aſhamed and ſilent. The magicians were immediately puniſhed, as the authors of the late diſgrace; two or three of them being ſacrificed on the altars, in order to appeaſe the ſuppoſed indignation of the gods, who afflicted the republic with ſuch heavy calamities, and the reſt were ſeverely reprimanded, and delivered over to contempt. The majority of the ſenate now inclined to peace, and applauded the prudence and foreſight of Magiſcatzin, who had predicted all that was come to paſs: even the moſt incredulous declared, that the Spaniards were certainly the cœleſtial race mentioned in their prophecies. Orders were accordingly diſpatched to Xicotencal to ſuſpend hoſtilities, and keep on

* Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

the defenſive, till he was made farther acquainted with the reſolutions of the ſenate, and the ſucceſs of the negociation of peace which they propoſed to ſet on foot.

Xicotencal, however, refuſed obedience to this command, arrogantly anſwering, that he and his ſoldiers were the ſenate, and would ſupport the honour of the republic, ſince it was abandoned by thoſe who were called Fathers of their country. Rendered deſperate by repeated defeats, he determined to attack the ſtrangers a ſecond time by night; not that he paid any regard to the opinion of the magicians, but that he might be enabled to put in execution a ſtratagem which he had formed for the deſtruction of his enemies. Obſerving that the neighbouring peaſants carried proviſions to the Spaniſh camp, which they exchanged for European toys, he detached forty ſoldiers, in whom he could confide, clothed after the manner of thoſe ruſtics, loaded with fruit, fowls, and bread made of Indian corn; deſiring them to obſerve particularly the nature and ſtrength of the works, and where they might be forced with leaſt difficulty. But the curioſity of theſe ſpies exciting ſuſpicion, they were ſeized and put to the torture, when the whole ſcheme was diſcovered. From their confeſſions it appeared, that an aſſault was to have been made that very night, by twenty thouſand Tlaſcalans, at different quarters of the camp, agreeable to the report which they ſhould deliver, after inſpecting the fortifications.

Cortez, though at this time indiſpoſed, gave the neceſſary orders for reſiſting the enemy, and then deliberated on the puniſhment of the delinquents, ordering fourteen of the moſt obſtinate to be puniſhed with the loſs of their hands or fingers, and diſmiſſed them in that condition, with a meſſage to Xicotencal, that the general of the ſtrangers ſent back theſe men to acquaint him with the ſtate of the entrenchments, and was waiting impatiently for the aſſault. The Tlaſcalan army, then in full march, was ſtruck with terror at the bloody ſpectacle, and Xicotencal experienced the moſt exquiſite diſtreſs at the diſcovery of a ſtratagem, on which he reſted his laſt hopes. He perſuaded himſelf that the ſecret thoughts of his people, of whoſe fidelity he was confident, muſt have been obtained by the aſſiſtance of ſome divinity. While he was deliberating how to act in ſuch circumſtances, meſſengers appeared from the ſenate, with orders to deprive him of the command of the army, on account of his inſolence and diſobedience, and prohibiting all his officers, under the penalty of being declared traitors, any longer to obey his inſtructions: and this mandate arriving immediately after the impreſſion made on the troops by the diſmembering of the ſpies, and on the general by the diſcovery of his deep laid ſcheme, no man was ſo bold as to oppoſe the decree of the ſenate. The confederates immediately withdrew their forces, and the Tlaſcalan troops marched towards the city, leaving Xicotencal to anſwer for his conduct at the tribunal of the republic *.

The Spaniards now remained in the utmoſt ſuſpence and doubt whether they were to expect the enemy. The whole night they continued in arms, without venturing to take any repoſe, or next day, until their ſcouts in-

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 20.

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CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

formed them, that the Tlaſcalan camp was removed to a greater diſtance. At length the joyful news arrived, that the hoſtile army was diſſolved: and this intelligence was ſoon confirmed by the appearance of ambaſſadors from the ſenate of Tlaſcala, with terms of pacification. "If you are a cruel god," ſaid they to Cortez, "we preſent you with five ſlaves, that you may devour their fleſh and drink their blood: if you are a benevolent deity, accept an offering of incenſe and variegated plumes: and if you are a man, here are fowls, and bread, and fruit for you and your companions to eat *." They apologized for the conduct of the republic, laying the whole blame of the war upon the Otomies and Chontales, their confederates, the firſt ſallies of whoſe fierceneſs the authority of the ſenate had proved inſufficient to reſtrain; but that they were now diſarmed, and the commonwealth very deſirous of peace: that they did not only bring with them the voice of the ſenate, but alſo of the nobles, and commonalty, to requeſt that he would march with all his followers to the city, where he and they might ſtay as long as it was agreeable in perfect ſecurity, and be honoured and ſerved as the brethren of the gods †.

Cortez, though ſenſible of the falſity of this excuſe, ſuppreſſed his reſentment, and deſired the ambaſſadors to acquaint the ſenate, That the peace which they propoſed was agreeable to his inclinations; but that they ſought it after too unjuſt and obſtinate a war to obtain it readily, and might conſider it as no ſlight proof of his goodneſs, that he did not purſue the dictates of revenge, and impoſe laws upon them as a conqueror: that he muſt ſee how they perſevered in their reſolution to merit his friendſhip, before he laid himſelf under any obligations, and would employ the intermediate time in endeavouring to appeaſe the indignation of his captains: in a word, that he would ſuſpend the puniſhment with an uplifted arm, and leave it to the diſcretion of the ſenate, either to procure pardon, by a thorough amendment, or ſuſtain the blow, which muſt put an end to the exiſtence of the republic of Tlaſcala ‡.

By this affected ſeverity Cortez meant to check the pride of the ſenate, and more particularly that of the friends of Xicotencal, who might poſſibly grow inſolent, on a preſumption that the Spaniards muſt be greatly weakened, ſhould they grant peace immediately. He was likewiſe deſirous that the fame of his victories ſhould have time to ſpread over Mexico, in order to be aſſured what effect it produced on the councils of Montezuma, that he might be enabled, in conſequence of ſuch information, to conduct his negociation with the republic to more advantage; a degree of forecaſt which does the greateſt honour to his political talents. Every thing fell out as he could have wiſhed. Montezuma, who had regular accounts of every tranſaction in Tlaſcala, was ſo much ſtruck with the wonders reported of the Spaniſh general, that he determined to ſend him an embaſſy, in order to compliment him on his conqueſts over the republic. The ambaſſadors were alſo inſtructed to throw every poſſible obſtruction in the way of a pacification, ſhould ſuch a thing be talked of, and to endeavour, by freſh pre-

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 2. † De Solis, lib. ii. c. 20. ‡ Id. ibid.

ſents

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

ſents and civilities, to engage Cortez not to approach nearer to the capital of the empire. Five Mexicans of the firſt rank were appointed to execute this commiſſion, and arrived in the camp ſoon after the departure of the Tlaſcalan ambaſſadors. Cortez received them with much ceremony and reſpect, heard them attentively, and thanked them for Montezuma's preſent, but declined giving them an anſwer, till he ſhould have an opportunity of treating with the miniſters of the republic. This precaution anſwered more valuable purpoſes than the general expected: for the Mexicans had not been long in the Spaniſh quarters, before they betrayed their whole inſtructions, by the indiſcreet manner in which they aſked queſtions concerning the negociation with the republic; and by that means Cortez was made fully ſenſible of the importance of an alliance with Tlaſcala to the accompliſhment of his deſigns.

The ſenate, in the meantime, endeavoured to convince the Spaniards of their pacific intentions, and the ſincerity of their advances towards an accommodation, by ordering them to be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions at the expence of the republic: and in a few days a ſecond embaſſy, in the name of the commonwealth, arrived at the Spaniſh camp, headed by Xicotencal in perſon, attended by fifty gentlemen of his party and kindred. Xicotencal ſeems to have undertaken this negociation merely from motives of patriotiſm: he had tried the efforts of arms, as long as any probability of ſucceſs remained; and now he was ambitious of promoting peace, becauſe he believed it not only ſalutary to the republic, but the only means by which he could merit the good opinion of Cortez, whom he eſteemed, and even adored as a hero, inſpired and aſſiſted by the gods. He advanced with the open and bold air of a ſoldier; and having paid his reſpects to the general, took his ſeat, told his name, and began his ſpeech: he confeſſed that he was the ſole author of the war, and the commander of the armies of Tlaſcala and her allies, believing the Spaniards to be favourers of Montezuma, whoſe name he abhorred; but that he was now ſenſible of his miſtake, and being ſtruck with their valour and magnanimity, came with the merit of ſubmiſſion to put himſelf into the hands of his conqueror, hoping by this act of humiliation to obtain pardon for the republic, whoſe authority he had not only to propoſe, but to implore peace, and to accept it on ſuch terms as the general of the ſtrangers ſhould think fit to impoſe. "I aſk it," ſaid he, "once, twice, thrice! in the name of the ſenate, nobles, and commons of Tlaſcala, who earneſtly requeſt you to honour their city with your preſence. There you ſhall find quarters provided for your troops, and all the reſpect and ſervice that can be expected from thoſe, who being themſelves brave, ſubmit to entreat and obey. I only deſire," added he, "and that not as a condition of the peace, but as an act of your own generoſity, that the inhabitants may be well uſed, and our gods and wives protected from military liberty."

Cortez was ſo much delighted with the noble freedom of the Tlaſcalan warrior, that his ſatisfaction was viſible in his countenance; but leſt Xicotencal ſhould miſtake its cauſe, and aſcribe it to the joy with which he received the propoſals of peace, he anſwered with the utmoſt gravity, by his interpreter, That the re-

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1519.

republic was highly blameable for entering on ſo unjuſt a war, and the general for proſecuting it with ſuch obſtinacy: the Spaniards, however, he ſaid, being averſe to blood, except in caſes of extreme neceſſity, and ſenſible of the valour of the Tlaſcalans, granted them the peace deſired, from reſpect to the gallant reſiſtance they had made, though upon a miſtaken principle; that he would favour the city with a viſit, and take care the ſoldiers ſhould be guilty of no violence or extortion; adding, that he would give the ſenate timely notice of his approach.

Xicotencal was much concerned at this delay, which he conſidered as a pretence for examining more particularly into the ſincerity of the Tlaſcalans; and turning his eyes upon the audience, exclaimed with vehemence, "Ye have reaſon, great Teules!" ſo they called their gods, "to chaſtiſe our inſincerity with your diſtruſt: but if the whole republic of Tlaſcala, ſpeaking to you through my lips, is not ſufficient to gain your credit, I who am the captain-general of her armies, and theſe gentlemen of my retinue, the principal nobles and greateſt captains of the ſtate, will remain as hoſtages for your ſecurity, and continue in your power, or ſubmit to be impriſoned, during your reſidence in our city." This offer, however, though highly pleaſing to the Caſtilian pride, was generouſly refuſed by Cortez, who magnanimouſly anſwered, That he and his companions had occaſion for no other ſecurity but their own valour to maintain themſelves, without fear, in the city of Tlaſcala, having already withſtood the armies of the ſtate; that he had no doubt of the ſincerity of the republic, as ſhe muſt know peace to be her intereſt; that the word of a brave man was to him a ſufficient pledge; and that he would proceed to Tlaſcala as ſoon as the proper diſpoſitions could be made for quitting his preſent ſtation, and diſpatching the ambaſſadors of Montezuma*.

The Tlaſcalans were no ſooner gone, than the Mexicans employed their utmoſt addreſs to perſuade Cortez, that no confidence ought to be placed in the proteſtations of a barbarous and perfidious people, who only wanted to draw him into an indolent ſecurity, the more eaſily to deſtroy him and his whole army; but when they found him reſolute in adhering to his promiſe, they uſed entreaties, and implored, with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, that he would defer his viſit to Tlaſcala for the ſpace of ſix days, that they might have time to inform Montezuma of what had paſſed, and receive his farther inſtructions. Thinking it neceſſary to maintain the reſpect due to ſo great a monarch, and in hopes of removing thoſe difficulties which had hitherto obſtructed his requeſt of being admitted to the court of Mexico, Cortez conſented to this propoſal. At the expiration of the term limited, the meſſenger returned, and along with him ſix gentlemen of the royal family, with a ſplendid attendance, and another preſent more valuable than the former. Theſe new ambaſſadors repreſented the great Montezuma's profound reſpect for the prince whom the ſtrangers obeyed, and whoſe power was conſpicuous in the valour of his ſubjects. The emperor, they added, found himſelf

* De Solis, lib. ii. c. 21.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

disposed to cultivate the friendship of this monarch, by paying him an yearly tribute, dividing with him those riches in which Mexico abounded; because he held him in the utmost veneration, believing him to be the offspring of the sun, or at least the lord of those happy regions where light has its origin: but that two conditions were necessary, previous to this agreement. The first of these was, That no peace should be concluded with the Tlascalans; and the second, That Cortez should lay aside all thoughts of marching to Mexico, as the sovereign, by the laws of the empire, could not suffer himself to be approached by strangers. They concluded with an invective against the Tlascalans, declaiming loudly on their perfidy; the danger into which the general was plunging headlong, through his own obstinate credulity; and the little reason he would have to complain of the most fatal consequences, should he continue to disregard the most salutary admonitions *.

The fear of Montezuma, rather than his esteem or veneration for the Spaniards, was evident through the whole of this discourse. Cortez perceived it, and deferred his answer; only saying to the ambassadors, that it was necessary they should take some rest after so long and fatiguing a journey. He was willing they should be witnesses to the conclusion of the peace with Tlascala; and he also thought it of importance, that they should be prevented from returning before that event was placed on the most solid basis, lest Montezuma, enraged at the projected alliance, should begin to put himself in a posture of defence. Hitherto he knew no preparations had been made, the court of Mexico relying wholly upon the force of presents, and the exaggerated representations of the imperial power; and it was his business to keep up this infatuated negligence and security, which had taken possession of the emperor and his council.

But these delays, though necessary to Cortez, proved extremely irksome to the Tlascalans, who came to a resolution, as the last proof of their sincerity, that the whole senate in a body should wait upon the general at his quarters, in order to conduct him to their city, determining not to return till they had convinced him of their pacific intentions, and broke off the negociation with Montezuma; a jealousy and anxiety which Cortez knew well how to improve to his own advantage. The appearance of the senate was solemn, and the procession numerous, all adorned with white plumes, and other emblems of peace. These heads of the republic were conveyed in litters, or palanquins, supported by the shoulders of inferior officers; Magiscatzin, that venerable chief, who had always favoured the Spaniards, occupying the most honourable place. Next to him was carried the father of Xicotencal, blind with age, but vigorous in his intellects, and much respected on account of his judgment and experience. A little before they arrived at the general's quarters, they alighted; and so great was the curiosity of old Xicotencal, that he advanced before his companions, and desired those who led him, to bring him near the captain of the strangers. When introduced to Cortez, he embraced him with marks of extraordinary satisfaction; then touched him all over, as if desirous to

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 4. De Solis, lib. iii. c. 2.

become

become perſonally acquainted with him, and ſupply by feeling the want of ſight. As ſoon as they were ſeated, the blind ſage, at the requeſt of Magiſcatzin, whoſe privilege it was to open the embaſſy, ſpoke to the following purport. CHAP. VI. A. D. 1519.

"Now, valiant captain, whether of mortal or immortal race, you hold in your power the ſenate of Tlaſcala, the utmoſt proof of our ſubmiſſion. We come not to excuſe the errors of our republic, but to take them upon ourſelves, depending upon your generoſity for our forgiveneſs. We are the men who reſolved upon the war; but we are likewiſe the men who deſired peace. The firſt act was haſty, the ſecond ſlow: and reſolutions well conſidered are not uſually the worſt. On the contrary, it requires great pains to efface what hath been impreſſed upon the mind with difficulty; and you may reſt aſſured, that the very delay hath afforded us a fuller knowledge of your valour, and laid a deeper foundation for our conſtancy. We are not ignorant that Montezuma endeavours to divert you from our alliance: harken to him as to our enemy; but, at the ſame time, beware of his poiſonous arts. We do not deſire your aſſiſtance againſt him, our own forces being ſufficient for our defence, provided you do not take part with the tyrant: we are only ſorry to obſerve, that you ſeem to rely upon his promiſes, becauſe we are acquainted with his perfidy and ſubtilty. You have already offered us peace: if Montezuma does not hinder you from granting it, what does?—Why are you deaf to our earneſt ſolicitations? Why do you forbear to honour our city with your preſence?—We are come in a body, reſolved at once to gain your good-will and friendſhip, or to ſurrender our liberties into your hands, as a conqueror; chuſe, therefore, which of the two is moſt deſirable, to be our maſter or our ally. As to ourſelves, we have no choice: we muſt either be your friends or your ſlaves."

Cortez could not reſiſt this invitation. Charmed with the good ſenſe, candour, and ſincerity of the venerable orator, he anſwered the ſenate with much reſpect; made preſents to each of the members, and aſſured them, that as ſoon as he could procure, from the neighbouring villages, a ſufficient number of people to conduct his artillery, he would ſet out for Tlaſcala; admoniſhing them to return in the mean time, and even exerting his authority to that purpoſe, as he could not lodge them with the conveniency due to their rank, quality, and kind intentions. With this promiſe they departed, well ſatisfied with their reception; and next morning, as ſoon as the ſun began to appear, the Spaniards found at their quarters five thouſand Tamemes, or Indians of burden, ſo zealous to do them ſervice, that they diſputed who ſhould carry the greateſt loads *.

This was a new and flattering inſtance of the attention of the ſenate, and did not eſcape the notice of Cortez, who began his march, as ſoon as the neceſſary preparations could be made; but with all that order and caution conſtantly obſerved by his little army, to which exact diſcipline he owed great part of his ſucceſs. On every ſide the fields were crowded with ſpectators, and the air was filled with ſhouts of joy, and burſts of admiration. The ſenate came a conſider-

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 2.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

able way out of the city to receive the Spaniards, with all the pomp obſerved on public ſolemnities; and having paid their compliments, ſurrounded the perſon of the general, and conducted him to Tlaſcala. When they entered the town, the rejoicings became louder and more tumultuous, human voices being mixed with the harſh ſounds of the Indian flutes, horns, and drums; and the crowd was ſo great, that the officers of the ſenate found the utmoſt difficulty in clearing a paſſage for the proceſſion. The women ſtrewed flowers in the ſtreets from the windows; and ſome of greater reſolution and leſs reſerved, preſſed through the multitude, and put garlands into the hands of the ſoldiers; while the prieſts, in their ſacerdotal robes, offered incenſe, and a variety of perfumes to their noſtrils. All ſhewed in their countenances the ſincerity of their hearts, though variouſly expreſſed; the ſatisfaction of many being loſt in wonder, and the joy of others in veneration. The quarters aſſigned were extremely commodious; the whole Spaniſh army being lodged in adjoining and ſpacious appartments, in contiguous ſquares. Cortez had carried with him the ambaſſadors of Montezuma, though altogether with their will, and kept them under his immediate protection, as they were afraid of ſome violence from the Tlaſcalans *.

Tlaſcala was at this time a very populous city, founded upon four eminences, and naturally fortified by rocks, precipices, and ſteep aſcents. Theſe four hills formed four wards, each governed by a cazique, under the authority of the ſenate, in which the ſupreme legiſlative and executive power was lodged. They were united, and a communication between them was opened, by ſeveral ſtreets, lined with thick walls, which ſerved as a defence to the town, where the ſituation was not thought ſufficiently ſtrong by nature. The houſes were low, conſiſting only of one floor; the roofs flat, and decorated with galleries. The ſtreets were narrow and crooked; and the whole was evidently contrived more for external ſecurity, than internal conveniency or elegance, the laſt care of republics. The inhabitants were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions from the neighbouring country, which abounded ſo much in Indian corn, as to obtain to the province the name of the Land of Bread. It alſo produced in fruit and game, but yielded no ſalt: and ſo great was the hatred of the Tlaſcalans againſt Montezuma, that they held it leſs inconvenient to eat their victuals without this neceſſary ſeaſoning, than to have any commerce with the Mexicans, by whom only they could be ſupplied †.

Theſe marks of the power and auſtere character of the Tlaſcalans made Cortez ſomewhat anxious in regard to his ſituation, though he ſtrove to diſſemble his concern. He continued the guards, however, at his quarters; and when he went abroad, he took part of his men with him, not forgetting their fire-arms. The ſoldiers alſo, by his order, went together in companies, provided in the ſame manner. But the Tlaſcalans, who ſincerely deſired the friendſhip of the Spaniards, without any artifice or affectation, were hurt at this military appearance, which ſeemed to indicate a ſuſpicion of the faith of the republic: a point

* Id. ibid. † De Solis, lib. iii. c. 3.

which

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1519.

which ſo nearly concerned the honour of the ſtate, was debated in the ſenate; and Magiſcatzin was ſent to notify their opinion to Cortez, and repreſent to him, How unſuitable thoſe warlike precautions were with a people ſubject, obedient, and deſirous to pleaſe; that the great vigilance, with which he lived in his quarters, ſhewed how little he thought himſelf ſecure; and that the ſoldiers, who paſſed through the ſtreets with their lightning always on their ſhoulders, though they offered no violence, offended more by that diſtruſt, than if they really oppreſſed them. Arms, he added, ought to be conſidered as an uſeleſs load, where they were not neceſſary, and looked ill among thoſe who were ſincere friends, and themſelves diſarmed: and he concluded with entreating the general, in the name of the ſenate, and of all the citizens, that he would command thoſe precautions and diſagreeable appearances to ceaſe, as they ſeemed to preſerve ſigns of an unfiniſhed war; and were, at beſt, indications of a ſcrupulous friendſhip.

Cortez replied, that he was well ſatisfied of the good faith of the ſenate, and the good-will of the citizens of Tlaſcala; nor did he entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion that any thing would happen in breach of that peace which they had ſo much deſired: that the guards uſed, and vigilance obſerved in his quarters, were conformable to the cuſtom of his country, where ſoldiers lived always after a military manner, and enured themſelves in times of peace to the fatigues of war; by which means they learned obedience, and were accuſtomed to vigilance: that their arms were alſo a part of their dreſs, and worn by way of ornament, and as a badge of their profeſſion. He therefore deſired them to remain aſſured of his friendſhip, and not to think thoſe things which were befitting the ſoldiery, inconſiſtent with the peace that he had concluded with the republic.

With this ingenious apology was Cortez able to ſatisfy the Tlaſcalans, who even expreſſed their admiration of his rigid diſcipline, and to conciliate their confidence without abating any part of his former caution. Every day brought ſome freſh proof of their confidence: and he obtained from them, in his different conferences, information of every particular relative to the ſtate of the Mexican empire, or the qualities of its ſovereign, that could be required in regulating his future conduct, whether he ſhould have occaſion to act as a friend or an enemy. But all the fruits of this information, as well as the advantages to be derived from ſuch powerful and warm confederates, were in danger of being ſacrificed to a tranſport of intemperate zeal.

The Spaniards had converted the largeſt apartment in their quarters into a chapel, where maſs was every day celebrated, in preſence of the principal Tlaſcalans, who, in ſilent admiration, remarked all that paſſed on ſuch occaſions. Prompted by a natural curioſity, and inflamed by this circumſtance, Magiſcatzin one day aſked Cortez whether he was mortal; becauſe his actions, and thoſe of his people, ſeemed more than human, and contained that ſort of goodneſs and greatneſs, which they venerated in their gods. But he did not underſtand thoſe ceremonies, he ſaid, by which the Spaniards ſeemed to acknowledge a ſuperior deity; for although they made preparations for a ſacrifice, he did not

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

perceive any victim or offering in order to appeaſe the gods. Cortez eagerly ſeized this opportunity to enter upon topics, both religious and political, which always lay near his heart; the grandeur of the crown of Spain, and the glory of God in the catholic church.

He ingenuoſly confeſſed that his condition, and that of his people, was mortal; not daring, as his countrymen obſerve, to make uſe of deceit, where the eternal ſalvation of ſouls was concerned. But he added, that as the Spaniards were born in a better climate, they had more underſtanding, and greater ſtrength than the reſt of men: and thus, though he renounced the attribute of immortality, he retained the reputation of being invincible. He alſo told them, that he not only acknowledged a ſuperior in heaven, adoring there the only Lord of the Univerſe, but that he and his men were, beſides ſubjects and vaſſals to the greateſt prince upon earth, under whoſe dominion the Tlaſcalans, as brothers to the Spaniards, alſo were, and would ſurely yield the ſame obedience. From politics he ſhifted to religion, and ſpoke fervently againſt idolatry, the multiplicity of the gods of the natives, and the abomination and horror of their human ſacrifices; but when he came to touch on the myſteries of the catholic faith, he thought they deſerved a better expoſitor, and therefore called in to his aſſiſtance father Bartolome de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition.

Olmedo endeavoured to bring the Tlaſcalans by degrees to the knowledge of the Chriſtian doctrines, explaining the principal points after ſuch a manner as ſeemed beſt adapted to their uncultivated underſtandings. But, after all the arguments of the good monk, Magiſcatzin, and thoſe who attended him, gave ſmall hopes of their converſion. The God whom the Spaniards adored, they ſaid, was doubtleſs very potent, and muſt be greater than any of their Teules; but that each of theſe was powerful in his own province, it being impoſſible for one to ſuperintend every thing, and that they had Teules, or gods, for all the neceſſities of human life. They admitted, with leſs difficulty, the propoſition of their temporal ſubjection, immediately acknowledging themſelves vaſſals of the king of Spain; but they entreated, with humility and earneſtneſs, that Cortez would no longer oblige them to liſten to any propoſal for the change of their religion, leſt their gods ſhould come to the knowledge of it, and call down the tempeſts, and other inſtruments of divine vengeance to deſtroy them. They conſented, however, to aboliſh human ſacrifices, as contrary to the law of nature; and a great number of miſerable captives, the victims of future feſtivals, confined in priſons and cages, were ſet at liberty.

But this conceſſion was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the ardent zeal of Cortez. Aſtoniſhed and enraged at the obſtinacy of the Tlaſcalans, he propoſed to execute by force, what he could not accompliſh by perſuaſion, and was going to overturn their altars, and break in pieces their idols, with the ſame violence which he had exerciſed at Zempoalla, when father Olmedo, more coöl and conſiderate, checked his pious raſhneſs. This prudent and political prieſt, repreſented the danger of ſuch an attempt in a large city newly reconciled, and filled

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

filled with people no leſs ſuperſtitious than warlike: he declared, that he was not without ſome ſcruple concerning the proceedings at Zempoalla; that a ſimilar conduct might overthrow the altars of the Tlaſcalans, but would leave the idols in their hearts: to which he added, that the converſion of thoſe infidels was only to be effected by patient inſtruction and gentle uſage, and that violence could ſerve no other purpoſe but to make them diſlike the truth; that before they attempted to introduce God, they ought to baniſh the Devil, a warfare of another kind, and where different arms were required *. Convinced by theſe reaſons, Cortez moderated his zeal: the Tlaſcalans were left in poſſeſſion of their gods; and from that time forward, not a ſingle offence paſſed on either ſide, during the ſtay of the Spaniards in Tlaſcala; where a firm alliance was cemented between the two nations, of ſo much conſequence to the future conqueſt, that the natives of this province continue to enjoy a variety of privileges and immunities, in reward of their ancient friendſhip and fidelity, and which are ſome ſmall compenſation for the loſs of their liberty.

After Cortez had reſided ſome time in Tlaſcala, and was fully ſatisfied of the attachment of his new allies, he began to think of diſmiſſing the Mexican ambaſſadors. His anſwer was ſhort and artful. He deſired them to inform Montezuma of what they had heard, and what had paſſed in their preſence; the humility and earneſtneſs with which the Tlaſcalans had ſolicited peace, and by which they had deſerved it, together with the affection and kind offices by which they maintained it: that now they were ſo much at his diſpoſal, and he had gained ſuch an aſcendency over them, that he hoped to be able to reduce them to the obedience of Montezuma; and that this being one of the important conſequences which would attend the embaſſy, among others of greater moment, he was under the neceſſity of ſoliciting the emperor's permiſſion to continue his journey, that he might afterwards deſerve the acknowledgments of ſo magnanimous a prince.

With this anſwer, and the neceſſary guard, the Mexican ambaſſadors departed; and Cortez was only prevented from following them, in the ſame jour-

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 3. The advice of father Olmedo on this occaſion, deſerves great praiſe, whether we conſider it in a political or religious light; though it ſeems to afford little foundation for the extravagant and tautological compliment of Dr. Robertſon, who expreſſes himſelf thus on the ſubject: "At a time when the rights of conſcience were little underſtood in the Chriſtian world, and the idea of toleration unknown, one is aſtoniſhed to find a Spaniſh monk of the ſixteenth century among the firſt advocates againſt perſecution, and in behalf of religious liberty." Olmedo's merit however, in the preſent inſtance, after all this aſtoniſhment, appears to have been nothing more than a decent ſhare of good ſenſe joined to moderation of temper; by the enjoyment of which he was enabled to conſider coolly the political ſituation of the Spaniards, and to offer ſuch arguments as were moſt likely to influence the conduct of Cortez, whoſe underſtanding was hurried away by a torrent of pious enthuſiaſm: and, to reduce the cauſe of this aſtoniſhment yet lower, the Doctor, as a ſervant of the myſteries, ſhould have known, that the ſpectators are always more affected by the dancing of the puppet, than thoſe who touch the wire, or he that conſtructed the machinery. Hence prieſts of all religions, in all nations and ages, have been leſs under the dominion of fanaticiſm than any other claſs of men in the community:—and Olmedo was a prieſt! and his ſacred perſon was in danger!

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BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

ney, by receiving the ſubmiſſions of the principal towns of the republic and her allies. While that buſineſs was going forward, with the ſolemnity neceſſary to inſpire reſpect, an incident occurred which ſurpriſed the Spaniards, and ſtruck terror into the Tlaſcalans. The volcano of Popocatepec, on the top of a mountain, which riſes above all the neighbouring hills, is to be ſeen from the higheſt part of the city of Tlaſcala, at the diſtance of eight leagues. It conſtantly ſent forth ſmoke, which did not alarm the inhabitants, becauſe they were familiarized to it; but on the preſent occaſion, it ſhot forth flames, or globes of fire, which ſeemed to divide themſelves into ſparks, and were probably the burnt ſtones which the mountain threw out, or ſome other pieces of combuſtible matter. This appearance, which was very unuſual, threw the Tlaſcalans into the greateſt dejection, as the harbinger of future ills: they imagined thoſe ſparks which were ſcattered through the air, and did not fall down again into the volcano, to be the ſouls of tyrants come abroad to chaſtiſe the earth; and that their gods, when angry, made uſe of them as the inſtruments of their vengeance.

This wild fancy gained credit with Magiſcatzin, and other perſons of eminence in the republic, though their underſtandings were, in many reſpects, clear and extenſive; and they were entertaining Cortez with their abſurd notions, when Diego de Ordaz came to aſk his leave to aſcend the mountain, and take a nearer view of that great ſecret of nature. The Tlaſcalans were amazed at ſuch a propoſal, which they thought could only come from the mouth of a madman, or of a being conſcious of his own immortality: and they endeavoured to diſſuade him from his purpoſe, by repreſenting the danger of ſuch an attempt, ſaying, That the moſt valiant of their nation had only the boldneſs to viſit ſome hermitages of their gods about the middle of the eminence, above which he would not find the mark of a human foot; nor were the tremblings to be endured, or the roarings, which forbid all approach to the top of the mountain.

This account of the difficulties of the undertaking, only inflamed the ardour of Ordaz; and Cortez yielded to his earneſt ſolicitations, that the Tlaſcalans might ſee what they thought impoſſible, was not ſo to the courage of the Spaniards. He accordingly ſet out, accompanied by two ſoldiers of his company, and ſome Tlaſcalan officers, who ſtopt at the habitation of the hermits *. The Spaniards went on, climbing intrepidly up the rocks, and very often making uſe of hands as well as feet. But when they came within a ſmall diſtance of the ſummit, where they felt the earth move under them, with violent and repeated rockings, and heard the tremendous roaring of the volcano, which diſcharged, with a ſtill greater noiſe, a vaſt quantity of fire, the two ſoldiers deſired to return. Ordaz, however, perceiving that the earthquake was now

* It is very remarkable, that, in all ages and nations, thoſe who have aſpired after the reputation of extraordinary ſanctity, have always ſecluded themſelves from the ſociety of men, where only they can fulfil the ends of their being, and that they have generally choſen their abode in the neighbourhood of ſome awful appearance of nature. The concluſion is obvious.

over; that the noiſe leſſened; and that the ſmoke came out leſs thick, encouraged them by his example to perſevere. Advancing before them, he boldly went forward to the very mouth of the volcano, and looking down, obſerved at the bottom of the gulph, a great maſs of liquid fire, whence he conjectured that the bowels of the mountain muſt abound in ſulphur *. With this information he returned ſafe from his raſh adventure, to the great joy of his countrymen, who had given him up for loſt, and to the aſtoniſhment of the Tlaſcalans, whom this act of intripidity inſpired with ſtill greater veneration for their new gueſts †.

Cortez was detained in Tlaſcala twenty days; partly in receiving the viſits and the ſubmiſſions of the neighbouring towns and tribes, and partly in complying with the humour of the inhabitants, who did every thing in their power to put off the departure of the Spaniards, by amuſing them with feſtivals, public ſpectacles, dancing, and other feats of agility and addreſs ‡. At length the day for the march being fixed, a diſpute aroſe, whether they ſhould proceed by Cholula, a populous city attached to Montezuma, as has been already obſerved, or take a longer and leſs convenient route, rather than run any hazard. Cortez himſelf inclined to the former opinion; but the Tlaſcalans uſed all their influence to diſſuade him from ſuch a reſolution, telling him that the city of Cholula, beſides being filled with Mexican troops, had the reputation of being a place ſacred to religion beyond any in that country, containing above four hundred temples, and ſuch a troop of ſpiteful and vengeful gods as aſtoniſhed all the world with their prodigies: and that more victims were ſlain there than even in Mexico itſelf, in order to appeaſe the wrath of thoſe tremendous deities. The Zempoallans now become leſs ſuperſtitious, through their acquaintance with the Spaniards, were little afraid of the anger of theſe gods, but repeated the reaſons which they had formerly uſed for avoiding that city.

Before Cortez had come to any determination on this ſubject, new ambaſſadors arrived from Mexico, with another preſent, and advice that their ſovereign would now ſuffer himſelf to be viſited by the Spaniards; that he had provided quarters for them at Cholula, and every thing that could ren-

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 5. De Solis, lib. iii. c. 4.

† This, however, was not the only advantage derived from an undertaking, which was branded, when propoſed, with the name of wild curioſity. The army being in great want of powder, the ſecond time that Cortez marched to Mexico, he recollected the report of Ordaz concerning this volcano; ſent thither to ſeek for ſulphur, and found great quantities, which proved ſo eſſential to the ſucceſs of the expedition, by furniſhing the Spaniards with the means of making gun powder, that the diſcoverer was rewarded for his temerity, by Charles V. and the action was ennobled by giving him the burning mountain for his arms. De Solis, ut ſupra.

‡ The Tlaſcalans were fond of muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, dancing, and public ſpectacles of the theatrical kind, at which the women appeared in very gay apparel. Tennis and other games were in uſe among them; and one of their principal divinities was the Goddeſs of Love, whoſe feſtivals were celebrated with much pomp: Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 5. a circumſtance contradictory to the general character of the Americans.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

der the journey agreeable and eaſy. A change ſo ſudden in the councils of Montezuma, afforded room for ſuſpicion that ſome ſtratagem was intended. Of this Cortez was ſenſible; yet it ſerved only to confirm him in his reſolution of taking the road of Cholula, leſt by betraying any ſigns of fear or diffidence, he might inſpire the Mexicans with courage, or awaken their caution. The Tlaſcalans did not heſitate to affirm, that treachery was at the bottom of Montezuma's inſidious kindneſs; and therefore renewed their ſolicitations, that the general would avoid the ſnare by taking the route of Guajozingo, a country plentiful and ſecure: but Cortez, who affected to be alike ſuperior to cunning and ſtrength, laid before them ſuch arguments in ſupport of his opinion, that they at laſt acquieſced. Even Magiſcatzin and Xicotencal applauded his magnanimity and judgment.

Before the Spaniards left Tlaſcala, Cortez was farther confirmed in his ſuſpicions of Montezuma's inſincerity, and of the treachery intended at Cholula. But he ſtill determined to proceed by that city, for the reaſons already urged, and in order that he might have an opportunity of trying his ſtrength with the Mexicans, before he found himſelf incloſed in the heart of their empire: and on the morning he drew out his troops to begin his march, he found an army of Tlaſcalans in the field, whoſe officers had orders from the ſenate to obey his commands, and attend him not only to Cholula, but as far as Mexico, where they ſuppoſed would be the greateſt danger of his undertaking. This army was very conſiderable. Some writers make it amount to an hundred thouſand men: and it certainly conſiſted of the flower of the forces of the republic, whoſe whole ſtrength was called forth on this occaſion, in order to protect their new friends, and humble their ancient and moſt dangerous enemy.

Cortez thanked the Tlaſcalans for this proof of their affection; and after repreſenting to the ſenate the inconveniencies conſequent on the march of ſo large a body of men, eſpecially when his intentions were pacific, he ſelected ſix thouſand of the republic's troops, which joined to the Spaniards and Zempoallans formed the appearance of a regular army. The firſt day's march brought them to the banks of a river, within a league of Cholula; where Cortez choſe rather to halt all night, than to enter ſo populous a place in the dark. Scarce had they taken the neceſſary precautions for their ſafety, when an embaſſy arrived from the city, with a preſent of proviſions of various ſorts, and excuſing their caziques for not waiting upon the general at Tlaſcala, as it was an enemy's country. They offered him quarters, when he ſhould think proper to occupy them, and expreſſed the great joy which it gave the inhabitants of Cholula, to have an opportunity of entertaining ſtrangers ſo amiable for their generoſity, and ſo renowned for their valour: and next morning when he began his march, every thing ſeemed to indicate the ſincerity of theſe profeſſions. As he drew near the city, the prieſts met him with a numerous attendance of unarmed people, who welcomed him with ſuch an appearance of reſpect and cordiality, as left no room for ſuſpicion. But no ſooner did they perceive the body of Tlaſcalans

calans that marched in the rear, than their countenances changed; a jealous murmur aroſe; and on inquiry, being made into its cauſe, they objected againſt admitting into their city enemies to their nation, and rebels againſt the imperial power. Cortez was ſomewhat uneaſy at this demand, which, though perfectly reaſonable, was not altogether conſiſtent with his ſecurity; and he would have been farther embarraſſed in complying with it, had not the Tlaſcalans voluntarily offered to take up their quarters without the city. The people of Cholula were immediately made acquainted with this propoſal, to which they readily agreed, both nations remaining not only ſatisfied, but with ſome degree of vanity reſulting from their mutual jealouſy and oppoſition: the one party, becauſe they perſuaded themſelves they had gained the ſuperiority, by leaving their enemies diſcontented and ill accommodated; the other party, becauſe they conſidered the refuſal to admit them within the city, as a manifeſt acknowledgment that their antagoniſts ſtood in fear of their arms. Thus, as De Solis very juſtly obſerves, does the imagination of man vary the nature and appearances of things; which are generally valued as they are taken, and taken as we would have them *.

The entry of the Spaniards into Cholula, like that into Tlaſcala, was made amid a vaſt concourſe of people, who rent the ſkies with their ſhouts, ſtrewed the ground with flowers, and gave every poſſible demonſtration of the moſt hearty reception; which, joined to the ſplendour and opulence of the place, removed all the apprehenſions of the Spaniards. This city was delightfully ſituated in a plain, and ſuppoſed to contain twenty thouſand inhabitants within the walls, and an equal number in the ſuburbs. It was much frequented by ſtrangers; partly as the great ſanctuary of the Mexican gods, and partly as the chief emporium of commerce. The ſtreets were wide, and well laid out; the buildings larger, and of better architecture than thoſe of Tlaſcala; and the prodigious number of temples gave it a magnificent appearance. The quarters provided for Cortez and his army were three or four ſpacious houſes, contiguous to each other, which contained the Spaniards and Zempoallans, and where they could fortify themſelves, if occaſion required. The firſt three or four days, all was civility and quietneſs: the caziques were punctual in paying their reſpects to the general, and endeavoured to form an intimacy with his officers: proviſions were liberally ſupplied; and every thing wore ſo favourable an aſpect, that the moſt ſuſpicious were diſpoſed to believe they had been impoſed upon by falſe and malicious inſinuations:—ſo readily is the mind diſpoſed, upon all occaſions, to make itſelf eaſy.

But it was not long before the Spaniards were rouſed from their premature ſecurity, and the intimations of the Tlaſcalans appeared to deſerve all the credit due to the ſincerity with which they were offered. Montezuma's ambaſſadors, who had accompanied Cortez, were obſerved to hold frequent conferences with the prieſts; a ſuſpicious joy was obſervable in the faces of the people; and all things gave ſigns of ſome deep, but ill-diſguiſed deſign. The general took

* Hiſt. de las Conq. de Mexico, lib. iii. c. 5.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

every poſſible means to be informed of what was in agitation; and an accident brought to light the important ſecret. Donna Marina having obtained the friendſhip, and the confidence of a Cholulan woman of rank, was adviſed by her to forſake thoſe abominable ſtrangers, and come to her houſe, where ſhe ſhould find entertainment and protection. This created ſuſpicion in the breaſt of Marina, who with ſeeming gratitude accepted the offer; on which the Cholulan lady, believing her ſincere, diſcovered her whole heart; telling her, That it was abſolutely neceſſary ſhe ſhould immediately leave the Spaniſh quarters, as the time appointed for the deſtruction of the ſtrangers was near, and it would be a pity that ſo valuable a woman ſhould periſh with them. Montezuma, ſhe ſaid, had provided twenty thouſand choſen men, in order to make ſure of the deſign; that ſix thouſand of thoſe men had already been privately introduced, in ſmall parties, into the city, and that the reſt were poſted at a ſhort diſtance; that arms had been plentifully diſtributed among the inhabitants, great quantities of ſtones carried up to the tops of the houſes, and deep trenches cut acroſs the ſtreets, with ſharp ſtakes fixed in the bottom, covered over at the top with earth, on ſlight ſupporters, that the horſes might fall in and be wounded. The emperor, ſhe added, had given directions, that all the ſtrangers ſhould be put to the ſword, except a few, whom he deſired might be ſent alive to Mexico, in order to gratify his curioſity, and afterwards be offered in ſolemn ſacrifice to his gods; and that he had preſented the citizens with a gold drum, curiouſly emboſſed, to excite them with more ardour to the enterpriſe.

This was intelligence of the utmoſt importance, and Marina loſt no time in communicating it to Cortez. Under pretence of carrying off her jewels and other valuable effects, ſhe went immediately to the general's quarters; laid the whole before him; and returned ſoon enough to have her informer and patroneſs ſecured without the ſmalleſt diſturbance, or the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion that the conſpiracy was detected. On examination, after a few threats, the Cholulan lady not only confirmed the information of Marina, but added many other particulars. Theſe were corroborated by the arrival of two Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, who had entered the city in diſguiſe, and told Cortez from their commanders, That he muſt take care of himſelf, as they had obſerved the inhabitants carrying off their women and goods by night to the neighbouring villages; an infallible ſign that ſome plot was hatching: that they likewiſe underſtood, that a ſacrifice of ten children had been offered that morning in the great temple of Cholula; a rite never uſed, except on the eve of ſome hoſtile undertaking.

Cortez was now fully ſatisfied of the ſtratagem laid by the Cholulans for his ruin, and reſolved upon ſignal vengeance; but in order to juſtify his proceedings to the Mexican ambaſſadors, he wiſhed to make it evident by more conſiderable witneſſes. For this purpoſe, he ordered the chief prieſts to be called, and examined them ſeparately; not as one who doubted their friendſhip, but who was fully informed of their perfidy. Unacquainted with the means by which he acquired his information, they imagined they were talking to ſome deity, who penetrated the ſecrets of men's hearts, and immediately confeſſed the conſpiracy,

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CHAP. IV. A. D. 1519.

with all its circumſtances; blaming Montezuma, by whoſe commands, they affirmed, every thing was diſpoſed and provided. Cortez ordered them to be privately confined, and aſſembled his officers, to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued in ſuch a critical ſituation. They referred every thing to his prudence, and he was not long in reſolving what courſe he ſhould purſue. He ſent for the city caziques, and publiſhing his march for next day, demanded a ſupply of proviſions, Tamemes to carry his baggage, and a certain number of armed men, after the example of the Zempoallans and Tlaſcalans; all which were readily granted. He gave the Tlaſcalan officers notice of theſe particulars, with inſtructions how to proceed; that at the firſt appearance of morning, they ſhould draw near to the city with their troops, as if moving to follow the march, and on the firſt diſcharge of the fire-arms, break into the town, in order to join the army. He alſo took care, that the Spaniards and Zempoallans ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs, and be informed of the buſineſs in which they were to be employed.

Theſe ſteps being taken, and the quarters ſecured, as ſoon as it was night, by ſuch guards as an occaſion ſo alarming rendered neceſſary, Cortez ſent for the Mexican ambaſſadors, and under an appearance of friendſhip and confidence, told them, That he had diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy, formed againſt himſelf and his followers, by the citizens of Cholula; informing them of the particulars, and repreſenting in the ſtrongeſt terms, how much theſe people were wanting to the laws of hoſpitality, the peace eſtabliſhed, and the word of their ſovereign: and he added, That he had not only come to the knowledge of this conſpiracy, by his own ſpeculation and vigilance, but the principal conſpirators had even confeſſed it, excuſing their treachery, by a greater crime; that they had the boldneſs to ſay, they had received their orders from Montezuma, though he could not believe ſo great a prince capable of a thought ſo mean and baſe; for which reaſon he had reſolved to inflict puniſhment for the offence with the utmoſt rigour of his arms: that he communicated this intelligence to them, that they might be appriſed of his motives, and underſtand that he was not ſo much offended at the Cholulans for the crime committed againſt himſelf, as for the colouring they made uſe of, in ſheltering their treachery under the emperor's name. The ambaſſadors pretended, that they knew nothing of any ſuch conſpiracy, and endeavoured to ſave the credit of their ſovereign by following the path which Cortez had purpoſely chalked out for them, in order to leſſen the force of his complaint.

It was not thought prudent at that time publicly to accuſe Montezuma, and make a powerful prince, who ſeemed inclined to diſſemble, an open enemy. For which reaſon it was reſolved to defeat his deſigns, without making him ſenſible that they were diſcovered, by puniſhing his perfidy in the perſons of thoſe he employed: and Cortez ſecretly eſteemed this conſpiracy a fortunate occurrence, notwithſtanding the danger with which it was accompanied, as it would afford him an opportunity of raiſing the reputation of his arms among the Mexicans, and of ſtriking terror into Montezuma and his court, by the ſeverity of his revenge.

BOOK I.
A. D. 1519.

Early next morning the Cholulan ſupplies arrived; when it was inſtantly obſerved that the Tamemes were fewer, and the armed men greater in number than had been deſired. By introducing theſe concealed enemies, amounting to near three thouſand, among the Spaniards, the Cholulans hoped to carry their perfidious purpoſe more effectually into execution; and Cortez accepted them, as he wanted to divide the enemy, and to have in his power a part of the traitors whom he deſigned to chaſtiſe. They were divided into ſmall parties, under pretence of being incorporated with the Spaniards, and afterwards confined, in different ſquares, under a guard.

Having made theſe diſpoſitions, and iſſued out the proper inſtructions, Cortez mounted his horſe, and ordering the city caziques to be brought before him, told them, that now their baſe deſigns were diſcovered, and their puniſhment fixed. Their confuſion ſufficiently declared their guilt; and the Spaniards, as its reward, inſtantly fell upon the Cholulans confined in the ſquares, putting them all to the ſword, except ſuch as eſcaped by getting over the walls. At the ſame time the Tlaſcalans entered the city, agreeable to the ſignal, and made dreadful ſlaughter. Nor were the Cholulans idle. Perceiving that they were now engaged in open hoſtilities, they called in to their aſſiſtance the remainder of the Mexican troops; and forming a junction in a great ſquare, in which ſtood three or four large temples, they filled the towers and porches with armed men, and threatened a reſiſtance which could only be ſurmounted by ſetting fire to the buildings, and playing off the artillery upon them. This was effected by the Spaniards with admirable addreſs, while the Tlaſcalans furiouſly attacked the rear of the enemy. The ſame method was practiſed at other temples, to which the people fled, as the ſtrongeſt defences. The general afterwards went through the whole city; and ſlew or drove out both the Mexicans and inhabitants, till he gained entire poſſeſſion of the place, and blood ceaſed to flow for want of enemies. More than ſix thouſand dead bodies were found in the ſtreets and temples; the conſpiracy was entirely defeated; the Cholulans were ſeverely puniſhed for their treacherous project; the valour of the Spaniards was fully eſtabliſhed among the Mexicans; and the Tlaſcalans were not only pleaſed with the deſtruction of their enemies, but enriched with plunder: eſpecially in ſalt, to them the moſt ineſtimable booty, and which they immediately ſent home in great quantities *.

Notwithſtanding theſe beneficial conſequences, which juſtify the Spaniſh general in the eye of politicians, his conduct on this occaſion has been deſervedly blamed by the friends of humanity. The chaſtiſement inflicted on the Cholulans was certainly ſevere beyond the meaſure of the offence, and is therefore reprehenſible: but the ſituation of Cortez made ſeverity neceſſary; and his clemency, after the conſpiracy was defeated, vindicates him ſufficiently from the imputation of wanton cruelty. He ordered the priſoners, both Mexicans and Cholulans, to be brought before him, in preſence of the chief

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* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 7.

prieſts,

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1519.

priests, now released from their confinement, the Cholulan lady, and the ambassadors of Montezuma; when, apologizing for the rigour of the punishment, by enlarging on the atrocity of the crime, and the danger to which he was exposed, he assured them that he had laid aside his displeasure; published a general pardon; released all the prisoners; and made it his request, that the caziques would invite the natives to return to their former habitations, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. He likewise obliged the Tlascalans to restore all the booty they had taken, except the salt: and this behaviour gained so much credit to his professions, that the city was in a short time filled with people; the Cholulans returning with their families, opening their shops, and exercising their several employments, in perfect confidence and security, amid those very men, who had a few hours before destroyed the habitations of their gods, massacred their relations and fellow-citizens, and whose hands were yet red with blood *!

The day after this action, Xicotencal arrived with an army of twenty thousand men; which, upon the first notice of hostilities, the republic of Tlascala had sent to the assistance of the Spaniards. They halted without the city, and were there visited and entertained by Cortez, who thanked them in the warmest manner for their zeal, but declined their services; telling Xicotencal, that now their aid was not necessary for the reduction of Cholula, and having resolved to march in a few days towards Mexico, it would be imprudent to awaken the jealousy of Montezuma, by bringing into his dominions so large a body of Tlascalans, the declared enemies of that prince. Xicotencal and his officers readily admitted the justice of these reasons; and, before their departure, Cortez endeavoured to reconcile the Tlascalans and Cholulans. By his address he subdued the ancient animosity subsisting between the two nations, and set on foot a treaty of peace, which was acceded to by both parties; the act of confederacy and alliance being celebrated in presence of the magistrates of both cities, with the ceremonies and solemnities usually observed on such occasions by the natives of New Spain †. This method of uniting the affections of the nations he had conquered, and engaging them all in his own interest, was one of the finest strokes of the policy of Cortez. By the present mediation he opened the way for supplies from Tlascala, and likewise secured a retreat, should circumstances turn out to his disadvantage.

Having completed this negociation, and concerted the plan of his future operations, Cortez gave leave to some Zempoallans, who desired it, to return home; sending by them letters to Juan de Escalante, governor of Villa Rica, with an account of the progress of the army, and advising him to strengthen the town by new fortifications. He likewise sent a present to the cazique of Zempoalla, recommending to his attention the Spaniards left in that neighbourhood; and thinking every thing secure behind him, in consequence of these precautions, he was making preparations for continuing his march, when another embassy arrived from Montezuma. That prince was desirous to efface from the

* Id. ibid. Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 1.

† Ut supra.

minds

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

minds of the Spaniards every ſuſpicion of his having any concern in the conſpiracy at Cholula. The ambaſſadors accordingly thanked Cortez for having chaſtiſed that treacherous people as they deſerved; enlarging on the emperor's indignation at their perfidy, and ſolemnly proteſting his ignorance of ſuch deſign, every word of which the Spaniards knew to be falſe, though they prudently concealed their ſentiments.

This meſſage was accompanied with a magnificent preſent, intended to lull Cortez into ſecurity, and draw him into another ambuſcade, of which he had notice on his march. The cazique of Guacocingo, in whoſe juriſdiction the Spaniards took up their quarters the firſt night, informed the general, that on the other ſide of the mountain of Chalco, over which he muſt paſs with his army, the Mexicans had placed a great number of men in ambuſh; had ſtopped up the royal road, which leads from the ſummit of the mountain to the province of the ſame name, with great ſtones and trees; and had opened and ſmoothed, at the top of the height, another road, which would lead the Spaniards into an impracticable paſs, where both horſe and foot would be entangled in ſnares, and attacked when they were in no condition to defend themſelves. From this chief Cortez alſo learned, that the heart of the empire was no better affected to Montezuma than the extreme provinces; a diſcovery which confirmed all his former hopes, and inſpired him with the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſubverting a government, whoſe vital parts were diſtempered, and whoſe ſtrength was impaired and divided.

Next day the Spaniards continued their march with ardour; and when they came to the place where the two roads ſeparated, after a fatiguing journey up the ſteep aſcent, Cortez aſked the Mexican ambaſſadors, who were near his perſon, what theſe two roads meant. They anſwered, that the beſt was levelled for the conveniency of his troops; the other being ſtopped up, as more craggy and difficult. "You are but little acquainted with my people," replied Cortez, without heſitation or change of countenance:—"they will march in this way which you have blocked up, for no other reaſon than its difficulty; for the Spaniards, whenever they have it in their choice, always incline to that which is attended with moſt toil and danger." Having uttered theſe words, he ordered his Indian guides to march foremoſt, and remove the obſtacles to his paſſage; leaving the ambaſſadors in admiration of his ſagacity, and overawed at his gallantry, which they, not ſuſpecting the ſtratagem of their maſter was diſcovered, believed to be guided by ſome divinity *.

The Mexicans in ambuſcade, on the other hand, no ſooner percieved the Spaniards purſuing the royal road, than they took it for granted that their deſign was betrayed, and began to retire in as much conſternation and diſorder, as if they had been overcome in battle. Cortez therefore continued his march, without further interruption; and in deſcending the mountain, the vaſt plain of Mexico gradually opened to the view of the army, and preſented them with

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 8.

one

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1519.

one of the moſt ſtriking and beautiful proſpects on the face of the earth. When they firſt beheld this land of promiſe, which they flattered themſelves would yield an ample recompence for all their ſervices and ſufferings; when they obſerved fertile and cultivated fields, ſtretching farther than the eye could reach; when they ſaw a lake reſembling the ſea in extent, encompaſſed with large towns, and diſcovered the capital city riſing on an iſland in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets! the ſcene ſo far exceeded their imagination, that ſome believed the fanciful deſcriptions of romance realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were preſented to their ſight, while others could hardly perſuade themſelves that this wonderful ſpectacle was any thing more than a gay viſion *.

Meanwhile the haughty ſpirit of Montezuma, broke by repeated diſappointments, fluctuated between contending opinions and paſſions, and at length delivered him up to a cruel devotion, which ſacrificed hecatombs of human victims at the altars of his gods, in order to appeaſe their ſuppoſed reſentment. The contradictory oracles uttered by his idols entirely diſordered his imagination; ſome admoniſhing him to open his gates to the ſtrangers, that he might thereby have them all for a ſacrifice, while others adviſed him to keep them at a diſtance, and endeavour to deſtroy them without endangering his perſon. To the latter advice he moſt inclined; and the failure of his laſt ambuſh, undertaken in conſequence of it, almoſt drove him to madneſs, and ſilenced at once his oracles and counſellors. In this extremity, he had recourſe to the magicians and ſorcerers, a ſet of men in the higheſt eſtimation at Mexico. He aſſembled them in a body, ordered them to take the field, and either put the Spaniards to flight, or ſtupify them by the force of their enchantments, ſo that they might become an eaſy conqueſt. If they ſucceeded, they were to be rewarded with uncommon bounty; but if they failed, he threatned to puniſh them with death, as impoſtors. The magicians, afraid to diſcover the cheat with which they had ſo long deluded the public, ſet out in troops, in order to amuſe their ſovereign; and after many myſterious, but harmleſs rites, returned with a ſtory evidently contrived to ſcreen themſelves from puniſhment and diſgrace. They affirmed, that a frightful form had appeared to them, and declared that their conjurations were now of no avail, Mexico being forſaken by the gods. Montezuma remained for a time ſpeechleſs, as if loſt in deep thought, then turning his eyes on the magicians, and ſuch of his courtiers as were preſent, "What can we do," ſaid he, "if our gods forſake us?—Let the ſtrangers come, and the heavens fall upon us: to hide our heads, or turn our backs upon misfortune, would be diſhonourable. I only lament the old men, women, and children, who cannot defend themſelves:"—a reflection which ſhews the natural elevation of his mind, and that his cruel heart ſtill retained ſome ſentiments of humanity †. From this

* Caſtillo, c. 86. The words employed in this deſcription are nearly thoſe of Dr. Robertſon, who has tranſlated Caſtillo almoſt literally, but with much elegance and happineſs of expreſſion. † Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

moment the emperor and his whole court began to make preparations for entertaining the Spaniards, believing them to be thoſe eaſtern people mentioned in their traditions; and in conſequence of ſuch a mode of thinking, another embaſſy, more ſplendid than any of the former, was diſpatched to Cortez, headed by prince Cacumatzin, nephew to Montezuma, and prince of Tezeuco.

By this time the Spaniards had deſcended from the mountain of Chalco, and advanced as far as Amemeca, through a delightful country, filled with groves and gardens, which beſpoke alike the bounty of nature and the force of culture. Here the general halted, at a village built on a creek of the great lake, and received the compliments of the adjacent caziques, who appeared exceedingly reſerved before the Mexican ambaſſadors, but in private freely declared their deteſtation of the royal tyrant, whom they taxed with cruelty and oppreſſion; adding with tears, that they were forced to ſurrender their women as a tribute to his luſt, and that of his miniſters, who choſe and rejected them at pleaſure: nor were the arms of a mother any ſecurity to a daughter, or the nuptial bed a protection to a wife. At this place the army was encamped, when prince Cacumatzin arrived, attended by four of the firſt grandees of Mexico, and carried in a chair or pavillion of ſtate, covered with plumage of the moſt beautiful colours ingeniouſly diſpoſed, and ſupported by the ſhoulders of ſome officers of his family. When he alighted, a crowd of attendants ran before him to clear and ſweep the way, and Cortez received him at the door of his apartment, having adorned himſelf as uſual on ſuch occaſions. After the proper compliments were over, the prince took his ſeat with an eaſy majeſtic air, and ſpoke with the compoſure of a man, who could contemplate novelty without ſurpriſe. He began his diſcourſe with welcoming Cortez and the Spaniſh officers to the Mexican dominions, acquainting them of the amicable diſpoſition in which the emperor expected their viſit, and how much he deſired to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting friendſhip with the powerful eaſtern prince whom they acknowledged as their maſter, and whoſe power Montezuma was obliged to confeſs, for certain reaſons which they ſhould learn from his own lips: and he concluded with apologies for the difficulties which Cortez muſt encounter in his way to Mexico on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions, the people being in great want by reaſon of that year's barrenneſs, repreſenting in the ſtrongeſt terms the concern which this circumſtance gave Montezuma; in a word, he ſpoke in ſuch a manner as if he would diſſuade the Spaniards from the journey, at the ſame time that he invited them.

Cortez, who eaſily penetrated the deſign of this ſpeech, replied in that reſolute and myſterious manner which he had conſtantly maintained on ſuch occaſions, That the king his maſter, the greateſt monarch in the other world, where the ſun riſes, had likewiſe ſome reaſons of high import for offering his friendſhip to Montezuma; that the Spaniards deſpiſed hunger and every other inconveniency, when acting in obedience to the will of their ſovereign; and that he moſt thankfully accepted the emperor's permiſſion to deliver his embaſſy, without being the leaſt

leaſt in pain about the ſcarcity of proviſions. Such an anſwer convinced Cacumatzin, that all attempts to divert the general from his reſolution would be to no purpoſe, he therefore waved the ſubject; and having received ſome preſents from Cortez, accompanied the army as far as Tezeuco, the capital of his dominions, whence he proceeded to Mexico to report the iſſue of his viſit.

The Spaniards were equally delighted and aſtoniſhed at the grandeur of Tezeuco, the ſecond city in the empire for ſize, and the firſt for antiquity. The front of all the buildings was extended on the margin of the great lake, in a happy ſituation, where the cauſeway of Mexico began. Over this cauſeway Cortez purſued his march, without ſtopping at Tezeuco; his deſign being to reach Iztacpalapa that night, whence he could march with eaſe to Mexico next day. The cauſeway was here about twenty feet in breadth, built with large ſtones cemented with lime, and adorned with works that ſerved the double purpoſe of ſtrength and ornament. About half way between Tezeuco and Iztacpalapa ſtood another town, of about two thouſand houſes, called Quitlavaca; to which the Spaniards gave the name of Venezuela, or little Venice, becauſe like that city, it roſe out of the waters. The cazique came out with a conſiderable retinue to meet Cortez, and deſired that he would honour his town with a viſit: a requeſt which was urged with ſo much earneſtneſs, that Cortez thought proper to comply; partly to avoid diſobliging the cazique, and partly that he might have an opportunity of obſerving the ſituation of the lake, the cities, cauſeways, and every thing that could either facilitate or obſtruct his march, ſhould the Mexicans reſolve to cut down the bridges.

Quitlavaca commands a view of the greater part of the lake of Mexico, a proſpect enchantingly beautiful, being diverſified with cities, towns, paved ways, and veſſels in perpetual motion. Towers and pinnacles, to the eye of the Spaniards, ſeemed to float upon the waters, and trees and gardens to flouriſh out of their proper element!—a ſight which at once raiſed their aſtoniſhment, and fired their ambition. The army was abundantly ſupplied with proviſions by the cazique, and well accommodated with quarters. The general and his officers were entertained with affability and politeneſs; every action being performed with an eaſe and elegance, which ſhewed that the people partook of the manners of a court, and were poliſhed by their vicinity to the capital. But what pleaſed Cortez more than every thing elſe was, to find the cazique of Quitlavaca poſſeſs the ſame ſentiments as the other chiefs of the country, through which he had paſſed, in regard to the government of Montezuma *. They all deteſted his tyranny; but they dreaded his power: and although they ſhewed an inclination to break their fetters, and receive the Spaniards as perſons deſtined for their deliverance, yet ſo habituated were they to ſlavery, and ſo often had they bled under the ſcourge of his authority, that they could ſcarce elevate their ſouls to the pleaſing proſpect of liberty. Perhaps they imagined, from a certain foreboding which the mind ſometimes has of future calamities, that the ſtrangers

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 9.

would

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

would only deliver them from the yoke of Montezuma, in order to ſubject them, as actually happened, to a ſtill more rigorous bondage.

Having ſpent the night agreeably at Quitlavaca, Cortez, animated with freſh hopes, began his march by break of day, along the ſame cauſeway which had conducted him to that place, and which was wide enough for eight horſemen to go abreaſt. The army, now conſiſting of about four hundred and fifty Spaniards, and ſix thouſand Americans, Tlaſcalans, Zempoallans, and other confederates, reached Iztacpalapa, where they deſigned to halt, without any remarkable adventure. This place ſurpaſſed any thing the Spaniards had yet ſeen in the magnificence of its buildings; many of which were ſuperb edifices, ſtretching along the margin of the lake in a delicious and fertile ſoil. The cazique came out to meet Cortez, accompanied by the lords of ſome neighbouring towns, all attended by numerous retinues, with preſents of fruit and proviſions. The entry of the army into the city was announced by ſuch loud and general acclamations of joy, as evinced the good-will of the inhabitants. The Spaniards were lodged in the cazique's palace, and the Indian auxiliaries in courts and ſquares, covered over with cotton cloths, where they could ſecurely and commodiouſly paſs the night. The apartments in the palace were adorned or hung with paintings on cotton, ingeniouſly executed, and roofed with cedar. The town was watered with many fountains, conveyed by a variety of aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, through a number of large and well cultivated gardens. Among theſe gardens there was one peculiarly ſpacious and elegant, into which the cazique conducted the Spaniards, and which would have reflected honour upon the taſte of a people more advanced in the polite arts *.

Much delighted with the beauties of Iztacpalapa, and ſufficiently informed of the ſtrength of the place and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, Cortez ſet out early next morning for Mexico, in order that he might have leiſure to reconnoitre the city, and fortify his quarters, after paying his reſpects to Montezuma. When he had marched about half way, he was met by four thouſand perſons of diſtinction, ſent to receive the ſtrangers, and conduct them to the capital. On drawing near to the city, they found a ſtone fortification, ſecured by a tower on

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 2. De Solis, lib. iii. c. 10. The Spaniſh hiſtorians are accuſed, and perhaps juſtly, of exaggerating the improvements of the Mexicans and Peruvians: but as they are our only authorities, we are obliged either to follow them, or to reject their accounts as altogether fabulous. The laſt would be a dangerous degree of ſcepticiſm, as it would affect the credibility of the whole hiſtory: we muſt therefore admit ſuch accounts, with ſome abatement; and when we come to conſider the ancient ſtate of Mexico and Peru, an attempt will be made to aſcertain the progreſs which the people of thoſe two American empires had made in the arts, both uſeful and ornamental; from which inquiry will appear, the degree of credit that is due to the pompous deſcriptions of their improvements.—This obſervation the reader is deſired to keep particularly in mind, in reading the account of the city of Mexico: and if the author might be allowed a bold remark, he would ſay, that the whole fallacy of the Spaniſh hiſtorians (who were either eye-witneſſes of what they deſcribe, or had their information from ſuch as were) conſiſts in that ſtrong impreſſion which new and unexpected objects make upon the mind, and that warmth of colouring with which we naturally deſcribe them. The picture reſembles the original; but, like the portrait of a favourite miſtreſs, drawn by the pencil of a lover, the beauties are heightened and the defects concealed.

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1519.

each ſide, and which took up the whole breadth of the cauſeway. This obliged the troops to make a circuit to gates that opened in another part of the cauſeway, terminated by a draw-bridge, which, together with a ſecond fortification, defended the entrance of the city. The Mexicans paſſed over the bridge; then dividing and falling back, made a lane for the Spaniards, who thence diſcovered a large ſtreet, with uniform buildings, and windows and battlements crowded with ſpectators. Soon after appeared the firſt company of the royal proceſſion, conſiſting of about two hundred noblemen in an uniform dreſs, adorned with large plumes, alike in faſhion and colour. They advanced in two files, with remarkable ſilence and compoſure, bare footed, and with their eyes fixed on the ground. When they approached the Spaniards, they divided and fell back in the ſame order as the former company, and a more numerous and ſplendid train was diſcovered at a diſtance; in the midſt of which came Montezuma, carried on the ſhoulders of his favourites, in a chair or litter of gold and feathers, curiouſly wrought. Four perſons of chief diſtinction followed this conveyance, ſupporting over him a canopy of green feathers, interwoven with ſilver; and before him walked three officers, with rods of gold in their hands, which they exalted at certain intervals, as a ſignal of the emperor's approach, that all paſſengers might proſtrate themſelves on the earth, nor preſume to lift up their eyes, which was deemed a kind of ſacrilege. Cortez, who was on horſeback, diſmounted when he drew near: Montezuma alighted from his chair, at the ſame time; his attendants officiouſly ſpreading carpets on the ſtreet, that the royal feet might not touch the ground. He advanced to meet Cortez with a ſlow ſolemn pace, leaning on the arms of his nephews, the princes of Iztacpalapa and Tezeuco. By way of apparel he wore a mantle of the fineſt cotton, loaded with gold, pearls, and precious ſtones, in ſuch profuſion, that it ſeemed rather an encumbrance than an ornament. It was laid careleſsly on his ſhoulders, and ſwept the ground with its length. On his head he wore a light crown of gold, in form of a mitre; and his feet were caſed in ſhoes of the ſame metal, with ſpangled ſtraps that came round part of his leg, in the manner of the Roman military ſandals. His preſence was majeſtic; his ſtature of the middle ſize; his age about forty; his conſtitution rather delicate than robuſt; his complexion fair for the climate and race of men; his noſe aquiline; his eyes lively and piercing; and his features regular and handſome. Cortez approached him with the moſt profound reverence, making obeiſance after the manner of his country; which Montezuma anſwered by laying his hand upon the ground, and raiſing it afterwards to his lips. This mode of ſalutation was common in Mexico, but chiefly from inferiors to ſuperiors, and was conſidered as ſuch an uncommon act of condeſcention in a proud prince, who ſcarcely deigned to conſider the reſt of mankind as belonging to the ſame ſpecies with himſelf, that all his ſubjects inſtantly believed the ſtrangers aſſuredly beings of a nature ſuperior to humanity. During theſe compliments, Cortez threw round the emperor's neck a chain of cut glaſs, curiouſly ſet, in imitation of diamonds, which he had put above his coat of mail, as a preſent for the firſt audience. Montezuma's at-

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

tendants would have prevented him, it not being lawful to approach ſo near the ſovereign; but that prince himſelf reprimanded them, and was ſo much pleaſed with the preſent, that he ordered two of the gentlemen of his bed chamber to bring a collar of red ſhells, ſet together with the niceſt art, and adorned with eight crabs of beaten gold, which exactly imitated nature. This was reckoned among the moſt valuable of the royal jewels; and the emperor, with his own hands, ſuſpended it round the general's neck, to the aſtoniſhment of the Mexicans, who were farther confirmed, by this ſecond inſtance of reſpect, in their belief of the celeſtial origin of the ſtrangers. Accordingly, as the Spaniards paſſed through the crowd, they frequently heard themſelves denominated Teules, or divinities. When they came to the place provided for their quarters, Montezuma took Cortez by the hand, led him into a ſpacious room, and placing him on a rich elevated ſeat, ornamented with gold and precious ſtones, "You are now," ſaid he, "in your own houſe with your friends; eat, reſt, and be happy. I will viſit you ſoon." The general made him a profound obeiſance, in anſwer to this courtly ſpeech; and the emperor returned to his palace with the ſame ſtate in which he had left it *.

Thus by a train of circumſtances, no leſs unexpected than ſingular, had Cortez been enabled to penetrate into the heart of a great and powerful empire, and was now lodged in its capital; but the chief object of his armament, the ſubjection of this empire to the crown of Spain, was ſtill, in ſome reſpects, as remote as ever. Inſtead of entering Mexico as an enemy, he had not only met with no oppoſition, but been received there as a friend: he could ſee no colourable pretext for commencing hoſtilities, nor any poſſibility of accompliſhing his deſigns, without a violation of the ſacred rights of hoſpitality. Time and fortune, however, prepared the occaſions, and he was not ſlow in ſeizing them.

CHAP. V.

The Proceedings of Cortez *and his Followers, from their public Entery into the City of* Mexico, *to the Death of* Montezuma.

THE Spaniards entered the capital of the Mexican empire on the 8th day of November, in the year 1519. The place provided as their quarters was one of the royal palaces, built by Axayaca, the father of Montezuma. It was ſurrounded by a thick ſtone wall, with towers on the flanks, in the manner of a fortification, and was ſo large as to contain the whole army. The firſt care of Cortez was to take a full ſurvey of it, that he might the better provide for the diſtribution of the guards, and the planting of the artillery.

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 2, De Solis, lib. iii. c. 10.

Theſe

Theſe he ſo diſpoſed as to command the different avenues, poſting centinels at proper ſtations, and taking every other precaution that vigilance can ſuggeſt to valour.

It was a little paſt mid-day when the army entered theſe quarters, which were no leſs calculated for internal conveniency than external defence, an hundred and fifty Spaniards being able to lie in ſeparate beds, after room was left for the reſt, both Spaniards and Indians, amounting to upwards of ſix thouſand, to lodge in a military form, and apartments reſerved for public purpoſes. Here Cortez and his officers found a ſumptuous banquet prepared for them, and great plenty of proviſions, though leſs delicate, for the ſoldiers. In the evening, according to promiſe, came Montezuma to viſit the general, with the ſame pomp and ſolemnity as at their firſt interview. Cortez went out to receive him in the principal ſquare of the palace, with all the reſpect due to ſuch a favour, accompanying him as far as the door of his apartment, where he made the emperor a profound obeiſance. Montezuma paſſed him, and took his ſeat with an air of negligence and majeſty, commanding a chair to be brought for Cortez, and making a ſignal for his attendants to retire to a diſtance. The general did the ſame in regard to his officers, and was going to open his embaſſy, when Montezuma ſignified, that he had ſomewhat to offer before he gave him audience, and is ſaid to have ſpoke to the following effect.

" Illuſtrious captain, and gallant ſtranger, before you deliver the embaſſy of the great prince who ſent you, both you and I muſt paſs by, and bury in oblivion, what fame hath reported of our perſons and conduct, abuſing our ears with idle rumors, which prepoſſeſs us againſt truth, and render her obſcure by the diſguiſes of flattery and ſlander. By ſome you have no doubt been told, that I am one of the immortal gods, extolling my power and my perſon to the heavens; by others, that the buſineſs of fortune is to enrich me, that the walls and the coverings of my palace are gold, and that the earth groans beneath the weight of my treaſures: you have heard that I am a tyrant, cruel and proud, abhorring juſtice, and a ſtranger to mercy; but both accounts are equally falſe. This arm," uncovering a ſcar, " will make you ſenſible that I am mortal, and that you talk to a being of the ſame ſpecies with other men. My riches, I own, are great, but not what they are repreſented by my vaſſals. The houſe wherein you now lodge is one of my palaces: behold the walls made of ſtone and lime! ordinary materials, which owe their value to art. From theſe repreſentations, therefore, imagine how likely it is that my tyrannies have been exaggerated in the ſame manner, or at leaſt ſuſpend your judgment till you enter into my reaſons; and lay no ſtreſs on the accuſations brought againſt me by my rebellious ſubjects, before you have informed yourſelf, whether what they call tyranny be not chaſtiſement, and if any one can complain of my ſeverity, without having deſerved it.

" After the ſame manner have we received information concerning your nature and actions. Some have told us you are gods; that the wild beaſts obey you; that you graſp the thunder, and command the elements: others have reported that

BOOK I.
A. D. 1519.

that you are malicious, revengeful, proud, ſlaves to your paſſions, and tranſported with an inſatiable thirſt of the gold which our country produces; but now I perceive you are of the ſame compoſition and form with the reſt of mankind, though diſtinguiſhed from us by ſome accidents, which the difference of country occaſions. Thoſe creatures ſo alarming, and of which fame has reported ſuch wonders, are no more I find than large deer that you have taught to obey you, and inſtructed in ſuch imperfect knowledge as is conſiſtent with animal inſtinct. Your arms, which counterfeit lightning, I conceive to be produced by human ingenuity, or by that myſterious art known amongſt us under the name of magic, and to be leſs deſtructive than they ſeem. As to what regards yourſelves, I am informed by my ambaſſadors and ſervants, that you are courteous and devout; that your reſentments are founded on reaſon; that you bear hardſhips chearfully; and among your other virtues, they diſcover liberality, which rarely accompanies avarice. We muſt therefore, on both ſides, forget all paſt miſrepreſentations, and be thankful to our eyes for correcting our opinions. Taking this for granted, we would have you to underſtand, before you begin your diſcourſe, that we are not ignorant, nor ſtand in need of your perſuaſions to believe, that the great prince whom you obey, is deſcended from our anceſtor Quezalcoal, lord of the ſeven caves of the Navatlaques, and lawful king of thoſe ſeven nations, which gave a beginning to the Mexican empire. By a tradition for many ages preſerved in our annals, and reverenced as ſacred, we know that he departed theſe regions to conquer new countries in the Eaſt; leaving a promiſe, that, in proceſs of time, his deſcendants ſhould return to model our laws, and reform our government. This tradition is ſupported by prophecies, long regarded as infallible, and which are confirmed by your appearance; and as you not only carry the marks foretold in theſe prophecies, but the prince of the Eaſt, who ſends you, manifeſts in your actions the greatneſs of ſo illuſtrious a progenitor, we have already determined, that all things ſhall be done for his honour, to the utmoſt of our ability. This I have thought fit to notify, that you may declare what you have to propoſe, without any conſtraint, and attribute my condeſcenſion to ſo noble a cauſe *."

This artful ſpeech was delivered with an air of majeſty, and Cortez anſwered it with equal dignity and addreſs. He endeavoured to maintain the opinion of the extraordinary valour of the Spaniards without departing from truth. He acknowledged that the fire-arms, which the Mexicans miſtook for lightning and thunder, were the invention of human genius; but left Montezuma, from this very circumſtance, to judge of the ſuperiority of the Spaniards in contrivance and underſtanding: he told him that the horſes were not deer, as he imagined, but animals of a more generous nature, bold, furious, and ambitious of emulating the glory of their maſters; and in order to give greater weight to his embaſſy, he politically endeavoured to confirm that idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards, and the authority of the Catholic

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 11. Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 2.

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1519.

king; execrating the impious religion of the Mexicans, and giving a ſhort ſketch of the principal tenets of the Chriſtian faith; to eſtabliſh which, he added, was the chief object of his commiſſion, and the ſupreme wiſh of the great prince his maſter. "That king," exclaimed he, "whoſe ancient ſuperiority you acknowledge, exhorts you to hear me on this ſubject with an unprejudiced mind, that you may taſte of that repoſe which your ſpirit will find in truth; and as the moſt effectual method of perpetuating, by a laſting amity, founded on the ſolid baſis of religion, the confederacy between the two crowns." Montezuma liſtened to all his arguments without the leaſt mark of conviction; and riſing from his ſeat with a careleſs air, "I accept," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to Cortez, "with the warmeſt acknowledgments, the friendſhip and confederacy which you propoſe from the great deſcendant of Quezalcoal: but all gods are good; and yours may be what you ſay, without any offence to mine. Repoſe yourſelves now, for you muſt be weary; and reſt aſſured, that you ſhall be ſerved with all the reſpect due to your valour, and to the illuſtrious monarch who ſends you." Having uttered theſe words, he ordered ſome of his attendants in waiting to approach with ſome pieces of gold, cotton cloths, and curioſities in feathers, which he preſented to Cortez and his officers, before he withdrew *. Montezuma ſeemed to regard the Spaniards, at this interview, with a kind of mixed ſatisfaction, in which might be diſcovered the effects of his former diſquiet; in the ſame manner as the violence of the ſtorm may be perceived in the rolling of the waves, after its rage has ſubſided.

Next day Cortez deſired an audience of the emperor, which was readily granted. He went attended by four of his principal officers, and ſix or ſeven favourite ſoldiers, among whom was Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo, who though an illiterate man, had already begun to collect materials for his hiſtory. The ſtreets were filled with people, who crowded to ſee the ſtrangers, and the Spaniards heard, to their no ſmall ſatisfaction, the word Teules, or divinities, frequently repeated, as on their firſt appearance; a certain proof that the veneration of the Mexicans was undiminiſhed. At a conſiderable diſtance appeared the paiace of Montezuma, which ſufficiently demonſtrated the magnificence of the Mexican monarchs. The pile was ſo large, that it opened by thirty gates to as many different ſtreets. The principal front took up one whole ſide of a ſpacious parade, and was built of jaſper finely poliſhed, and of different colours. Over the great gate was the imperial arms, pompouſly blazoned. Here Cortez was received with much ceremony by the officers of the court; and after being conducted through three extenſive ſquares, he reached at length the apartments of Montezuma, where he found equal reaſon to admire the grandeur of the rooms, and the richneſs of the furniture. The floors were covered with a variety of different mats of beautiful workmanſhip and texture; the walls, with cotton hangings finely painted; and the innermoſt room was adorned with a kind of tapeſtry, made of the plumage of birds, formed into pictures, with moſt elegant ſhades,

* Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

and diſpoſed in ſuch order as to form the moſt agreeable harmony of colours. The roofs were of cedar and other odoriferous woods, with different foliages and relievos, that diſcovered taſte and genius in the artiſts; and what was very remarkable in this building, large ceilings were formed without the uſe of nails, the timber-work being ſo contrived as to ſupport them, by the preſſure of the lateral on the central parts. Every thing was new and extraordinary to the Spaniards, which greatly contributed to encreaſe their reſpect for the owner. The grandeur of the palace; the ceremonious attendance of crowds of officers; the richneſs of their apparel; and even the profound ſilence obſerved by ſo numerous a train, all impreſſed the imagination with the moſt exalted ideas of the power of Montezuma, and the wealth of the Mexican empire.

That prince was ſtanding in the midſt of all the enſigns of his authority, when, obſerving Cortez, he advanced to receive him, laying his hands familiarly on his ſhoulders, and ſaluting the reſt of the Spaniards with a gracious nod and ſmile; then ſeating himſelf, he deſired Cortez to do the ſame, and all thoſe who accompanied him. The viſit was long, and the converſation ſuch as might be ſuppoſed to paſs between friends on a footing of perfect equality. Montezuma diveſted himſelf of all the pomp of majeſty, without loſing ſight of his dignity, and condeſcended to queſtion Cortez concerning the nature, politics, and curioſities of the eaſtern countries. All his replies evinced ſtrong ſenſe, and many of his obſervations a manly and extenſive underſtanding. He next touched upon the obligations of the Mexicans to the deſcendants of their firſt monarch, and expreſſed his particular ſatisfaction, that the prophecy concerning the reformation to be made by ſtrangers was completed in his time; a compliment as void of ſincerity as any that could have paſſed in the moſt poliſhed European court, and no leſs genteel. Cortez, who was likewiſe a maſter in this ſcience, artfully drew on the converſation to the topic of religion, though all his arguments, on that ſubject, proved fruitleſs; except in regard to the barbarous cuſtom of decking the royal table with diſhes of human fleſh, which Montezuma ordered henceforth to be diſuſed. But as to the point of human ſacrifices, on which Cortez preſſed him with much warmth, he ſaid, he could ſee no cruelty in offering to the gods priſoners taken in battle, and who by the laws of war were already condemned to die: nor did he by any means approve of the maxim laid down in Scripture, to extend neighbourly affection towards an enemy. In a word, though he ſeemed to approve of the benevolence and humanity of the Chriſtian ſyſtem, in certain particulars, he conſtantly returned to his old aſſertion, That his gods were good in Mexico, as the Chriſtian God might be in the Eaſt.

Montezuma, in adhering ſo ſtrenuouſly to the religion of his country, was not influenced merely by motives of piety. He looked upon the baſis of the royal authority to be laid in the abſurd ſuperſtition of the people, and their reverence for the prieſts, with whom it would be dangerous to have any altercation on a topic in which their intereſt, influence, and character, were ſo deeply concerned. He dreaded their diſpleaſure, and the contempt of his vaſſals, ſhould he relax his

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CHAP. V.
A. D. 1519.

zeal for the worſhip of his gods, out of complaiſance to the ſtrangers: and he had alſo a vanity, it appears, in the magnificence of his temples, which led him, ſoon after this converſation, to diſplay them to Cortez, accompanied by father Olmedo, and ſome principal officers and favourite ſoldiers.

When the Spaniards came to the entrance of the great temple, Montezuma deſired them to halt, and went forward in perſon to conſult the prieſts, Whether it was lawful for him to bring into the preſence of his gods, men who refuſed to worſhip them. The queſtion was anſwered in the affirmative, provided they would behave with proper reſpect. Immediately all the gates of this ſuperb edifice were ſet open, and Montezuma took upon himſelf to explain the uſe of all the ſacred veſſels, inſtruments, and utenſils; an office which he performed with ſo much ceremony and reverence, that the Spaniards could not refrain from laughter. Of this levity he took no notice, except by a look of diſapprobation; but the intemperate zeal of Cortez ſoon obliged him to explain himſelf in a different manner. "Permit me, Sir," cried that enthuſiaſtic warrior, "to fix the CROSS of Chriſt before theſe images of the devil; and you ſhall ſee, whether they deſerve adoration or contempt!" This propoſal enraged the prieſts, and reduced Montezuma to great perplexity, between his reverence for religion, his dread of the prieſthood, and his regard for the rights of hoſpitality in the perſons of the Spaniards. "You might at leaſt," ſaid he, "have ſhewn this place the reſpect due to my perſon *!"—a reproof which equally ſhewed his good ſenſe and politeneſs; and though the Spaniſh hiſtorians aſcribe its moderation to fear, was more ſevere, properly underſtood, than any chaſtiſement he could have inflicted on their barbarous inſolence. Cortez, it would appear, underſtood it in that light; for he took an immediate reſolution to converſe no more on the ſubject of religion, and laid aſide all thoughts of converting Montezuma †.

It will be proper here to introduce a ſhort deſcription of the capital of this vaſt empire; of the ſplendour of the court, the immenſe revenues of the monarch, and other particulars, equally conducive to gratify curioſity, and render the ſubſequent narrative more intelligible and entertaining.

Mexico, anciently known by the name of Tenuchtitlân, is ſituated in a ſpacious plain, ſurrounded by lofty mountains, whence roll down a variety of ſtreams into the valley, and being there collected, form ſeveral lakes, the two largeſt of which, about thirty leagues in circumference, communicate with each other. The water of the one is freſh, that of the other brackiſh, from a nitrous quality in the ſoil at the bottom. The iſlands and banks of theſe two lakes were adorned with fifty towns, many of which contained five thouſand, and ſome ten thouſand houſes. In the middle of the ſalt water lake ſtood the great city of Mexico; which, in the time of Montezuma, is ſaid to have contained ſixty thouſand houſes ‡. It com-

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 12. † He remained ſatisfied with obtaining leave to worſhip God in public:—"and having ordered one of the principal rooms of the palace to be cleared out, and white-waſhed, raiſed an altar; and in the front, upon ſteps richly adorned, placed the *image* of *our Lady*, and fixing a large *croſs* near the gate, formed a very decent chapel." De Solis, ut ſupra. ‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 5.

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BOOK I.
A. D. 1519.

municated with the land by means of raiſed cauſeways, or artificial ſtreets, erected at a vaſt expence, and which were no leſs ornamental than uſeful. Theſe cauſeways were three in number: that towards the weſt was about half a league in length; that towards the north, a league; and that towards the ſouth, two leagues. On the eaſt the city could only be approached by canoes. In each of thoſe cauſeways were openings at proper intervals, through which the water paſſed; and over theſe were laid beams of timber, which being covered with earth and ſtones, the avenue had every where an uniform appearance. The city itſelf was no leſs remarkable than its ſituation. It was divided between the court and the common people. The latter poſſeſſed the diſtrict called Tlatelulco, where the houſes were ſmall, low and mean, but regularly arranged. In the other diſtrict, or what was properly termed Mexico, and occupied by the nobility and the prince, the dwellings were ſtately and magnificent. In both diſtricts the buildings were laid out in ſquares, where an infinite quantity of merchandiſe was daily expoſed to ſale; and two of theſe, one in each diſtrict, allotted for the great markets and fairs, were ſo large, that an hundred thouſand perſons could, in either of them, carry on traffic, without incommoding one another *. The ſtreets were all broad and ſtraight, and of three ſorts: one ſort being all water, with bridges for the greater convenience of paſſengers; another all earth, and a third of earth and water. This laſt ſort was moſt common, and had the moſt agreeable effect imagination can conceive; a ſpace being left in the middle for canoes to paſs, and walks formed on the ſides †. Nothing could be better contrived for all the purpoſes of buſineſs or pleaſure: Mexico, in a word, reſembled in miniature, what we are told of the vaſt empire of China, in the diverſity of land and water; the canals conſtantly filled with boats; the multitude of inhabitants; the perpetual buſtle of the people, and that conſtant motion in which every object was beheld.

Nothing added more to the beauty and magnificence of the city of Mexico, than the great number of ſtately temples with which it was adorned. The great temple, in particular, dedicated to the idol Viztzlipuztli, or the God of War, was awfully ſtupendous. The part of the building that firſt preſented itſelf was a large ſquare court, the wall of which was of hewn ſtone, wrought on the outſide with ſerpents entwined, which gave a very horrible aſpect to the portico. At a little diſtance from the principal gate, was a place of worſhip ſtill more dreadful; being decorated with the heads of the unhappy victims who had been ſacrificed in the temple, arranged in exact order. Every ſide of the ſquare had a gate, each fronting one of the four principal ſtreets of the city, over which were four ſtatues of ſtone, that ſeemed to point the way back to thoſe who came in an improper diſpoſition. As ſome reverence was paid to them at entering, they muſt have been deemed the Threſhold Gods. Cloſe to the inſide of the court wall were the habitations of the prieſts, a numerous tribe, and of thoſe who under them attended the ſervice of the temple; yet was there ſufficient room left for eight or ten thouſand perſons to dance on public feſtivals. In the centre

* Herrera, ut ſupra. † Id. ibid. De Solis, lib. iii. c. 11.

CHAP. V. A. D. 1519.

of this court ſtood a tower, which exalted its head above all the buildings in the city; and terminated in a kind of half pyramid, of ſuch vaſt dimenſions, that, after it had riſen into the air an hundred and twenty ſtone ſteps of a beautiful ſtair-caſe, the area at the top was forty feet ſquare. The pavement of this area was of jaſper; a ſort of ſerpentine baluſtrade encloſed it; and both ſides were covered with ſtones reſembling jet, joined with white and red cement, which had a very happy effect. At the top of the ſtair-caſe ſtood two marble ſtatues, which ſupported two candleſticks of enormous ſize, and by the ſtraining of the arms, admirably well expreſſed the weight of the burden. A little further on was placed the ſtone, upon which the wretched human victim deſtined to be ſacrificed, was extended on his back, while his heart was taken out; and beyond this ſtone, fronting the top of the ſtair-caſe, ſtood a chapel of excellent workmanſhip and materials, covered with a roof of precious wood. Here was placed the idol, behind a curtain, on the high altar. It reſembled a human figure of terrible aſpect; and was ſeated on a kind of throne, ſupported by a blue globe, repreſenting the heavens, from the ſides of which came forth rods, headed like ſnakes. The idol held in the right hand a twining ſerpent, which ſerved as a ſtaff, and in the left four arrows, that were regarded as a celeſtial preſent. By the ſide of this chapel ſtood another of the ſame ſize and figure; the habitation of an idol, eſteemed the brother and friend of the former, and who was ſuppoſed to divide with him the patronage of war. The ornaments of both chapels were of inеſtimable value; the walls being hung, and the altars covered with jewels and precious ſtones, placed in feather work of moſt beautiful colours: and there were eight temples in Mexico nearly equal to this in wealth and magnificence. Thoſe of a ſmaller ſize amounted to two thouſand; and were dedicated to as many different idols of various names, forms, and attributes. There was ſcarce a ſtreet without its tutelary deity; nor was there any calamity incident to human life without its altar, to which man might have recourſe for a remedy *.

Beſides the palace, already deſcribed, where the emperor kept his court, and that where the Spaniards were lodged, Montezuma had ſeveral houſes of pleaſure, which at once ſerved to adorn the capital and to diſplay his grandeur. One of them, a moſt magnificent ſtructure, with vaſt galleries, ſupported by pillars of jaſper, was converted into an aviary. Here was aſſembled every ſpecies of birds which New Spain produced, valuable either on account of their voices or plumage. The number of theſe birds was ſo great, that above three hundred perſons were conſtantly employed in feeding and cleaning them. From their feathers were made ſome of the moſt beautiful paintings in Montezuma's collection.

At ſome diſtance from the aviary, the emperor had another houſe, of ſuch extent as to be capable of containing his whole court. There his huntſmen reſided, and with them an infinite number of birds of prey; among which was the royal eagle, of an extraordinary ſize, and the royal hawks, or birds of a ſimilar ſpecies, no ways inferior to thoſe of Europe in pouncing on their prey, or re-

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 13. Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 6.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

turning to the lure. In another ſquare of the ſame houſe were kept the emperor's wild beaſts; and among others the Mexican bull, not unlike the buffalo, or wild bull of Bohemia. This animal is large, ſtrong, fierce, and majeſtic in his appearance; has a hunch on his back like a camel, a head armed like a common bull, and hair on his neck like a lion. It was cuſtomary with the Mexicans, from the earlieſt antiquity, to eſtimate the grandeur of the ſovereign by the number of wild beaſts in his poſſeſſion; whence we may judge of the multitude maintained by Montezuma, who was by far the moſt magnificent prince that ever ſwayed the Mexican ſceptre.

But of all the public buildings belonging to this great monarch, none was more worthy of obſervation than the armoury. It was divided into two apartments: the one, where the arms were made; and the other, where they were depoſited, after being finiſhed. In the firſt, different artizans had certain ſhops aſſigned them, agreeable to their ſeveral employments. They prepared the wood for the arrows in one place, in another they worked flint ſtones for the points; in a third bows were made; and in a fourth ſwords and darts. All ſorts of arms, in a word, whether offenſive or defenſive, were made by particular workmen, in diſtinct ſhops, under the direction of ſuperintendants, who kept an exact account of the quantity and kinds of arms. In the other apartment, or the magazine, weapons of all kinds were arranged in the moſt diſtinct and beautiful order, and thence diſtributed to the troops, as occaſion required, the vacant ſpaces being immediately filled up by others *.—To all theſe houſes were annexed extenſive gardens, laid out with much taſte and magnificence; and in each of them was a large piece of ground, entirely occupied with medicinal plants and herbs, for all ſorts of wounds, pains, and infirmities, in the knowledge, and proper application of which, conſiſted the whole ſkill of the Mexican phyſicians †.

Agreeable to the external magnificence that appeared round the court of Montezuma, was his domeſtic œconomy; all being ſplendid, ceremonious, and great. When this prince aſcended the throne, he augmented the number, and quality of the royal attendants, among whom none were admitted but nobility of the firſt diſtinction. He excluded the commonalty, contrary to the advice of his council; it being a maxim with him, that princes ought to govern at a diſtance thoſe, who either had no ſenſe of obligation, or were unable to expreſs their gratitude by proper returns. The nobility were even employed to protect the royal perſon; Montezuma's body-guards conſiſting of two hundred young noblemen, of the firſt quality in the empire, the out-poſts round the palace only being defended by common ſoldiers. There was indeed a principle of policy, as well as pride, in this inſtitution; for it inured the nobility to the uſe of arms, at the ſame time that it kept them in greater dependance upon the ſovereign.

The emperor's women were without number, every beautiful female in his dominions being ſent to court by his officers, who conſidered the elegance of

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 14. Herrera, dec II. lib. v. c. 4. The arms of the Mexicans, and of all the natives of New Spain, nearly reſembled thoſe of the Tabaſcans, already deſcribed.

† Ut ſupra.

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CHAP. V.
A. D. 1519.

the royal ſeraglio as of importance to the grandeur of the ſtate; but only two of theſe women, who were lodged in ſeparate apartments, and attended with the utmoſt magnificence, bore the title of Queen. The miſtreſſes, when diſcarded by the ſatiated monarch, generally found huſbands among the nobility, as they never failed to acquire large ſums while baſking in the ſun-ſhine of royal favour: nor did their reputation at all ſuffer by the liberties granted to Montezuma; on the contrary, it was deemed an honour to have been thought worthy of his bed. But while theſe concubines remained at court, they lived in the utmoſt decorum, their conduct being ſubject to the inſpection of certain grave matrons, who daily made their report to the emperor.

Nothing could be more pompous, ſolemn, and auſtere than Montezuma's carriage, when he gave audience; his manner of receiving Cortez being ſo different, as to excite the aſtoniſhment of the whole court. The perſon who obtained audience entered bareſooted, and made his obeiſance, without lifting his eyes from the ground: he ſpoke in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive terms, and retired in the ſame manner he advanced; repeating his obeiſances, never turning his back, and keeping his eyes fixed upon the ground. The emperor liſtened with attention, and anſwered with gravity, ſeeming to proportion his voice to his look, which was often awfully ſevere.

Montezuma ate alone, and frequently in public, but always with the ſtate and magnificence of a prince. His table was generally covered with two hundred diſhes, the moſt exquiſite in their kinds that the empire could afford. Before he ſat down, he ran his eye over the whole; ſelected a few of thoſe moſt agreeable to his palate, and ordered the reſt to be diſtributed among the nobility in waiting. Nor was this daily profuſion any more than a ſmall part of the expence of his houſhold; for he kept ſumptuous tables furniſhed for all the officers and ſervants of the court, and even for thoſe who reſorted thither, either upon buſineſs or pleaſure. Every thing was ſent up to the emperor's own table in gold, curious ſhells, or ſome other valuable ſubſtance, enriched with jewels; and the attendants were conſtantly at hand with different ſorts of liquors, ſome mixed with ſalutiferous herbs, and many impregnated with certain medicines that were regarded as reſtoratives or provocatives. After dinner he drank chocolate, and ſmoked tobacco, perfumed with liquid amber. During meals a band of muſic attended; which no ſooner ceaſed, than the emperor ſuffered himſelf to be entertained with the Jokers, or the tricks and frolics of a number of buffoons and dwarfs, kept for that purpoſe about his perſon. He was fond of theſe wretches he ſaid, only becauſe he could diſcover truth under their pleaſantry; whereas there was no penetrating the maſk of hypocriſy worn by complete courtiers. The muſic was a concert of voices and inſtruments; the ſingers, in a kind of muſical cadence, chanting the gallant exploits of the heroes of their country, and the memorable actions of their princes, thus teaching the riſing generation to emulate the glory of their anceſtors.

It will readily be imagined, that the royal treaſures muſt have been immenſe, to maintain ſuch exceſſive pomp and magnificence. They were equal to it all.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

Incredible ſums were drawn from the mines of gold and ſilver, the ſalt-works, and other rights eſtabliſhed in the crown from time immemorial; but a ſtill greater revenue aroſe from the contributions of the ſubjects, exorbitantly encreaſed ſince the acceſſion of Montezuma. There was not a huſbandman, in this vaſt and populous empire, but was obliged to pay to the ſovereign a third of the produce of his lands and ſtock. Artiſts were taxed in the ſame proportion; and the poor were obliged to work certain days for the court, without fee or reward. All taxes were levied with the utmoſt rigour: nor was it without reaſon that the people clamoured againſt the tyranny of the adminiſtration, of which the emperor was not ignorant, though he ingeniouſly diſguiſed it, in his ſpeech to Cortez. Every town in the neighbourhood of the capital furniſhed men for the king's works, provided fuel for the royal palace, or contributed otherwiſe towards the ſupport of the court. In conſequence of ſuch aſſiſtance Montezuma was enabled to complete ſome ſtupendous buildings, acqueducts, and other public and magnificent pieces of architecture, at a very ſmall expence to the treaſury. The tribute of the nobility conſiſted in guarding and attending the emperor's perſon, or ſerving in his armies with a certain number of their vaſſals and retainers, maintained at their own expence, or on the ſpoils of the enemy: yet were they continually making him preſents, which, though received as voluntary gifts, he ſecretly regarded as rights due to his crown, his dignity, and the anxieties and cares attending on royalty *.

Montezuma made an artful diſplay of all his pomp and grandeur to the Spaniards, either with a view to engage them as friends, or deter them from hoſtile attempts; or perhaps merely from a principle of hoſpitality, and real reſpect for ſtrangers, whoſe valour he could not fail to admire. He went to all public ſpectacles, attended by Cortez and his captains, whom he treated with the moſt polite familiarity. They were admitted on all occaſions to his palace, without form or ceremony, the diſtance and ſtatelineſs of the ſovereign being obſerved only towards his own ſubjects. He was daily diſtributing preſents among the Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers, and not without diſcernment and diſtinction of merit. The nobility, in imitation of their prince, were ambitious of rendering themſelves agreeable to the ſtrangers, whom they treated with a reſpect bordering on ſubmiſſion; and the populace, carrying the example of the throne yet farther, bent the knee to the meaneſt of the Spaniſh ſoldiers †.

But amid this ſcene of novelty, grandeur, and diſſipation, and thoſe flattering attentions, which began to have an intoxicating effect on the army, Cortez was frequently wrapt in thought and anxious ſolicitude, both in regard to his preſent ſituation and his future proceedings. He ſaw no likelihood of accompliſhing the end of his expedition, and perceived the poſſibility of his retreat being utterly cut off, by breaking down the bridges on the cauſeways, or deſtroying part of the cauſeways themſelves; by which means he and his little army would be cooped

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 4, 5. De Solis, lib iii. c. 16. † De Solis, lib. iii. c. 18.

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CHAP. V.
A.D. 1519.

up in an hoſtile city, ſurrounded on every ſide by water, and aſſailed by multitudes ſufficient to overwhelm them. Montezuma indeed ſhewed them every mark of reſpect, and made them every profeſſion of friendſhip; but ought they to rely on theſe as real, or conſider them as feigned?—Had they not already ſeveral inſtances of his treachery, under the maſk of hoſpitality and kindneſs?—But granting his friendſhip ſincere, was there any certainty of its continuance?—Their ſafety at beſt depended on the ſmile of an arbitrary and capricious monarch, in whoſe attachment they had no reaſon to confide, and whoſe frown would irrevocably decide their fate. Such were the reflections of Cortez, when two Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, diſguiſed in the habit of Mexicans, arrived with a letter from Villa Rica, which confirmed the juſtice of his apprehenſions, and brought him to a determination in regard to his future conduct.

Juan de Eſcalante, governor of the new colony, had preſerved every thing in a ſtate of tranquility, till one of Montezuma's generals arrived with an army in the neighbourhood of Villa Rica, and committed hoſtilities on the Indians in alliance with the Spaniards. This general, whoſe name was Qualpopocal, commanded the imperial forces on the frontiers of Zempoalla, and had aſſembled them, in order to aſſiſt the commiſſaries appointed to levy the royal tribute, which the caziques, depending on the protection of the Spaniards, refuſed to pay. In conſequence of this refuſal, recourſe was had to force, and the greateſt extortions and violences were exerciſed. The Totonaques, who, as has been already obſerved, were a warlike race, and inhabited the mountainous part of the country, attempted reſiſtance, and entreated the governor of Villa Rica to take arms in defence of his confederates. Eſcalante aſſured them of his protection; but before he proceeded to extremities, he ſent meſſengers to the Mexican general, requeſting him, in a friendly manner, to ſuſpend hoſtilities, until he received freſh advices from the emperor; as it was not poſſible that Montezuma ſhould authoriſe injuries againſt the allies of a monarch, whoſe ambaſſadors he honoured with ſo cordial a reception at court. To this meſſage Qualpopocal replied, that he was equally able to comprehend and execute the orders of his prince; and ſhould any one attempt to divert him from the chaſtiſement of thoſe rebels, he was likewiſe able to defend in the field the meaſures he had taken *.

Eſcalante conſidered this anſwer as a challenge, which he could not refuſe, without ſinking in the opinion of his Indian allies: he therefore aſſembled a body of two thouſand Totanaques, and drew from the garriſon a detachment of forty Spaniards, with which he marched againſt the enemy. The Mexicans, conſiſting of about four thouſand men, were defeated, after an obſtinate engagement; but the Spaniards bought the victory dear, the governor and ſeven private ſoldiers being mortally wounded. Among theſe was Juan de Arguillo, a man of extraordinary ſtature, and very great ſtrength, who fell gallantly fighting, at a time when he could not be ſuccoured †.

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 1. De Solis, lib. iii. c. 18. † Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

Of this unpropitious victory, with all its circumſtances, the council of Villa Rica tranſmitted an account to Cortez. The general immediately communicated the whole affair to his principal officers, deſiring them to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued in ſuch a delicate conjuncture, and conceal their knowledge of the diſaſter from the ſoldiers, who could not ſafely be truſted with a ſecret of ſo much importance. Without delivering his own opinion, he retired to his chamber; and after ruminating long on the inconveniences naturally reſulting from ſuch a misfortune, and the expedients by which they might be remedied, he ſent privately for ſome of the moſt intelligent and beſt affected of his Indian allies, and inquired, Whether they had obſerved any ſuſpicious circumſtances in the conduct of the Mexicans. Their anſwer was, That the common people were entirely occupied by the feſtivals given by Montezuma in honour of the Spaniards, but the nobility appeared penſive and myſterious, and had frequent conferences, the reſult of which was kept ſecret: and they added, that they had overheard ſome expreſſions which admitted of a ſiniſter interpretation; ſuch as the poſſibility of breaking down the bridges on the cauſeways, and other words to the ſame effect. Some of them had alſo heard it whiſpered, that, a few days before, the head of a Spaniard was privately brought as a preſent to Montezuma; and that he received it with aſtoniſhment on account of its great ſize, the ſtrength of the features, and the fierceneſs of the aſpect, marks which ſeemed to point it out as belonging to the unfortunate priſoner, Juan de Arguillo *.

This intelligence increaſed the uneaſineſs of Cortez, who thence concluded that Montezuma muſt be privy to the proceedings of his general, and formed one of the boldeſt reſolutions that ever entered the human heart. He determined to ſeize the emperor in the midſt of his palace, and carry him priſoner to the Spaniſh quarters. But before he communicated this reſolution to his officers, he was willing to hear their ſeveral opinions, that he might endeavour to bring over by argument thoſe who ſhould happen to be of a different way of thinking, in order to prevent their being ſtartled at ſo daring a propoſal. For this purpoſe he aſſembled his officers, and ſome principal ſoldiers, who, on account of their merit or experience, were wont to be conſulted on ſuch occaſions, and laid before them the information he had received, earneſtly requeſting their advice how to act. They were very much divided in their ſentiments: ſome adviſing, that a paſſport from Montezuma ſhould be ſolicited, that they might march to the relief of the colony: others declared, without pointing out any meaſure, that this would be a reflection on the character of the Spaniards, and an acknowledgment of their own weakneſs: a third party thought, as the relief of the colony was eſſentially neceſſary, that it would be beſt to march off privately with all the riches they had acquired; and a fourth party gave it as their opinion, which was moſt general, that the only honourable courſe to be purſued was, to remain in Mexico till ſome ſafe method of retreat could be contrived, without ſeeming to have any knowledge of what had paſſed at Villa Rica.

* Ut ſupra.

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CHAP. V.
A. D. 1519.

As none of theſe opinions entirely coincided with the reſolution of Cortez, he began his ſpeech with objecting to the paſſport, as unworthy of ſoldiers who had opened their way, by dint of arms, to the capital of the empire. The notion of retreating privately he ſaid, would prove equally injurious to their honour, and be leſs conducive to their ſafety; for the moment their flight ſhould be known, it would be eaſy for the emperor to give notice to his armies on the frontiers to intercept them, while he ruſhed himſelf, from the capital, like a torrent, on their rear. They would find themſelves beſet, and hemmed in on every ſide, without one foot of ground on which they could tread with ſecurity. He therefore joined in opinion with thoſe, who were for remaining in their preſent ſituation, but differed with reſpect to the manner. Some great action, he urged, muſt be performed; ſome blow ſtruck that wuold excite the aſtoniſhment of the Mexicans, in order to recover their eſteem and veneration, ſunk by the late unfortunate accident. "To this end," added he, "I hold it abſolutely neceſſary to ſeize the perſon of Montezuma, and carry him priſoner to our quarters. An action which will at once ſtrike them with terror, and afford us an opportunity of negociating, both with the emperor and his vaſſals, after ſuch a manner as may be moſt for the honour of the crown of Spain, as well as our own perſonal ſecurity. I am very ſenſible of the perils and difficulties attending ſuch an enterprize: but great actions owe their birth to great dangers."

A reſolution ſo flatteringly heroic was ſoon embraced by the majority of the council. The hour when it was uſual for Cortez to pay his compliments to Montezuma, was choſen for carrying it into execution, that no alarm might be given by an unſeaſonable viſit. All the Spaniards were commanded to be under arms in their quarters, and to hold themſelves in readineſs, without noiſe or diſturbance, until they received farther orders. The avenues to the palace were ſecured by ſmall parties of ſoldiers dropped in proper places as if by accident; and the general, accompanied by Alvarado, Sandoval, Velaſquez de Leon, Lugo, and Davila, five of his principal officers, and followed by thirty choſen ſoldiers, advanced to the palace, where they were admitted without ſuſpicion, it being cuſtomary for them to appear armed in the royal preſence. Montezuma, with his wonted complaiſance, came to the door of his apartment to receive them: they took their ſeats; and the emperor's attendants, as uſual, retired out of reſpect. Cortez now began his complaint: he painted in the ſtrongeſt language every circumſtance of the conduct of Qualpopoca, the death of ſeveral Spaniards, and the excuſe made to the colony that every thing had been tranſacted by expreſs orders from the emperor; an accuſation, however, which he pretended to diſbelieve, declaring that he had too much regard for the royal perſon to credit any thing ſo unworthy of his imperial majeſty, as an attempt to deſtroy in the provinces the friends and relations of thoſe, whom he was entertaining at court.

Confounded at this unexpected accuſation, Montezuma changed colour, and warmly aſſerted his own innocence, ſtrenuouſly denying that he had ever given ſuch orders. Cortez replied, that he was fully ſatisfied his majeſty could have no concern in an action ſo baſe, but that the Spaniards would never be convinced

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

he did not harbour hoſtile intentions againſt them, nor would his own vaſſals be undeceived in regard to this matter, unleſs by ſome extraordinary mark of attachment and confidence he ſhould efface ſuch a calumny; that he was therefore come to entreat him to go immediately to the Spaniſh quarters, without noiſe or diſturbance, as if of his own free choice, with a reſolution there to remain, till ſuch time as his innocence ſhould be fully proved, to the ſatisfaction of all parties. By this generous confidence, the general added, Montezuma would not only appeaſe the juſt indignation of the great monarch whoſe ſervant he was, and the jealouſy of his followers, but would reſtore the luſtre of his own honour, at preſent tarniſhed by the baneful breath of malignity; and he gave his word as a gentleman, a ſoldier, and the miniſter of the greateſt prince in the univerſe, that he ſhould be treated among the Spaniards with all the reſpect due to his royal dignity, as they only deſired to be aſſured of his good will, that they might henceforth more cordially honour and obey him. A propoſal ſo extraordinary bereaved Montezuma of ſpeech, and almoſt of motion; and Cortez took this opportunity to obſerve, by way of palliating the matter, that the quarters which his imperial majeſty had aſſigned the Spaniards, was a royal palace, where he ſometimes choſe to paſs a few days, and therefore it would not ſeem ſtrange to his ſubjects ſhould he change his reſidence in order to remove the preſent complaint, which was properly ſpeaking that of one ſovereign againſt another; that if his general only ſhould appear to be in fault, the injury might be redreſſed, without puſhing matters to that extremity, in which the quarrels of ſovereigns commonly terminate.

Impatient of a language, which had never before ſaluted his ears, Montezuma collected his ſpirits, and haughtily replied, That perſons of his rank were not accuſtomed to deliver themſelves up to impriſonment; nor would his ſubjects permit ſuch an affront to be offered to their ſovereign, ſhould he even forget his own dignity ſo far as to ſtoop to ſo mean a compliance. This anſwer obliged Cortez to deliver himſelf with more firmneſs: he little valued, he ſaid, the oppoſition of the Mexicans, provided his majeſty was willing to remove, and free him from the neceſſity of violating their mutual amity. A warm altercation here enſued, in the courſe of which Cortez endeavoured alternately to ſoothe and to intimidate the emperor; and Montezuma, ſenſible of his danger, made ſeveral offers which he hoped would yield the deſired ſatisfaction. Among others, he propoſed to ſend immediately for Qualpopoca and all his officers, and give them up to Cortez to be puniſhed as he ſhould think proper; and he offered to ſurrender, in the mean time, two of his ſons, as hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe; adding with a chagrin bordering on weakneſs, that he was not a perſon who could hide himſelf, or flee to the mountains.

Cortez rejected all theſe expedients; and as Montezuma ſtill refuſed to ſurrender himſelf, the Spaniſh officers grew uneaſy, ſuſpecting that danger might enſue from the delay. This conſideration induced Valaſquez de Leon, a violent young man, to exclaim, "Why waſte more time in talking?—Let us either ſeize or kill him!"—Words which were uttered with ſo much vehemence,

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CHAP. V.
A. D. 1519.

and accompanied by ſuch threatening geſtures, as ſtruck Montezuma with terror. He inquired their meaning of Donna Marina, who was always preſent on ſuch occaſions, and who replied with admirable preſence of mind, as if ſhe deſired not to be overheard by the Spaniards: "My Lord, you run a great hazard by refuſing to comply with the requeſt of thoſe people, who are equally reſolute and powerful. I am your own loyal ſlave: my thoughts are continually employed to ſerve you: I am likewiſe one of their confidants, and well acquainted with their moſt ſecret intentions. If you go with them, you will be treated with all the reſpect due to ſo great a prince; but if you longer reſiſt, the conſequences may be fatal." This well-timed ſpeech, delivered with an air of ſincerity, and ſolicitude for his ſafety, determined Montezuma to comply. Without entering into any further diſpute, he inſtantly roſe from his ſeat, and addreſſing himſelf to the Spaniards, ſaid, "Let us go to your quarters; for ſo the gods will have it. Into your hands I commit myſelf." Preſently after, he called his attendants, ordered them to get ready his chair and equipage, and told his miniſters, That, for certain reaſons of ſtate, he had reſolved to ſpend ſome days with the ſtrangers; deſiring them to publiſh to all his ſubjects, that he went voluntarily, and for the intereſt of the crown, and the advantage of the ſtate. At the ſame time he commanded one of the captains of his guards to bring Qualpopoca, and his principal officers, priſoners to Mexico; delivering to him, as his authority, the royal ſignet, which he conſtantly carried tied to his right arm.

All theſe orders were given publicly, and explained by Marina to Cortez and his officers, in order to prevent them from harbouring diſagreeable ſuſpicions on hearing the emperor talk to his people, or committing any unſeaſonable act of violence; and Montezuma, accompanied by his uſual attendants, quitted his palace, the Spaniards marching on foot cloſe by his chair, for the greater ſecurity, but under pretence of doing him honour. A report quickly ſpread through the city, that the emperor was carried off by the ſtrangers, and the ſtreets were in a moment crowded with people. Every face wore marks of ſorrow and ſurpriſe, but no perſon attempted to reſcue the unhappy prince; ſo great was their awe of the Spaniards! though ſome bewailed his condition with tears, and others made loud howlings, while many threw themſelves upon the ground, like men in deſpair. Montezuma, willing to appeaſe an inſurrection from which he ſaw no relief was to be expected, commanded the populace to ceaſe their cries; and at the firſt motion of his hand, a profound ſilence enſued. He then told them, with an air of gaiety and compoſure, That he was under no conſtraint, but was going voluntarily to paſs a few days with his new friends. Accuſtomed to revere their ſovereign's will, the multitude inſtantly diſperſed; and Montezuma, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the Spaniards, iſſued a proclamation, ſetting forth, that all perſons guilty of any riot, or public diſturbance, ſhould be puniſhed with death *.

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 18, 19. Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 1.

BOOK I.
A. D. 1519.

Thus was a warlike and powerful prince ſeized, at noon day, in the heart of his capital, and in his own palace, ſurrounded by a multitude of guards, and carried priſoner by ſix ſtrangers, to be diſpoſed of at their pleaſure! The annals of hiſtory afford nothing parallel either to the deliberate boldneſs or the mild ſucceſs of this action; which exceeds ſo far the ſtandard of human events, as to want even that degree of probability which fable requires, and would appear altogether incredible, were it not authenticated by the moſt undeniable teſtimonies, and confirmed by circumſtances *.

When Montezuma arrived in the Spaniſh quarters, he made choice of apartments ſeparate from thoſe of the army, which were immediately furniſhed by his own ſervants with the beſt moveables from the royal palace; and Cortez placed a ſtrong guard of Spaniards at the different avenues, and doubled the centinels round the quarters, leſt any attempt ſhould be made to reſcue the captive monarch. Orders were iſſued to the ſoldiers to admit all the gentlemen of Montezuma's retinue, and alſo the nobility and miniſters, in the ſame manner as if he were under no reſtraint; yet with this caution, that a certain number only ſhould be allowed to enter at a time, under pretence of keeping the emperor from being crowded. Cortez deſired leave to viſit him the ſame evening, with as much ceremony as formerly; and a ſimilar reſpect was ſhewn to him by all the Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers.

In conſequence of this mild treatment Montezuma reſumed his wonted chearfulneſs; diſtributed preſents among the Spaniards, and careſſed them with the ſame cordiality as if they had done him no injury. He never diſcovered the leaſt weakneſs under his confinement, nor once made it known to his ſervants or miniſters; a rare inſtance of magnanimity under adverſity!—He was too proud to have it thought that he could exiſt in ſuch a ſituation, though he could hope for relief by no other means; and his ſubjects had ſo high an opinion of his ſpirit, that they generally adopted the deſired idea, regarding his retirement as the effect of his own voluntary reſolution. In this idea they were confirmed by the manner in which the affairs of government were conducted. Montezuma diſcharged all the functions of a ſovereign, while in priſon, with the ſame regularity as if he had been at his own palace: he gave audience at the accuſtomed hour; heard the advice and repreſentations of his miniſters; and applied himſelf to all buſineſs, whether of a civil or military nature. When diſengaged from theſe weighty cares, he ſpent his time entirely with the Spaniards, and uſed to declare that he was not himſelf without them. He became ſo entirely reconciled to his fate, that he ſeemed to have no inclination to change his condition †.

In the midſt of this ſcene of amity, Qualpopoca, his ſon, and five of his principal officers, who had been concerned in the death of the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Villa Rica, were brought priſoners to Mexico, in conſequence

* For this obſervation the author is indebted to De Solis, not to Dr. Robertſon, who has borrowed it, without acknowledging his obligation.

† De Solis, lib. iii. c. 19, 20.

of the orders iſſued by Montezuma. The emperor immediately ſent them to Cortez, that he might inquire into the nature of their crime, and inflict upon them ſuch puniſhment as they ſhould ſeem to deſerve. During the courſe of their examination, they confeſſed the whole charge laid againſt them, without once mentioning any authority from the emperor for ſuch proceedings; but when they were afterwards urged to a more complete diſcovery, and perceived the danger to which they were expoſed, they declared that they had acted in obedience to the imperial command. This confeſſion, however, Cortez treated as a treaſonable ſubterfuge, in order to ſcreen themſelves from puniſhment. He therefore ordered them to be tried by a court-martial compoſed of Spaniſh officers; by which they were adjudged to deſerve death, and condemned to be burnt alive before the royal palace, as criminals who had not only violated the ſacred laws of nations, but incurred the penalty of high treaſon, by preſuming to involve their ſovereign in their own guilt.

This was a cruel and ſevere ſentence, dictated wholly by motives of policy. If Qualpopoca acted by authority, as the Spaniards ſeem to have believed, he could not poſſibly be guilty: at any rate, he only performed what he conſidered to be the duty of his office; and Cortez, who appeared in the character of an ambaſſador, had ſurely no right to aſſume that of a ſupreme judge. But his arrogance and cruelty did not ſtop here. Before he ventured to execute the ſentence paſſed on the Mexican officers, he determined to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould deter both the people and the ſovereign from thinking of revenge, and ſhew them what an aweful thing it was to ſhed the blood of a Spaniard. For this purpoſe he waited on Montezuma, and expreſſed his uneaſineſs at the quantity of ſtores laid up in the royal magazine, as an indication of ſome hoſtile attempt intended againſt him and his people. The emperor replied, that it had always been his cuſtom to keep ſuch a ſupply of arms, as he had many enemies, and his dominions were ſubject to frequent invaſions. Cortez, as uſual, ſeemed ſatisfied with the truth of this declaration, but ſolicitous to have the cauſe of his diſquiet removed; and having obtained a kind of tacit conſent from Montezuma, ordered all the weapons, collected for the public defence, to be brought from the magazine, and after being broken, to be formed into a pile for the puniſhment of Qualpopoca and his aſſociates by fire.

When theſe unhappy men were ready to be led forth to execution, Cortez, attended by four of his officers, and a ſoldier carrying a pair of fetters, entered the apartment of Montezuma; and approaching the captive monarch with his uſual reſpect, but with a more than common ſeverity of countenance, told him in an elevated voice, That his officers now condemned to ſuffer death, had confeſſed their crime, and been found deſerving of the ſentence; but that this was not enough: they had accuſed him, affirming that they had acted ſolely by his orders; and that it was therefore neceſſary, he ſhould expiate thoſe ſtrong preſumptions by ſome perſonal mortification. Having uttered theſe words, he commanded the ſoldier to clap the fetters on Montezuma's legs, and without waiting for a reply, turned his back abruptly, and retired to his own apartment; giving

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

giving freſh orders to his guards, that, for the preſent, they ſhould not ſuffer the emperor to have any communication with his miniſters.

So great was the aſtoniſhment of Montezuma, trained up with an idea that his perſon was ſacred and inviolable, to find himſelf treated with ſuch indignity, that at firſt he wanted force to reſiſt, and afterwards ſpeech to complain. He remained for ſome time in a ſtate of ſilence and ſeeming inſenſibility; his attendants, bathed in tears, throwing themſelves at his feet, and bearing up the weight of his fetters with their hands, without preſuming to ſpeak, and thruſting fine cloths through the links of the chains, that they might not touch his fleſh. He recovered by degrees from his confuſion and amazement, and began to break out into loud lamentations, conſidering this profanation as a prelude to his death; but ſuddenly recollecting his illuſtrious character, he threw aſide fear, and expected his fate with the fortitude of a hero *.

Cortez loſt no time in completing his bold, but atrocious deſign. His ſituation would now admit neither of delay nor heſitation: matters were come to a criſis; and nothing but the ſame undaunted reſolution which had dictated the meaſure, could enſure it ſucceſs. The pretended criminals were carried to the place appointed for their fate; and the ſentence of the Spaniſh court-martial was literally executed in preſence of an innumerable multitude of Mexicans, who beheld in ſilent aſtoniſhment, without the leaſt attempt at violence or oppoſition, the double inſult offered to the majeſty of their empire, in the puniſhment of ſome of their braveſt warriors, for attempting to rid them of a ſet of rapacious ſtrangers, and in the deſtruction of the arms provided for the public defence, by the foreſight of their anceſtors! employed by thoſe ſtrangers, as the means of that puniſhment, and conſumed before their eyes in one general blaze!—They were impreſſed with terror, intermingled with reſpect and admiration, wondering at the authority which the ſtrangers aſſumed, without daring, even in thought, to call in queſtion their juriſdiction, as it was ſanctified by the approbation of their ſovereign †.

Immediately after the execution, Cortez repaired to the royal apartment, and addreſſing himſelf to Montezuma with a chearful countenance, "My Lord," ſaid he, "the traitors, who were ſo bold as to blemiſh your character, have received the puniſhment due to their crimes; and you have ſufficiently refuted the infamous calumny, by ſubmitting to this ſhort mortification in the intermiſſion of perſonal liberty." He then fell upon his knees, and with his own hands took off the fetters; endeavouring by this exceſſive complaiſance to efface all memory of the injury, while the terror of the puniſhment ſhould remain. Montezuma received his releaſe with a tumultuous joy, which ſhewed how deeply the indignity of bondage had affected him. He embraced Cortez with tranſport, and ſeemed to forget in his deliverer the author of his diſgrace. They ſat down together; when entering amicably into converſation, Cortez ordered the guards to withdraw, and told the emperor, that he was now at liberty to return to his own palace, the

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 1. De Solis, lib. iii. c. 20. † Id. ibid.

cauſe

CHAP. V. A. D. 1519.

cauſe of his detention being removed. This offer Montezuma declined, for reaſons with which Cortez was well acquainted, and which he had taken care to enforce before he ventured to make it, having often heard him declare his ſentiments on that ſubject: he was afraid of ſinking in the opinion of his vaſſals, ſhould it be known he had been detained by force, and owed his liberty to favour; but he gave another turn to his reply. He had taken a reſolution, he ſaid, to ſtay where he was, out of regard to the Spaniards, while they continued at his court; being ſenſible that, as ſoon as he returned to his palace, his nobility and miniſters would preſs him to take up arms, in order to revenge on the ſtrangers the indignity which he had ſuffered. Cortez praiſed his generous deſign, and made him the warmeſt acknowledgments, as if he had ſincerely believed the emperor was content to remain in priſon for the greater ſecurity of the Spaniards, and to protect them with his authority *.

From this day forward, every thing was contrived in ſuch a manner as to perſuade the royal priſoner and his ſubjects, that he was at perfect liberty, and only a viſitor by inclination to the Spaniards; and he returned the ſeeming obligation with ſo much affability and liberality, as really engaged the affections of theſe rapacious and unfeeling invaders. Hitherto the virtues of Montezuma had lain concealed, even from his own domeſtics. His generoſity, ſincerity, magnanimity, and warmth of friendſhip, were obſcured by the neceſſary affectation of dignity, reſerve, and auſterity. After he had, by his gentleneſs and moderation, fully gained and merited the confidence of Cortez, he one day aſked permiſſion to viſit his temples, promiſing on the word of a ſovereign to return to his priſon; for ſo he uſed to call his confinement jocularly, when only Spaniards were preſent. His ſubjects, he ſaid, began to ſuſpect he was detained by force, and commotions might ariſe, unleſs prevented by ſome proof of his freedom. The general replied, without the ſmalleſt heſitation, that he was at perfect liberty to go when or where he pleaſed; and that he imputed this requeſt to the exceſs of his goodneſs, as he muſt be ſenſible that all reſtraint was now removed: but he accepted, nevertheleſs, the promiſe which the emperor made him of not changing his reſidence, as if deſirous to preſerve the honour and happineſs which he enjoyed in the converſation and company of his royal gueſt. He likewiſe exacted from Montezuma another promiſe, in return for this indulgence: That he would aboliſh the barbarous cuſtom of human ſacrifices at the altars of his gods: a promiſe which that prince religiouſly obſerved, prohibiting all human victims, not only in the temples of Mexico, but in thoſe of the whole empire †.

Montezuma's firſt excurſion was to the great temple, whither he went with his uſual pomp, the people celebrating the firſt appearance of their monarch with loud acclamations of joy. All paſt grievances were forgot: the oppreſſions of the tyrant ſeemed loſt in his misfortunes; and nothing now appeared but the bright

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 2. De Solis, lib. iii. c. 20. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 1.

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

ſide of the royal character, the luſtre of which became more attractive through the cloud of adverſity. He received their congratulations with an air of ſatisfaction and majeſty, and was particularly profuſe, on this occaſion, in the favours beſtowed on the nobility, and in the gifts diſtributed among the people. Having complied with the duties of his religion, he returned to the Spaniſh quarters, declaring, That the pleaſure which he had in reſiding among his new gueſts, made him no leſs deſirous of returning, than the diſcharge of his promiſe. Henceforth he continued to go abroad when he thought proper, and often partook of public diverſions, always returning at night to the quarters; inſomuch, that the Mexicans began to conſider his confinement, as actually the reſult of his affection for the ſtrangers: and it was now cuſtomary for the nobility to make their firſt application to Cortez, when any favour was wanted from Montezuma; the general being regarded as, in all reſpects, the chief counſellor, friend, miniſter, and favourite of the ſovereign *.

Cortez, however, during this flattering tranquillity, never loſt ſight of his danger; but was equally attentive to the precautions neceſſary to his preſent ſecurity, and thoſe requiſite to forward his high deſigns, though as yet he could not ſay in what they were likely to terminate. He had already recovered all the reputation which the Spaniards loſt in the late unfortunate adventure at Villa Rica, by the awful puniſhment inflicted on the general, and the humiliation to which the emperor had been ſubjected; but the affairs of that colony were not immediately reſtored to ſuch order as might be wiſhed. On the death of Eſcalante, he appointed Sandoval to ſucceed him as governor; and as he could not, at that time, ſpare ſo valuable an officer, Alonſo de Grado, a man of experience and abilities, but of doubtful fidelity, was ſent in quality of his lieutenant. For this ſtep Cortez is blamed; and juſtly, if we may judge by circumſtances, in entruſting a place of ſuch importance, and the only retreat which he had left, in caſe of a failure at Mexico, into the hands of a man whoſe attachment was ſuſpected, and who was beſides of a turbulent diſpoſition. But Grado's own arrogance and rapaciouſneſs remedied an error, which might have proved fatal to the colony, as well as to the authority of the general. He no ſooner reached Villa Rica, than he behaved in ſuch a haughty manner as entirely diſguſted the garriſon, while he enraged the neighbouring caziques, by the exorbitant preſents which he demanded. He likewiſe propoſed to ſome of his friends, to deliver up the place to Velaſquez, ſhould any armament arrive from Cuba. Theſe beginnings of treachery and mal-adminiſtration, of which Cortez had intelligence, determined him to diſpatch Sandoval to his government; and the lieutenant was ſecured and ſent priſoner to Mexico †.

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 1. The remark of Dr Robertſon, on this ſubject, is truly worthy of attention. "The arts of poliſhed nations," ſays he, "in ſubjecting ſuch as are leſs improved, has been nearly the ſame in every period. The ſyſtem of ſcreening a foreign uſurpation, under the ſanction of authority derived from the rulers of a country; the device of employing the magiſtrates and forms already eſtabliſhed as inſtruments to introduce a new dominion, of which we are apt to boaſt as ſublime refinements in policy peculiar to the preſent age, were inventions of a more early period, and had been tried with ſucceſs in the Weſt, long before they were practiſed in the Eaſt." Hiſt. America, book v. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c 2. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 1.

In

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1519.

In the courſe of thoſe journies to and from Villa Rica, Cortez took meaſures for carrying more effectually into execution a deſign which he had long meditated, and which was ſtill neceſſary to complete his ſecurity. He wiſhed to have ſuch command of the lake as might inſure him a retreat, ſhould the Mexicans be induced, by levity or diſguſt, to break down the bridges or deſtroy the cauſeways. He accordingly made uſe of the opportunities mentioned, to facilitate the conveyance of ſome cordage, ſails, nails, and other ſpoils of the ſhips to Mexico, in order that veſſels might be conſtructed of a ſufficient ſize and force to effect the deſired end: and the manner in which he accompliſhed it, without giving ſuſpicion to the court or the emperor, that he was not fully ſatisfied of his ſecurity, was artful and ſagacious, in no common degree. He firſt inflamed the curioſity of Montezuma, by entertaining him with deſcriptions of the European navigation, and of thoſe floating palaces, as the Mexicans termed the Spaniſh ſhips, which moved with ſuch velocity on the water without oars, all the natives of New Spain being ignorant of the uſe of ſails; and when he found that the emperor was extremely deſirous of ſeeing this novelty, he gave him to underſtand, that nothing was wanting to gratify his curioſity, except a few things from Villa Rica, as he had workmen in his army capable of building ſuch veſſels. Happy to contribute every thing in his power towards an undertaking, from which he expected ſo much pleaſure, Montezuma gave immediate orders that all his people ſhould aſſiſt Cortez in whatever he ſhould direct concerning the ſhipping. The naval ſtores arrived from Villa Rica; wood was cut down and prepared; and in a ſhort time two brigantines were got ready, completely rigged and equipped, and the emperor was invited on board to make the firſt trial of their ſailing. The experiment ſucceeded to the admiration of Montezuma, and to the aſtoniſhment of his whole court, who were aſſembled on that occaſion, and accompanied him on the water in canoes and pleaſure boats of various kinds. Some of the Mexicans were ſtruck with the management of the rudder, others with the ſails, believing that by theſe means the Spaniards commanded the winds and the waters. Thoſe of more diſcernment regarded the whole as a curious invention, which ſhewed the genius and good ſenſe of the ſtrangers; and the vulgar were fully perſuaded, that the Spaniards muſt be ſupernatural beings, thus to obtain dominion over the elements *. On the whole, we cannot ſufficiently applaud the prudent foreſight and addreſs of Cortez, who united in this manner his own ſecurity, intereſt, and reputation, with the amuſement of the ſovereign and the wonder of the people, in whoſe opinion it was neceſſary to ſtand high, in order to ſucceed in his deſigns.

Nor was this the only advantage which Cortez derived from that aſcendancy which he had acquired over the mind of Montezuma. He introduced ſo opportunely into his diſcourſe the praiſes of the Catholic king, extolling his power, clemency, and juſtice, that the emperor and his whole court eagerly deſired the proffered alliance, and an eſtabliſhed commerce between the two ſtates, as what-

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 1.

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BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

muſt prove mutually beneficial. He alſo made ſome important diſcoveries in the way of converſation, ſtarted partly to gratify an inquiſitive humour; for he had ſo won the affections of the emperor, that he concealed nothing from him. All ſuſpicion touching his ambitious deſigns were vaniſhed, and he was now conſidered as the friend and ally of Montezuma. In conſequence of this familiarity and confidence, he obtained very circumſtantial information of the ſtrength and extent of the Mexican empire; of its provinces, produce, mountains, rivers, and principal mines; of the diſtance between the South and North Seas, their harbours, and other particulars: and Montezuma had ſo little ſuſpicion that the inquiries of Cortez were dictated by any thing but a laudable curioſity, which he was willing to gratify, that he ordered his painters, with the aſſiſtance of men ſkilled in the topography of Mexico, to draw out all his dominions on a piece of cotton, in ſuch a manner as to give an exact repreſentation of every particular meriting regard. He even permitted ſome Spaniards to take a view of the richeſt mines in the empire, and of all the ports and bays capable of receiving ſhipping. This Cortez propoſed to him, under pretext of carrying an exact relation to his prince of every thing remarkable; and Montezuma was ſo far from oppoſing it, that he commanded ſome of his ſoldiers to accompany the Spaniards, and diſpatched orders that they ſhould have free admittance, and be inſtructed in whatever they deſired to know *.

Such was the promiſing ſituation of Cortez and his companions, when a new tranſport of enthuſiaſm had almoſt blaſted all their hopes, and deſtroyed the confidence gained with ſo much addreſs. Nothing could be more imprudent, at this juncture, than to attempt a revolution in religion, a point on which the Mexicans had always diſcovered the greateſt jealouſy, and on which Montezuma was inflexible: yet ſuch, we are told, on the moſt unqueſtionable authority, was the reſolution of the Spaniards. For this purpoſe Cortez, ſo cool and deliberate in political matters, ſallied forth one day, like a maniac, at the head of a party of wild fanatics, determined to overthrow the idols, and convert the great temple into a church. This ſudden frenzy threw the whole city into confuſion, and Montezuma into the utmoſt diſtreſs. The prieſts took up arms in defence of their gods, and the populace eſpouſed their cauſe. The reſpect which they entertained for the Spaniards gave place to the fervours of devotion; and had not the idols been ſuffered to remain in their place, the conſequence muſt have proved fatal to the reformers. Cortez deſiſted from his raſh attempt, after diſlodging the idols from one of the ſhrines, and erecting in their ſtead a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary †.

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 2. Caſtillo, c. 100.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 2. All the Spaniſh hiſtorians, except De Solis, deſcribe this outrage as a mingled tranſport of heroic ardour and holy zeal. "Cortez," ſays Herrera, "put on his beſt garments, ſhed many tears of joy and devotion, and was the firſt who kneeling down worſhipped the crucifix, ſaying, Infinite praiſe be given to thee, the true God, for ever and ever; inaſmuch as thou haſt been pleaſed, that, after ſo many years as the Devil, ſitting on his throne, exerciſed his tyranny over ſo many nations, he ſhould, by means of our weak and unworthy hands, be baniſhed to the bottomleſs pit!" Ut ſupra.

From

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1519.

From this moment the Mexicans began to meditate how they might expel or deſtroy the Spaniards; and if Montezuma appeared determined to ſupport them, a conſpiracy was formed to bring about a revolution in the government, and place another prince upon the throne. At the head of this conſpiracy was Cacumazin, nephew to the emperor, an enterpriſing, high-ſpirited young man, who grew quite impatient at ſeeing his kinſman, his ſovereign, and the whole empire, governed at pleaſure by a ſtranger, unſupported by power, and whoſe ſole influence was founded on his own addreſs, the credulity of the monarch, and the puſillanimity of the people. He was king of Tezeuco, which he held as a fief of the crown, and firſt elector in the empire; and, though repreſented by the Spaniſh writers as an ambitious, inconſiderate, hot-headed youth, he appears to have been only a warm and ſincere patriot. He painted the conduct of Cortez and his companions in the darkeſt colours, charging them with having violently confined a prince who was loading them with benefits, and with laying the foundation of a deſpotiſm, the moſt cruel and ſlaviſh of any, becauſe built upon ignorance, ſuperſtition, and hypocriſy. Theſe ſubjects he ſeized every opportunity of introducing before the caziques and nobility; and when he found he had ſufficiently prepared their minds, he held a ſecret council of his friends and confederates, at his palace in Tezeuco, where were preſent the kings of Cuyocan, Iztacpalapa, Tacuba, and Matalcingo, all of them princes of the empire, with other perſons of diſtinction, who had the command of numerous bodies of fighting men.

After touching, in general terms, on the purpoſe for which they were aſſembled, Cacumazin threw out his ſentiments, with reſpect to their future proceedings, in a bold and ſpirited harangue. "What is it we wait for, friends and countrymen," ſaid he, "that we open not our eyes, to behold the reproach of our nation?—Shall we, who are born to bear arms, and who place our higheſt honour in the terror with which we inſpire our enemies—ſhall we bend our necks to the diſgraceful yoke of a few wandering ſtrangers?—What are all their daring and preſumptuous actions, but ſo many reproaches of our effeminacy, and expreſſions of that contempt in which they hold us?—Let us but ſeriouſly conſider what they have achieved in a few days, and we ſhall be ſenſible firſt of our own ſhame, and next of the obligation we lie under to wipe it off. They have entered triumphantly into the city of Mexico, in deſpite of our ſovereign, and contrary to the inclination of the nobility and the people: they have introduced rebels, and our profeſſed enemies, and kept them in arms before our eyes; thereby exalting the vanity of the Tlaſcalans, and trampling under foot the glory of the Mexicans: they have taken away the life of a general of the empire, by a public and barbarous execution; audaciouſly exerciſing the juriſdiction of magiſtrates, and the authority of legiſlators, in dominions wherein they are aliens: they have invaded our temples, and ventured with ſacrilegious hands to diſlodge our gods, placing their own idols on our altars: and, to complete their enormities, they have preſumed to ſeize, and continue to hold in confinement, the ſacred perſon of our ſovereign, which they have dared to load with ignominious fetters!"

BOOK I.
A. D. 1519.

"That theſe things are ſo, we are all too well convinced; but who is ſo loſt to honour as to believe his ſenſes?—Our gods are inſulted, and our ſovereign is degraded, while we remain patient and unarmed ſpectators. That appearance of liberty, which the great Montezuma now enjoys, is only a deceitful tranſition to a more diſgraceful bondage: the ſtrangers have extended their tyranny over his heart, and made themſelves maſters of his will. They are the men who govern and command us; for by them all the reſolutions of our ſovereign, now their priſoner, are directed: to them are ſacrificed our religion and laws, and our lives and poſſeſſions, we may aſſuredly expect will ſoon become their prey. What then remains but to unite our forces, and endeavour to prevent the ruin of the Mexican empire; accompliſh the deſtruction of theſe arrogant ſtrangers; and ſet our ſovereign at liberty *!"

This ſpeech had the deſired effect. Nothing was to be heard through the whole aſſembly but menaces againſt the Spaniards, when the cazique of Matalcingo obſerved, That it would be neceſſary to acquaint Montezuma of their intentions; and before they took any violent ſtep, to have his permiſſion. It would be dangerous, he ſaid, to the royal perſon, to attack the Spaniſh quarters, without firſt putting him in a place of ſecurity, or at leaſt giving him ſuch information as might enable him to provide for his own ſafety; nor would it, in his opinion, exalt their reputation to uſe violence againſt ſtrangers, under the protection of their ſovereign, until they had given ſome juſt provocation, or exhibited ſtronger proofs of their ſiniſter deſigns. It was obvious to the whole aſſembly, that theſe ſcruples were thrown in the way of their reſolutions from perſonal jealouſy of Cacumazin, who retorted on his arrival with ſome warmth of expreſſion. Montezuma, he ſaid, would be ſenſible of the propriety of the remedy, when delivered from the evil: if otherwiſe, Mexico had men whoſe temples would very well fit a crown; and he would not be the firſt of their kings, who for not knowing how to reign, or by reigning negligently, had let the ſceptre drop out of his hands. The opinion of the king of Tezeuco was unanimouſly embraced †.

Cortez and Montezuma had both notice of this conſpiracy almoſt at the ſame time; the emperor from the cazique of Matalcingo, and the general by means of his ſpies: and when Cortez was going to the royal apartment to communicate his intelligence, he met Montezuma coming on the ſame errand, who had the good fortune to ſpeak firſt, clearing himſelf by that means from all ſuſpicion of being privy to the deſigns of his nephew. He expreſſed great indignation againſt the whole faction, and propoſed chaſtiſing them with the utmoſt rigour. In anſwer to this motion Cortez replied, after letting the emperor underſtand he was acquainted with the whole affair, that he was ſorry to have been the cauſe of any diſturbance among his vaſſals, and for that reaſon found himſelf obliged to take upon him the remedy; that he was therefore come to aſk his majeſty's permiſſion to march immediately with his followers to Tezeuco, in order to cruſh in

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 2. † Id. ibid.

CHAP. V. A. D. 1519.

embryo a conſpiracy that might be attended with conſequences fatal to the royal authority, unleſs ſuppreſſed in time. It would be neceſſary, he ſaid, to ſeize upon Cacumazin before he could join his confederates, and by that means prevent the effuſion of blood.

Montezuma admired the undaunted reſolution of the Spaniſh general, but declined his propoſal; ſaying, it would be a diminution of his power and authority to make uſe of foreign arms in the chaſtiſement of his own ſubjects. He therefore entreated Cortez to diſſemble his private reſentment, and gave it as his ſolemn opinion, that any hoſtile attempt from the Spaniards would only ſerve to increaſe the hatred of the people, and ſtrengthen the hands of the conſpirators, who would ſoon find another leader, ſhould Cacumazin even be made priſoner. But there was ſtill, he obſerved, a province in which the general might be inſtrumental to the reſtoration of public peace, that of counſellor, and of mediator, ſhould circumſtances require any interpoſition. Cortez acquieſced in his reaſons; and Montezuma, by diſcovering his knowledge of the plot, but pretending to treat the deſign of his nephew as the effect of youthful levity, threw the conſpirators off their guard. Cacumazin was privately ſeized in his own palace at Tezeuco; and a boat being ready on the lake, was brought, without noiſe or diſturbance, to the Spaniſh quarters.

Montezuma now diſcovered all his diſſembled rage, or what he was willing ſhould be conſidered as ſuch, and without permitting Cacumazin to appear before him, commanded that unhappy prince to be confined in the cloſeſt priſon of the nobles: treating him as a criminal who had committed a capital offence, and was to ſuffer puniſhment. But Cortez ſeized this opportunity of rendering himſelf popular among the Mexicans, by relaxing the rigour of the ſentence. There was at that time in Mexico a brother of Cacumazin, a young man of great merit, and univerſally eſteemed, but perſecuted by the king of Tezeuco, on account of ſome family jealouſies. On him the general caſt his eyes, as a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe, and propoſed to the emperor to give him the inveſtiture of Tezeuco, ſince his brother had rendered himſelf incapable of reſuming the government, by conſpiring againſt his ſovereign; adding, that it would not be ſafe to puniſh a delinquent of ſo much intereſt as Cacumazin with the loſs of life, at a time when the minds of the nobles were in ſuch commotion; that depriving him of his dominions would conſign him to a kind of political death, leſs noiſy, yet ſufficiently ſevere, to ſtrike terror into his accomplices; and that this young prince (whom he hoped to rule) was in all reſpects more worthy of the dignity of firſt elector of the empire.

Montezuma was ſo highly pleaſed with this thought, that he immediately propoſed it to his council, who applauded the motion as merciful and equitable; and the miniſters framed a royal decree, by which Cacumazin was deprived, according to the cuſtom of the country, of all his honours and dignities, and his brother appointed his ſucceſſor. The emperor now ordered the new king into his preſence, and during the time of the inveſtiture, which had its ceremonies and ſolemnities, told him, that he owed all his good fortune to the mediation

BOOK I. A. D. 1519.

mediation of the ſtrangers; giving the nobility to underſtand, that the lenity of the puniſhment inflicted on Cacumazin proceeded from the ſame cauſe. Every one applauded a moderation, ſo contrary to the uſual ſeverity ſhewn by Montezuma on ſuch occaſions: the ſuperior judgment of the Spaniards was acknowledged; and the very novelty of puniſhing rebellion without bloodſhed produced ſuch extraordinary effects, that all the troops in arms for Cacumazin inſtantly diſperſed, and the confederate caziques ſubmitted themſelves without heſitation to the royal clemency. They received pardon, through the interpoſition of Cortez, who now found himſelf not only delivered from a ſtorm that threatened to overwhelm him, but ſupported by a new ſtock of friends and conſequence *. Montezuma was indebted to him for the tranquillity of his realm, the firſt prince in the empire for his dignity, and a great body of the nobility for their lives.

This conſpiracy, notwithſtanding the fortunate circumſtances that accompanied its extinction, left impreſſions on the mind of Montezuma by no means favourable to the deſigns of Cortez. He was too well acquainted with the motives of his nephew's conduct, not to feel uneaſineſs at his fate; and with the genuine patriotiſm which warmed the breaſt of that young prince, though his condition obliged him to conceal his ſentiments, and to treat an attempt to free Mexico from the uſurpation of the Spaniards, as rebellion againſt the ſovereign. On examining coolly into the behaviour of Cortez he found ſomething myſterious in his long reſidence in his dominions, and in that authority which he aſſumed, ſo incompatible with the character of an ambaſſador. He began to be aſhamed of the general reflections on his want of ſpirit and reſolution, in ſuffering himſelf to be confined and wholly governed by the ſtrangers. Theſe were ſome of the arguments urged by Cacumazin for taking up arms: Montezuma himſelf was ſenſible there was but too much occaſion for murmuring; and as the ſame reaſons ſtill ſubſiſted, he was apprehenſive of freſh diſturbances, which might terminate in the exaltation of another prince to the throne. The applauſe beſtowed on the late ſentence might be intended to cover farther deſigns, and to lull the government into ſecurity: at any rate there was danger from the hidden ſparks of a fire lately extinguiſhed, of which even the Spaniards themſelves might take advantage, in order to enlarge their power, and extend their influence over the Mexicans; a purpoſe which could not be effected without a diminution of the royal prerogative †.

Theſe conſiderations made Montezuma reſolve to get rid as ſoon as poſſible of the Spaniards; and to intimate to Cortez, that he was ready to execute every thing relative to the object of his embaſſy. It was ſome time before the emperor could prevail on himſelf to make this propoſal, or could meet with a proper opportunity of introducing the ſubject. One day, however, when the general came to viſit him, having overcome his irreſolution, he introduced a diſcourſe concerning the Catholic king, and ſaid he had been thinking of making a voluntary ac-

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 2. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. iv. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 3.

know-

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

knowledgment of that vaſſalage which was due to the monarch of the Eaſt, as ſucceſſor of Quezalcoal, and proprietary lord of his dominions; for which purpoſe he intended to aſſemble the princes and nobles of the realm, and to make this acknowledgment in their preſence, that they might all after his example pay obedience, and eſtabliſh the vaſſalage by ſome contribution to the new ſovereign. He had already, he added, provided abundance of gold and jewels of ineſtimable value, in order to diſcharge the obligation on his own part; and he was perſuaded that his people would contribute, on theirs, ſuch a preſent as would be worthy of the great Eaſtern prince, as the firſt tribute of the Mexican empire *.

By this artful propoſal Montezuma entirely concealed his deſign from Cortez; and actually perſuaded that profound politician, that he had no other motive for this extraordinary reſolution, than a ſuperſtitious compliance with the intention of the ancient prophecies, which he now regarded as fulfilled. The general returned his moſt grateful thanks, highly pleaſed with having obtained more than he thought practicable in his preſent circumſtances; little imagining that this was a ſnare laid by the emperor, in order to oblige him to declare his ultimate deſigns, in the fulleſt manner, or to quit the Mexican dominions. On the contrary, he hoped, that this extraordinary condeſcenſion would enable him to ſecure his reſidence in the capital, till further orders were received from Spain, and ſuch a reinforcement as would be ſufficient for the actual conqueſt of the empire, ſhould it be neceſſary to have recourſe to violence. But Montezuma, who had very different views, immediately iſſued convocatory orders to the caziques and chief men of his empire, as was cuſtomary when any affair of more than ordinary importance was to be diſcuſſed, omitting to cite ſuch as lived at a great diſtance, that no time might be loſt in a matter that required diſpatch. They arrived in a few days; and being aſſembled in the emperor's apartment, together with the nobles and miniſters that reſided in Mexico, Cortez and his principal officers alſo being preſent, in their richeſt apparel, Montezuma aſcended his throne, and making a ſign with his hand to enjoin ſilence, began a premeditated ſpeech, in which he endeavoured by the moſt ſoothing expreſſions to conciliate the favour of the caziques. He reminded them of the many proofs he had given them of his affection, and that they held their dignities from his bounty; thence inferring the improbability of his making any propoſal to them incompatible with their intereſt, or the honour and dignity of his crown. He next introduced a ſhort account of the origin of the Mexican empire; the expedition of the Navatlaques; the extraordinary achievements of Quezalcoal; the prophecy which he left, when he departed for the conqueſt of the Eaſt, foretelling, by the impulſe of Heaven, that his deſcendants ſhould return to govern the kingdoms of the Weſt. He repreſented it as a point indiſputable, that the king of Spain, who ruled in thoſe Eaſtern regions, was the lawful ſucceſſor of Quezalcoal: whence he concluded, that they ought, in his perſon, unanimouſly to acknowledge the right of blood,

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 3.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

the crown being only diſpoſed of by election, thoſe many years, for want of ſuch right: and, for his own part, he was ſo great a lover of juſtice, that had this monarch come in perſon, whereas he had only ſent his ambaſſador, he would have been willing to ſtrip himſelf of his dignity, and lay the crown at the feet of the rightful heir, to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure. But as it was otherwiſe, he was happy in at leaſt knowing to whom his homage was due, and was reſolved to be the firſt to expreſs his ſatisfaction at the completion of the ancient prophecy, by yielding a ready obedience. For this purpoſe, he added, he had ſelected his moſt valuable treaſures, to be delivered as a proof of his vaſſalage; and hoped that his nobles would follow his example, not only in making the ſame acknowledgment of fealty, but in accompanying it with a proportional preſent, that their ſubmiſſion might appear with more luſtre in the eyes of the deſcendant of Quezalcoal.

This ſpeech, though only deſigned to ſerve a temporary purpoſe, abounded with ſo many humiliating expreſſions, and required a demeanour ſo repugnant to the nature of Montezuma, that he ſometimes pauſed, as if at a loſs for utterance, and at others the tears trickled down his cheeks. The Mexicans, ſenſible of the cauſe of his perturbation, were affected with the keeneſt ſorrow; and when he concluded his diſcourſe, a deep ſilence enſued. The whole aſſembly was ſtruck dumb with grief, indignation, and ſurpriſe. Theſe emotions began to vent themſelves in a hollow murmur of rage, not without ſome ſymptoms of violence, when Cortez ſeaſonably interpoſed, by ſaying, That it was not the intention of the king his maſter to deprive Montezuma of the royal dignity, or to alter the government or laws of the Mexican empire; his ſole purpoſe being, that the right of ſucceſſion, which he might perhaps never claim, ſhould be ſettled on his deſcendants. This aſſurance ſomewhat quieted the minds of the Mexicans, but the propoſal by which it was followed filled them with aſtoniſhment. They looked on each other, without daring either to contradict, or to give any ſign of conſent; being afraid that, by doing either, they ſhould but confirm the emperor the more in his ſtrange determination. This heſitation laſted till the prime miniſter, who was perfectly acquainted with the will of the prince, took upon him to ſpeak for the reſt. All the nobles, who compoſed that aſſembly, reſpected Montezuma, he ſaid, as their lord and natural ſovereign, and were ready to obey what he had been pleaſed to propoſe, and to follow any example he ſhould think fit to ſet them; not doubting but he had well weighed the conſequences of his reſolution, and conſulted the gods on an affair of ſo much moment. A ſullen ſubmiſſion was now obtained, and a public inſtrument framed, with all the neceſſary formalities, in which Charles V. was acknowledged lawful and hereditary lord of the Mexican empire *.

Montezuma

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 3. This tranſaction is ſomewhat differently related by Dr. Robertſon, who repreſents the propoſal of ſubmiſſion as made by Cortez, and reluctantly agreed to by Montezuma; in proof of which he calls in Montezuma's tears: but why may not princes be able to counterfeit tears, when neceſſary, as well as parſons and players?

Montezuma

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

Montezuma loſt no time in bringing his deſigns to the deſired criſis. He immediately delivered the preſent which he had prepared as the firſt acknowledgment to his new ſuperior, and tranſmitted to Cortez the contributions of the nobles, as ſoon as they arrived. A receiver and treaſurer were appointed to take an exact account of every article; and in a few days ſuch a quantity of gold, independent of other valuable materials, was amaſſed, that, beſides many pieces of curious workmanſhip in that metal, which were preſerved, they melted down in bars as much as amounted to ſix hundred thouſand peſos. The ſoldiers were impatient to have it diſtributed, and the general complied with their requeſt. Out of the whole one fifth was ſet a part for the king; and a ſecond fifth was allotted to Cortez, as commander in chief. The general likewiſe ſet apart the ſum for which he ſtood accountable to Velaſquez, and that which himſelf and his friends had advanced towards fitting out the armament. The remainder was divided among the officers and ſoldiers, including thoſe at Villa Rica; and the ſhare of a private man, after all theſe deductions, was ſo inconſiderable, that ſome rejected it with diſdain, as no equivalent for their numberleſs dangers and toils, while others

Montezuma, however, had no occaſion to counterfeit. Though he propoſed, for the reaſons aſſigned in the narration, to ſubmit to an act of fealty, the performance of it, in preſence of his principal nobility, was ſufficiently humiliating to excite emotion; eſpecially while he was uncertain, if it would anſwer the deſired end. In acknowledging himſelf the tributary of the king of Spain, though only to ſerve a tempory purpoſe, it was natural that he ſhould feel ſome of thoſe pangs which pierce the hearts of independent ſovereigns, in ſubmitting to a ſtate of vaſſalage; hence his utterance was interrupted, and his wounded pride diſcharged itſelf in tears, whether prompted or involuntary is a matter of little conſequence. But the ſtrongeſt proof of the political purpoſe of Montezuma in performing this act of ſubmiſſion, is the uſe which he inſtantly made of it, in haſtening the departure of the Spaniards. He not only required Cortez to quit his dominions, in a tone which he had never before aſſumed, but had an army ready to enforce his commands, in caſe of refuſal; a meaſure which could not have been ſo ſuddenly adopted, had Montezuma ſubmitted to acknowledge himſelf the vaſſal of Charles V. merely to gratify the avarice and ambition of the Spaniards. In order to get over this difficulty, Dr. Robertſon tranſpoſes the order of events, repreſenting Montezuma's command to Cortez as the effect of the aſſault upon the Mexican temples: but here he is contradicted by the authority of Herrera, De Solis, and all the moſt reſpectable Spaniſh hiſtorians, who are uniform in placing that outrage before the conſpiracy of Cacumazin, and which they aſſign as its cauſe, in the ſame manner as they aſſign the puniſhment of the king of Tezeuco as the cauſe of Montezuma's propoſal of ſubmiſſion; from a dread that the Spaniards would acquire ſuch an aſcendency in the empire as would entirely annihilate his power, or that his own ſubjects, rouſed by his ſeeming puſillanimity, might again cabal, and place another prince upon the throne. One obſervation more is neceſſary. Cortez, in his diſpatches, repreſents the propoſal of ſubmiſſion as made by himſelf; but his teſtimony, in a matter where his own credit was concerned, ought not to weigh above other evidence corroborated by circumſtances. Granting however, what is very improbable, that he did make the propoſal, Montezuma was at leaſt ready to receive it, and certainly turned it to his own advantage; the conſequences of the act of fealty being entirely different from thoſe which Cortez expected, and which he arrogantly promiſed himſelf. The queſtion therefore reſts, even after this conceſſion, on the ſame foundation as if the propoſal had come from Montezuma; whoſe abilities Dr. Robertſon has repreſented as inadequate to ſuch a ſtroke of policy, without reflecting that occaſions make men, and that no man is ſo ſtupid as not to diſcover penetration when his honour and fortune are at ſtake.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

expreſſed their diſappointment in ſeditious murmurs *. Cortez, however, ſoon reconciled them all by liberal preſents and promiſes, and was flattering himſelf with the hope of being able to continue in his preſent ſituation, until he could receive ſuch reinforcements as would enable him to effect the actual ſubjection of the Mexican empire, when an unexpected meſſage arrived from Montezuma.

Somewhat ſurpriſed at this meſſage, and underſtanding that the emperor had of late held frequent conferences with his nobility and chief prieſts, Cortez took along with him twelve Spaniards, of different ranks, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs that anxiety with which he was agitated. As ſoon as he entered the royal apartments, he found freſh cauſe of uneaſineſs. Montezuma received him with an unuſual air of importance and ſolemnity; and as ſoon as they had ſeated themſelves, told him, That having now on his own part, and on that of his nobles, complied with the acknowledgement of ſubmiſſion offered in the aſſembly of the ſtates, it was proper that Cortez ſhould begin to think of his departure, the purpoſe of his embaſſy being fully accompliſhed. "The gods," added he, "are angry with me, for the favour I have ſhewn to their enemies, and have denied me rain: they threaten to deſtroy the fruits of my harveſts, and to ſend a peſtilence among my people. Aſk what you will have more, and I will freely grant it; for I love you, in deſpite of all that I have ſuffered: but you muſt depart. Religion and the voice of my people require this ſacrifice; and know, notwithſtanding his preſent condition, (of which, for your ſake and my own, I ſhall ſay but little) Montezuma has yet courage to command, and power to enforce obedience, to what he thus requeſts †."

Convinced from the determined tone in which this ſpeech was uttered, that it was the reſult of ſome deep-laid ſcheme between Montezuma and his ſubjects, Cortez privately diſpatched one of his officers to order the Spaniards under arms, before he made his reply. He now fully diſcovered the meaning of the vaſſalage and preſents offered to the Catholic king, and the firſt emotion of anger would have impelled him to a reſolute defiance; but, on farther reflection, he thought it better to diſſemble, and ſeem to acquieſce in the emperor's reſolution, than

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 4. Thoſe murmurs were partly occaſioned by the liberty which Cortez took of rewarding his ſoldiers according to merit or favour; and even the officers were diſpleaſed at the king's fifth being deducted, beſides the expence of the armament: but making allowance for all theſe, and other irregularities, the whole ſum amaſſed fell much ſhort of general expectation, and ſeems to bear no proportion to the pompous deſcriptions left us of the ancient ſplendour of Mexico, or to the immenſe treaſures poured from its mines in modern times. But this apparent contradiction is eaſily reconciled. The Mexicans had no circulating money; nor were gold and ſilver, among them, the ſtandards by which the worth of commodities was eſtimated. Deſtitute of this commercial value, the demand for the precious metals was ſmall, and the induſtry and ingenuity of the people in procuring them, was of courſe proportionably feeble and imperfect. They found enough for the purpoſes of ornament in a pure metallic ſtate, in the beds of rivers, or at the mouths of mines; and they ſought no farther: but what could be ſo collected was not ſufficient to ſatisfy European avarice; the bowels of the earth muſt be torn, and thoſe hidden treaſures, of which the natives were happily ignorant, be purchaſed at the expence of their blood. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. vi. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 4.

attempt

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

attempt either to oppoſe or change it. He therefore anſwered, That he had already begun to make preparations for returning to his own country; but that ſome time was requiſite for building veſſels fit for ſo tedious a voyage, thoſe in which he arrived being ruined beyond the poſſibility of repair.

This reply was highly pleaſing to Montezuma, who dreaded above all things a rupture with the Spaniards; though it is ſaid he had provided a great army, in order to ſupport his determination, if it had been diſputed. He embraced Cortez with particular marks of affection, on finding that every thing flowed in the channel which he deſired, and told him in the moſt obliging manner, That it was not his intention to haſten his departure, without furniſhing him with the neceſſary means; that he ſhould give orders immediately for preparing every thing requiſite for building the veſſels according to the general's inſtructions; and that, in the meantime, he might remain in his preſent ſituation: it being ſufficient to appeaſe the anger of the gods, and quiet the clamours of his ſubjects, that Cortez had ſhewn ſuch readineſs to obey the commands of the one, and comply with the demands of the other.

Orders were accordingly iſſued for building the veſſels; the departure of the Spaniards was publiſhed; and Montezuma made proclamation, that all the carpenters of the neighbouring country ſhould repair to Villa Rica, aſſigning the places where they were to cut wood, and the towns which were to furniſh Indians of burden for carrying it to the dock. Cortez, on his part, affected an outward ſhew of complaiſance: he inſtantly diſpatched the maſters and workmen, who had been employed in building the brigantines, and were now well known among the Mexicans. He diſcourſed publicly with them of the ſize and quality of the veſſels neceſſary to be conſtructed, deſiring them to make uſe of the iron work, rigging, and ſails of thoſe which were ſunk: every thing was diſpoſed as if the voyage had been finally reſolved on.

By theſe means Cortez lulled the Mexicans aſleep; quelled their riſing murmurs; and reinſtated himſelf in the confidence of Montezuma, without once loſing ſight of that great object towards which all his ſchemes were directed. When the builders ſet out for Villa Rica, he gave private inſtructions to Martin Lopez, to whom the chief direction was intruſted, That he ſhould endeavour to prolong the work as much as poſſible; but ſtill with ſuch artful management, that he might not be ſuſpected of delay. The general hoped thus to preſerve his ſtation in the capital, till ſuch time as he ſhould receive reinforcements from Spain; and in caſe the laſt neceſſity ſhould force him to leave Mexico, he deſigned to wait for the anſwer of his diſpatches at Villa Rica, and maintain himſelf there under the protection of that fortreſs, and by the arms of his Indian allies, againſt the power of Montezuma*.

Nor were Cortez's expectations of ſupplies without foundation. Almoſt nine months had elapſed ſince his commiſſaries, Portocarrero and Montejo, ſailed for Spain; and the rich preſent with which he had accompanied his diſpatches, left

* Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

him little room to doubt of their favourable reception at court; that his authority would be confirmed, and a body of troops ſent to his aſſiſtance, ſufficient to enable him to complete the ſubjection of the Mexican empire. But his condition, in the mean time, was inſecure and precarious: the jealouſy of the Mexicans was rouſed; and too long a delay, or any ſuſpicion of his farther deſigns, would blow it at once into a flame. His army was too ſmall to permit him to think of maintaining his ſtation in the capital by force; and ſhould he retire to the coaſt, he muſt expoſe himſelf to new dangers. He could not apply for recruits to the Spaniſh ſettlements in the iſlands, before he received the king's commiſſion; and ſhould the governor of Cuba hear of his diſtreſs, he might be doomed, after all the great actions he had performed, to bear the name and ſuffer the puniſhment of a traitor. While he remained in this cruel ſtate of ſuſpenſe, anxious about the paſt, and uncertain in regard to the future, another unexpected event diſconcerted all his meaſures, and ſummoned his courage and prudence to a new trial.

A Mexican courier arrived with advice, that a fleet of eighteen ſail had been ſeen off the coaſt of St. John de Ulua; and from the painted diſpatches, ſent by the officers who commanded in that part of the country, they appeared to be Spaniards. Whatever alarming apprehenſions this intelligence might raiſe in the mind of Montezuma, he prudently hid his diſquiet; and ſending for Cortez, laid the diſpatches before him, ſaying with an air of compoſure, That now the proviſion he was making for his voyage would be unneceſſary, as ſome ſhips of his nation were arrived on the coaſt in which he might take his paſſage. Cortez viewed the paintings with more attention than ſurpriſe; and though he did not underſtand the characters which deſcribed them, he perceived enough to convince him that the ſquadron was Spaniſh. Nor did he doubt that it was come to his aſſiſtance; imagination, which powerfully influences opinion, being eaſily carried towards that which the heart deſires. He concealed his joy, however, from Montezuma, replying coolly, and in general terms, That he would depart immediately, if thoſe ſhips were bound for any part of the king of Spain's dominions; that he ſhould ſoon have intelligence from his countrymen at Zempoalla of the deſtination of this fleet; and then he ſhould be able to judge, whether it would be neceſſary to proceed in building the veſſels.

Montezuma ſeemed ſatisfied with this anſwer; and Cortez, thinking the completion of all his hopes and wiſhes at hand, haſtened to his companions, in order to communicate to them the glad tidings, which were received with tranſports of mutual congratulation. But their joy was of ſhort continuance. In a few days letters arrived from Sandoval, governor of Villa Rica, with certain information, that the fleet was fitted out by Velaſquez, the general's old enemy, and inſtead of bringing them the aid they expected, was deſtined for their deſtruction. This intelligence Cortez received in the preſence of Montezuma, and it required his utmoſt fortitude to conceal the ſtroke he ſuſtained by ſo unexpected a turn of fortune. His ſituation was now truly deſperate, being on every ſide hemmed round by enemies, either ſecret or avowed. He bravely reſolved, however, not to ſink under

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

under his misfortunes, but to exert his abilities to the laſt, in order to bring all to a happy iſſue. He concealed his uneaſineſs from Montezuma; ſoftened the accounts he had received to the Spaniards; and retired to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued in circumſtances that ſeemed almoſt to exclude hope *.

It has been already obſerved, that Velaſquez not only proſecuted his enmity againſt Cortez with unrelenting rigour, but was furniſhed with a power of rendering it more effectual, being appointed the king's lieutenant of the iſland of Cuba, and of all the countries diſcovered by his means, conſequently of New Spain. This high commiſſion elated his pride: all his wrongs appeared before him in a more conſpicuous point of view; and as he was fully informed of the proceedings of Cortez, grief, ſhame, and indignation at once took hold of his heart, and excited him to vindicate his authority by force of arms, and take vengeance on the man who had ſo groſsly over-reached him, and ſo cruelly betrayed his confidence. The ardour of Velaſquez in completing his armament was ſuch as might have been expected from the violence of the paſſions with which he was agitated. He bought ſhips, enliſted ſoldiers, and went in perſon over the whole iſland, viſiting the dwellings of the Spaniards, and encouraging them to the undertaking, by repreſenting the immenſe riches that would accrue from the projected conqueſt, beſides the pleaſure of puniſhing a rebel and a traitor. By theſe means he aſſembled, in a ſhort time, ſuch a fleet and army, as in that age, and in that part of the world, might be deemed formidable. The fleet conſiſted of eleven ſtout veſſels, ſeven of them being larger than brigantines. It had on board fourſcore horſemen, eight hundred foot ſoldiers, of which eighty were muſketeers, and an hundred and twenty croſs-bowmen, together with twelve pieces of cannon.

As the experience, which he had ſo dearly bought, of the fatal conſequences of committing to another what he ought to have executed himſelf, had not rendered Velaſquez more enterpriſing, he intruſted the command of this new armament to Pamphilo de Narvaez, a man of reputed abilities, and of great diſtinction in Cuba, but highly ſelf-opiniated, and obſtinate in his reſolutions. To this general, whom he dignified with the name of governor of New Spain, taking to himſelf that of viceroy, Velaſquez gave inſtructions to ſeize Cortez, and ſend him priſoner under a ſtrong guard, that he might receive from his hands the juſt puniſhment of his treachery and temerity; that his officers ſhould be uſed in the ſame manner, in caſe they appeared obſtinately attached to his intereſt; and that he ſhould take poſſeſſion, in virtue of the commiſſion conferred upon him, of all the new acquiſitions, as being within the juriſdiction of his ſuperior. He never once ſuffered the poſſibility of diſappointment to enter his thoughts; relying with fond ſecurity on the ſuperiority of force, without reflecting on the courage of Cortez, the long practice of his ſoldiers in arms, or the friendſhips and alliances which he might have formed †.

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 4.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. vii. c. 4. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5.

BOOK I.
A. D. 1520.

Some difficulties were thrown in the way of this undertaking, when the fleet was ready to ſail. The monks of St. Geronimo, who preſided over the royal chamber of audience at St. Domingo, and over all the other iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, being informed of the preparations of the governor of Cuba, and foreſeeing the inconveniences which muſt reſult from ſuch a dangerous competition, diſpatched Lucas Vaſquez Dayllon, one of their number, to diſſuade Velaſquez from the proſecution of a meaſure ſo injurious to the public ſervice; with orders, if he continued obſtinate, to exert all the authority of the tribunal, commanding him on the ſevereſt penalties to diſband his army, unrig his fleet, and refrain from giving moleſtation to Cortez under any pretext whatſoever; and requiring him, if he had any complaints againſt that general, or any claim to the country which he was conquering for the king, to appear before the royal tribunal, where he might depend on having juſtice done to him in a regular way.

On the arrival of this miniſter in Cuba, he laid his inſtructions before Velaſquez, and uſed both arguments and entreaties, in order to engage him to deſiſt from his enterpriſe. Theſe proving ineffectual, he proceeded to menaces, notifications, proteſts, and the full extent of his powers; but all were not ſufficient to ſtay the reſolution of Velaſquez, whoſe honour and fortune, independent of his revenge, were too deeply concerned in the ſucceſs of the armament to permit him to lay it aſide. Dayllon therefore offered to accompany the fleet, under pretence of curioſity, in expectation of being able as every other method had failed, to prevail on the men to obey his orders, or at leaſt to accommodate differences between the parties, before they ſhould come to open hoſtilities. Nor did Velaſquez oppoſe this propoſal, being deſirous that the fleet might ſail, before the news of his obſtinacy could reach St. Domingo. It was no leſs fortunate for Cortez, that his old friend, Andreo de Duero, ſecretary to Velaſquez, alſo accompanied this armament, with the generous deſign of preventing the deſtruction of a perſon he eſteemed, and of promoting the public ſervice †.

All obſtructions being now removed, the fleet ſet ſail; and having a favourable wind, reached in a few days the deſired haven. They came to an anchor in the bay of St. Juan de Ulua, where Narvaez ſent ſome of his people aſhore to gain intelligence, and make what diſcoveries they could in the neighbouring villages. Theſe men were ſo fortunate as to meet with three ſoldiers, whom Cortez had ſent to ſearch for mines in that province, and who readily joined them. From the deſerters Narvaez not only received information concerning the progreſs and ſituation of Cortez, but as they had acquired ſome knowledge of the language of the country, he was enabled by their means to hold an intercourſe with the natives. In order to procure themſelves a favourable reception, they repreſented the affairs of Cortez as deſperate, both in Mexico and at Villa Rica; and Narvaez, in conſequence of this intelligence, which increaſed his natural preſumption and confidence, ſummoned Sandoval to ſurrender the fortreſs under his command, and either to join

† De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5.

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CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

the army with his garriſon, or employ it in preſerving the ſettlement for Velaſquez. This commiſſion he intruſted to a prieſt, named Juan Ruis de Guevara, a man of a leſs gentle temper than his profeſſion required; and who behaved with ſo much inſolence, on the preſent occaſion, that Sandoval, a brave and high ſpirited officer, zealouſly attached to Cortez, ordered him and his attendants to be ſeized, and ſent them in chains to Mexico, under the conduct of a Zempoallan guard *.

Meanwhile Cortez had received ſuch intelligence concerning the force and intentions of Narvaez, as gave him a view of his danger in its full extent. Never was there a time when his courage and capacity were ſo ſeverely put to the teſt. It was almoſt impoſſible to ſay, what plan he ſhould adopt. On one hand, there was an army, in weapons, valour, and diſcipline equal to his own; in numbers far ſuperior; acting under the ſanction of royal authority, and commanded by an officer of known bravery. It appeared raſh in Cortez to think of meeting his rival in the field, with a force ſo unequal; and ſhould he wait the approach of Narvaez in Mexico, deſtruction ſeemed to be inevitable. While the Spaniards preſſed him from without, the inhabitants whoſe jealouſy was already rouſed, and whoſe turbulent ſpirit he was with difficulty able to reſtrain with all his authority and attention, would eagerly ſeize ſuch a favourable opportunity of avenging all their wrongs. On the other hand, muſt he at once forego the fruits of ſo many victories, and augment the power of his mortal enemy, by relinquiſhing the advantages earned by ſo many toils and perils? The haughty temper and proſperous circumſtances of Narvaez left little room to hope for an accommodation, ſhould Cortez even ſtoop to make conceſſions, and the thoughts of a ſurrender were worſe than death.

But amid all theſe various aſpects of danger and difficulty, which preſented themſelves to the view of Cortez, he found nothing more diſtreſſing, than that ſecurity and content which he was obliged to feign, by exhibiting a calm and chearful countenance, while his ſpirit was oppreſſed, and his breaſt agitated by a variety of contending paſſions. It was of the utmoſt conſequence to conceal from the Mexicans, that the Spaniards were at variance among themſelves: Cortez therefore told Montezuma, That Narvaez was a ſecond ambaſſador arrived from the king of Spain, to ſupport the propoſition which he had formerly made; that he was come with an army, according to the cuſtom of his country; but as every thing was already adjuſted, he would endeavour to prevail on him to return, and would himſelf take his paſſage on board this fleet, as Montezuma's generoſity had left him nothing farther to deſire. Nor was it leſs neceſſary for Cortez to conceal his chagrin and uneaſineſs from his own troops, leſt their ſpirits might ſink under the greatneſs and complication of the danger. He intimated the probability that Narvaez would come to an accommodation, and prefer his own intereſt, and the ſervice of his ſovereign, to the abſurd revenge of

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vii. c. 4. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5. They were carried on the ſhoulders of Indians of burden, and reached Mexico in four days. Herrera, ut ſupra.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

a private man, blinded by paſſion, pride, and animoſity; and, in his own opinion, he ſaid, he had reaſon to thank Velaſquez for ſending him ſo ſeaſonable a reinforcement, as he had not the leaſt doubt but he ſhould be able to make fellow-ſoldiers and companions of thoſe, who had come againſt him with hoſtile intentions. He concealed, even from his officers, his real ſentiments in regard to the probability of ſucceſs, though he laid before them the ſtate of affairs, and deſired their advice how to act, after having diſpoſed their minds to his own way of thinking. It was the unanimous reſolution of the council of war, That propoſals of accommodation ſhould immediately be offered to Narvaez, and that in the mean time preparations ſhould be made, as if there was a certainty of the propoſals being rejected *.

Such were the meaſures concerted, and carrying into execution, when the Spaniſh priſoners, ſent by Sandoval, arrived. Cortez went out to receive them with a numerous retinue; ordered their fetters to be taken off; embraced them with marks of affection, and told the licentiate Guevara, That he would chaſtiſe Sandoval for the little regard he had ſhewn to his perſon and function. He afterwards conducted Guevara to his own apartment; admitted him to his table; and with ſeeming ſatisfaction expreſſed ſeveral times, how much he eſteemed the happineſs of having his old friend Narvaez in that country, on account of the particular intimacy that had ſubſiſted between them. He took care that his people ſhould all appear chearful and gay before the licentiate: he made him a witneſs of the favours he received from Montezuma, and of the great reſpect with which he was treated by the Mexican nobility: he made him a preſent of ſome valuable jewels, which greatly mollified the violence of his temper; and he privately hinted, that he might tell the chief men of Narvaez's army, that there was immenſe wealth in Mexico, which he would be glad to ſhare with them. He treated the other priſoners in the ſame manner; and without ſeeming to practiſe on their integrity, he diſpatched them in four days fully perſuaded by his arguments, and attached to his perſon by his liberality and courteous behaviour †.

Three days after the departure of Guevara and his companions, Cortez, though convinced that the conteſt muſt be terminated finally by arms, diſpatched father Olmedo with ſuch propoſals to Narvaez as ſeemed reaſonable, and no leſs conducive to their common intereſt, than to the honour and glory of the crown of Spain. With Olmedo, whoſe abilities qualified him for ſuch a negociation, and whoſe character was well ſuited to thoſe ſecret intrigues in which Cortez placed his chief hopes of ſucceſs, he alſo ſent letters to the licentiate Vaſquez Dayllon, and to his old friend Andres de Duero, accompanied with valuable preſents in gold, beſides what he gave to the crafty prieſt to be diſtributed as he ſhould think proper. The letter to Narvaez contained an account of the progreſs which Cortez had made in the intended conqueſt, and repreſented the fatal

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 6.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. vii. c. 4. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 6.

conſequences

CHAP. V.
A.D. 1520.

conſequences to both of giving the Mexicans, a warlike and powerful people, reaſon to believe that diſcord prevailed among the Spaniards: the general likewiſe told his rival, That it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould acquaint him with the nature of his inſtructions, and the authority whence they were derived; for if they came from the king, or tended to promote the public ſervice, he was ready to ſurrender his commiſſion, deliver up the truncheon, with the army under his command, and contribute his aſſiſtance in a private ſtation: but if they were dictated by the private reſentment of Velaſquez, that both ought to conſider, with equal attention, how much they hazarded by obedience in a caſe where the pretenſions of a ſubject ought to yield to the intereſts of the ſovereign; adding, that he meant to ſatisfy all the legal demands of Velaſquez, and to divide with him not only the wealth but the glory of the conqueſt: and he concluded with obſerving, That he did not make uſe of arguments becauſe he wanted force, but from a ſincere deſire of terminating matters in an amicable way *.

Having taking theſe conciliatory meaſures, Cortez began next to purſue ſuch ſteps as ſeemed neceſſary for his ſafety. He ſent to his friends at Tlaſcala, deſiring the republic to provide ſix thouſand men, to attend him on an enterpriſe in which he might poſſibly have occaſion for their ſervice. He likewiſe ſent an officer into the province of Chinantla, the inhabitants of which were brave and warlike, and enemies to the Mexicans, in order to diſpoſe the caziques, who had ſecretly offered obedience to the Spaniards, to raiſe two thouſand men, and have them ready to march on a ſhort notice. He even condeſcended to imitate the arms of this people. Having obſerved that they uſed ſpears of extraordinary length and force, he immediately conceived that ſuch weapons, the beſt perhaps ever contrived for defence, might ſerve to break the impreſſion of Narvaez's cavalry, which gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs; he therefore ordered three hundred to be procured, and armed, for want of iron, with tempered copper, inſtead of the flints uſed by the natives. Theſe he diſtributed among his men, and taught them that deep and compact arrangement, which the uſe of ſuch a formidable weapon enabled them to aſſume †.

Meanwhile Narvaez, having taken poſſeſſion of Zempoalla, was uſing every method in his power to ruin the reputation of his adverſary among the natives. He repreſented Cortez and his followers as fugitives and out-laws, guilty of rebellion againſt their own ſovereign, and of injuſtice in invading the dominions of other princes; declaring, that his ſole purpoſe in viſiting that country was to puniſh theſe licentious Spaniards, and reſcue the inhabitants from oppreſſion. Narvaez even found means to convey the ſame unfavourable repreſentations to Montezuma, aſſuring him, That the conduct of thoſe who kept him under reſtraint was highly diſpleaſing to the king his maſter; and that he had it in charge not only to reſcue an injured monarch from confinement, but to reinſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his antient power and independence ‡. But the rapacity of the

* Id. ibid. † Ut ſupra. ‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. vii. c. 4.
Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book v.

followers

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

followers of Narvaez, not only prevented his flattering declarations from having any influence on the minds of the Zempoallans, but made them the objects of univerſal odium; and though Montezuma was ſurpriſed at the aſſurances ſent him, he appears to have paid little regard to them, notwithſtanding his ardent deſire of liberty, and the uneaſineſs which he had already diſcovered at the delay of Cortez. If he believed Narvaez, as is not impoſſible, a perſon ſuperior in power to Cortez, he perhaps conſidered him as on that very account more dangerous, and therefore declined his aſſiſtance. Willing, however, to conciliate his good will, leſt he might have occaſion to implore his clemency, the emperor ſent him a conſiderable preſent, accompanied with ſuch expreſſions of civility as were cuſtomary on the arrival of ſtrangers *.

In thoſe defamatory practices, which might have proved no leſs injurious to the intereſts of his country, than to the reputation of Cortez, was Narvaez employed, when Guevara returned from Mexico, with an account of the magnificence of that city; the grandeur of Montezuma; his eſteem for Cortez; the great merit of that general; and the politeneſs with which he had treated him and his fellow priſoners. He commended the prudence of Cortez in deſiring to conceal from the Mexicans that any cauſe of diſpute ſubſiſted among the Spaniards, and expatiated ſo largely in his praiſe, that Narvaez thruſt him rudely from his preſence, deſiring him to return to Mexico, and adulate the man he ſo much admired. On this affront the prieſt and his companions ſought a new auditory, paſſing to the aſſemblies of the ſoldiers, where they were liſtened to with more attention. After relating the ſtory of their journey, they diſplayed their rich preſents among thoſe needy adventurers; and inſpired, what was of the utmoſt conſequence to Cortez, a general inclination for peace, and a very high opinion of his valour and generoſity.

Father Olmedo arrived ſeaſonably to ſtamp deeper the impreſſion made by Guevara. He delivered his inſtructions with an air of confidence ſoftened by humility, and ſeconded them with an oration equally eloquent and ſubſtantial. He began with putting Narvaez in mind of the duty impoſed by his function, as a Chriſtian prieſt, to interpoſe in all ſuch differences, endeavouring to diſplay the ſincerity of Cortez's heart, as an eye-witneſs of all his proceedings: he next aſſured him, That it would be no difficult matter to obtain any thing he ſhould propoſe, provided it was reaſonable, and conducive to the public ſervice; repreſenting the hazard that both ran by ſuch miſunderſtandings, and the advantage which would accrue to Velaſquez, if Narvaez would co-operate with Cortez, in order to complete the conqueſt: and he concluded with obſerving, That Narvaez, having an army at his command, ought to weigh its deſtination with the preſent poſture of affairs; a point which muſt be preſuppoſed in his inſtructions, it being always left to the diſcretion of the general to chuſe the means by which he might accompliſh the end propoſed by any armament, leſt in the execution of abſolute orders, by the change of times and circumſtances, he ſhould defeat their intention.

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 7.

The

CHAP. V. A. D. 1520.

The anſwer of Narvaez was precipitate and confuſed. It was inconſiſtent, he ſaid, with the character of Velaſquez to treat with a rebellious ſubject, whoſe chaſtiſement was the firſt and principal buſineſs of the army he had under his command; that he would immediately proclaim as traitors all who eſpouſed the intereſt of that rebel; and that he had brought with him ſufficient force to ſnatch the conqueſt out of the hands of Cortez, without having occaſion for the advice of thoſe, who being equally guilty, had an equal intereſt in preventing the execution of juſtice. The reverend father replied with moderation and addreſs, but without effect; he therefore proceeded to execute the other part of his inſtructions. He viſited the ſecretary Duero, and the licentiate Dayllon, whom he found extremely well diſpoſed towards a reconciliation. They even promiſed to aſſiſt, with all their influence, the purport of his diſpatches, and loudly condemned the inexorable ſeverity and injudicious vehemence of Narvaez. Olmedo afterwards viſited the officers and ſoldiers of his acquaintance; publiſhed his commiſſion; endeavoured to ſupport the good intentions of Cortez, and to gain them to his intereſt, by a pompous diſplay of his valour, humanity, juſtice, and generoſity; delivered his preſents with judgment, and had reaſon to hope he ſhould be able to form a large party in favour of an accommodation, when Narvaez, having notice of what was practiſing in the camp, ordered the prieſt to be brought before him, abuſed him as a mutinous and ſeditious traitor, threatened him with impriſonment, and commanded him inſtantly to leave Zempoalla *.

Vaſquez Dayllon, deputy from the royal chamber of audience at St. Domingo, as already obſerved, was no ſooner informed of this matter, than he propoſed that a council of war ſhould be held, before the departure of father Olmedo, in order to deliberate on a proper anſwer to the embaſſy ſent by Cortez, as he ſeemed ſincerely inclined to peace, and it appeared to be no difficult undertaking to eſtabliſh it on terms advantageous to all. In this propoſition he was ſeconded by ſome of the principal officers: but Narvaez, at once to put a ſtop to all ſuch proceedings, made a ſolemn declaration of war againſt Cortez, pronouncing him a rebel and a traitor to the king, and offering a conſiderable reward to any one who ſhould either ſeize or kill him. He at the ſame time ordered the army to be in readineſs to march, and this declaration to be proclaimed at the head of the troops. Enraged at ſuch violent meaſures, Dayllon reſolved to exert that authority with which he was veſted: he commanded the crier to deſiſt, and publicly prohibited Narvaez to ſtir from Zempoalla, under pain of death, or employ his forces againſt their friends and countrymen, without the unanimous conſent of the army. He enjoined the officers and ſoldiers not to obey him in ſhedding the blood of their fellow ſubjects, and perſiſted with ſo much reſolution in enforcing his commands, that Narvaez, forgetting all regard to his public character, ordered him to be ſeized, and carried on board a veſſel deſtined for the iſland of Cuba.

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. vii. c. 4. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 6. † Id. ibid.

BOOK I.
A. D. 1520.

Senſible that he could now expect no farther anſwer, and that his perſon was even in danger, father Olmedo left the camp of Narvaez, much mortified at the little ſucceſs of his negociation, and yet more at the inſolent contempt with which he had been treated; and this contempt, together with the violence offered to Dayllon, had ſuch an effect on the army, that a general diſſatisfaction ſoon appeared, both among officers and ſoldiers. Even thoſe who had no regard for Cortez, were incenſed at the blind and impetuous reſentment of Narvaez; and when once their own general had forfeited their eſteem, it was an eaſy tranſition to beſtow it on his more brilliant rival. Accordingly ſome of the ſoldiers deſerted, and joined the garriſon of Villa Rica; while others, by their murmurings, ſufficiently diſcovered their diſlike to the cauſe in which they were engaged *.

The ill ſucceſs of Olmedo's negociation did not in the leaſt ſurpriſe Cortez: it only confirmed him in the opinion which he had formed of the untractable arrogance of Narvaez; and the information which he received from that venerable eccleſiaſtic of the diſcontents in the army of his rival, inſpired him with the moſt ſanguine hopes. He aſſembled his officers, communicated to them his information, and his own thoughts on the ſtate of affairs. They deliberated in a body, without leaving the apartment; and after weighing the inconveniencies on all ſides, it was determined to take the field with what troops they could ſafely withdraw from Mexico, and with theſe to march towards Zempoalla, but without abandoning all hopes of an accommodation. They deſigned to halt in ſome confederate town, in order to make a ſecond declaration of their pacific inclinations; and where they would have the double advantage of treating with arms in their hands, and of receiving ſuch of Narvaez's people as might be diſpoſed to join them. This reſolution was immediately publiſhed among the ſoldiers, and received with applauſe and chearfulneſs. They were not ignorant of the vaſt inequality of numbers between them and their adverſaries; yet were they ſo far from diſcovering any ſigns of fear, ſo great was their confidence in their leader, that Cortez found it neceſſary to exert all his authority, in order to oblige ſuch a number as was requiſite to remain in Mexico †.

The general's next care was to acquaint Montezuma of his intended journey, but conceal from him its cauſe. For this purpoſe he repaired to the emperor's apartment, and told him, That the Spaniſh captain who lately arrived at Zempoalla, had given ſome proofs of a diſorderly paſſion, occaſioned chiefly by miſinformation, which made it neceſſary for him to march thither with part of his forces, in order to prevent the bad conſequences that might enſue from ſuch falſe repreſentations, by diſpoſing the mind of that officer and his troops to reſpect the Mexicans, as a people now under the protection of the king of Spain: that he would immediately ſet out on his journey, leſt the approach of an army, ſo little diſciplined, into the neighbourhood of the capital, might occaſion ſome diſturbance among the vaſſals of his imperial majeſty. After this artful manner did

* Ut ſupra. † De Solis, lib iv. c. 7.

Cortez

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

Cortez endeavour to diſguiſe the diſpute between himſelf and Narvaez; and Montezuma, who was already informed of the violences exerciſed by the Spaniards at Zempoalla, greatly applauded his deſign, and offered him his aſſiſtance, in caſe Narvaez continued refractory. Cortez thanked him for the friendly offer; but as he placed little confidence in the Mexicans, he declined the ſuccours, not chuſing to admit ſuſpicious auxiliaries among his brave and faithful veterans *.

Having thus paved the way for his marſh, Cortez began to make the neceſſary preparations, and take ſuch ſteps as ſeemed requiſite for his future ſecurity and ſucceſs. He committed the care of Mexico, with all the treaſures which he had amaſſed, and what was of ſtill greater importance, the perſon of the captive monarch, to an hundred and fifty Spaniards, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, an expert courtier, and who ſtood high in the favour of Montezuma. This officer he charged to be ſo aſſiduous in his civilities to the emperor, as to render him inſenſible of his confinement; and he ſtrictly enjoined the ſoldiers to obſerve the moſt exact deſcipline, to yield implicit obedience to their commander, and to ſhew kindneſs to the Mexicans in general, but eſpecially to the attendants on the court. He ſent orders to Sandoval to meet him, with all the Spaniards under his command; or to wait for him at the place where he deſigned to halt, leaving the fortreſs of Villa Rica to the care of the confederate Indians. He next went to take leave of Montezuma, who promiſed to remain quietly in the Spaniſh quarters, and to cultivate the ſame friendſhip with Alvarado which he had hitherto uniformly maintained with Cortez, again renewing his offer of aſſiſtance †.

The general next morning began his march, following the road of Cholula, with all that caution which the ſecurity of the army required, and which cuſtom had now made eaſy to the ſoldiers, grown perfect by long experience in the practice of war, inured to the hardſhips which attend it, and accuſtomed to obey without murmuring or diſputing. He was received in that city with a chearful welcome, and thence proceeded for Tlaſcala; on the way to which he was met by a ſplendid embaſſy from the republic, and conducted into the capital amid the acclamations of the people, who now conſidered him as the conqueror of Mexico, and the tamer of the haughty ſpirit of Montezuma. The ſix thouſand auxiliaries deſired were raiſed; but underſtanding that they were to fight againſt another body of Spaniards, the greater part of them deſerted within a few leagues of the town, and Cortez diſmiſſed the reſt, leſt they ſhould miſbehave, when defection might be attended with more dangerous conſequences ‡.

Soon after Cortez left Tlaſcala, he was joined by Sandoval, and the garriſon of Villa Rica, when muſtering his army, he found that it conſiſted of no more than two hundred and ſeventy-ſix Spaniards, including officers. With this ſmall but firm battalion, he determined without fear to face the enemy; but as he was ſtill

* Id. ibid. † Herrera dec. II. lib. vii. c. 4. viii. c. 1. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 7. ‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 1.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

deſirous to juſtify his conduct, and avoid, if poſſible, the effuſion of blood, he diſpatched father Olmedo a ſecond time, with as moderate propoſals as his pride would permit him to offer. Olmedo, however, meeting with no better ſucceſs than in his former negociation, Cortez appointed Juan Velaſquez de Leon to wait on Narvaez; imagining the mediation of that gentleman, who was a near relation of the governor of Cuba, might be better accepted. On the approach of Velaſquez to Zempoalla, it was generally believed he had relinquiſhed the intereſt of Cortez, and was come to enliſt under the banners of his kinſman; an opinion which gained ſo much credit, that Narvaez went out with a numerous retinue to receive him. But that general was ſoon undeceived. Velaſquez boldly declared the purpoſe of his viſit; and enforced his commiſſion with ſo much warmth, ſtrenuouſly vindicating the character of Cortez, that Narvaez broke off the conference abruptly, and diſmiſſed him without an anſwer.

This mark of diſreſpect, to a perſon of ſo much conſequence as Velaſquez, gave umbrage to many of Narvaez's officers, who inſiſted that his propoſals ought to have been candidly liſtened to, and an anſwer favourable or otherwiſe returned; it being very improbable that a perſon of ſo much honour and ſincerity would have come with prepoſterous and unreaſonable propoſitions. Theſe diſcourſes paſſed from the officers to the ſoldiers, who became ſo clamorous, that Narvaez was obliged to promiſe, in order to quiet them, that a perſon ſhould be ſent to Cortez, in his own name, and in that of the whole army, to apologize for the diſreſpect ſhewn to Velaſquez, and inquire into the ſubſtance and purport of his commiſſion. For this ſervice the ſecretary Duero was unanimouſly choſen, as a perſon in whom both the malcontents and thoſe who were averſe to an accommodation could equally confide.

Duero was received by Cortez with all the reſpect due to his character, his known moderation, and the friendſhip which he had always profeſſed for that commander. Several conferences were held on the ſubject of his commiſſion, and every expedient for overcoming the obſtinacy of Narvaez was canvaſſed. Cortez is reported to have gone ſo far, as to offer to relinquiſh the Mexican expedition to his competitor, and go with his followers in purſuit of other conqueſts. But this conceſſion Duero refuſed to accept, as too liberal; propoſing in its ſtead an interview between the two generals, which he hoped might terminate in a more equitable treaty. The propoſition was readily accepted by Cortez; and Narvaez proceeded ſuch a length as even to name the place, time, and circumſtances of the meeting, at the very moment that he was contriving an ambuſcade for his rival. Of this treachery Cortez had notice from Duero, and was ſo much ſtung at the unmanly baſeneſs, that he inſtantly communicated his diſcovery to Narvaez, declaring that he now renounced all thoughts of accommodation, and remitted his farther ſatisfaction to the deciſion of the ſword. The inſidious deſigns of his rival ſerved only to animate his courage, and inſpire him with freſh hopes, inſtead of rouſing uneaſy apprehenſions; for he very juſtly concluded, that an officer who endeavoured to purchaſe victory at the expence of his

his honour, could have no great dependance on his own abilities, or the valour and attachment of his troops *.

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

Cortez now purſued his march with uncommon expedition, and took his ſtation within a league of Zempoalla, in a place where he knew he could not be attacked, his front being defended by the river de Canoas, and his rear by the territory of Villa Rica. No ſooner was Narvaez informed of the approach of his rival, than he drew out his troops, with an eagerneſs and confidence of victory bordering on confuſion. He commanded war to be proclaimed anew; ſet a price on the head of Cortez and ſome of his principal officers; then diſpoſing his army in order of battle, he marched about a mile, and halted at a convenient poſt, vainly imagining that Cortez would attack him in the open field, and afford him all the advantage which he muſt derive from ſuperiority of numbers. Obſtinately perſiſting in this opinion, he continued in his poſt the whole day; but towards the going down of the ſun, the ſky grew dark and lowering, and the clouds poured down ſuch a torrent of rain, that the raw ſoldiers clamoured loudly, and demanded to return to their quarters. The officers likewiſe became impatient, and expreſſed their contempt of that handful of men, from the dread of which they were expoſed to ſo many inconveniencies; their general being no leſs preſumptuous, it was unanimouſly reſolved to return to Zempoalla †.

Narvaez, however, would not ſuffer his forces to ſeparate that night, but lodged them in the principal temple of the city. This temple, which was ſeated on an eminence, and ſufficiently capacious to lodge the whole army, conſiſted of three towers, or chapels, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and which were aſcended by many ill contrived ſteps that added to the ſecurity of the height. The rails at the foot of the ſtairs Narvaez fortified with his artillery. For himſelf he choſe the middle tower, to which he retired with ſome of his principal officers, and about an hundred ſoldiers in whoſe fidelity he could confide. The reſt of his troops he lodged in the two ſide towers; after ſending out a party of horſe to ſcour the neighbourhood, and poſting two centinels at the avenues. Theſe precautions being taken, Narvaez thought himſelf ſecure, and the night was devoted to ſleep.

Of this ſecurity Cortez had information from his friend Duero; in order, as is ſaid, that he might paſs the night more compoſedly, rather than with any intention to excite him to new deſigns. But whatever might be the motive for ſuch notice, Cortez determined as ſoon as he received it, to lay hold of the favourable opportunity which it invited him to mark with ſucceſs. He immediately aſſembled his troops, and obſerved with particular ſatisfaction, that they were ſtill active and fit for ſervice, though the tempeſt continued with exceſſive violence, and they had no tents or other covering to ſhield themſelves from its rage. Inured to toils, theſe hardy veterans obeyed without once com-

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 8, 9. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 1. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 9.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

plaining, or inquiring the cauſe of ſo unexpected a motion: ſo great was their confidence in their leader!—Having paſſed the river de Canoas with difficulty, the water almoſt reaching to their chins, Cortez addreſſed them in a ſhort ſpeech, in which he made them acquainted with the deſign of the march; the ſituation of the enemy; the facility with which they might be attacked; the great probability of victory, and the powerful motives which they had to urge them on to a deſperate effort of valour.

"This night, my friends," ſaid he, "this night hath Heaven vouchſafed to put into our hands the moſt favourable opportunity that deſire itſelf could frame: this night ſhall you be witneſſes of the great confidence which I repoſe in your courage; and I am bound to confeſs, that it is your known valour alone which inſpires me with the bold reſolution. A few hours ago we expected the enemy in our camp, in hopes of vanquiſhing them by the advantage of this river, which we have paſſed with ſo much difficulty and danger; now we have them ſupinely careleſs, diſunited and unarmed, the very contempt in which they hold us fighting on our ſide. From the ſhameful impatience with which they quitted the field, flying from the inclemency of the night, a ſlight inconveniency of nature! we may readily gather what uſe thoſe men will make of that eaſe which they ſought with ſuch puſillanimous weakneſs, and enjoy without fear or ſuſpicion: they will devote it to ſleep. Narvaez is a ſtranger to that vigilance which the accidents of war render neceſſary: his ſoldiers are, in general, men picked up in haſte, who have never ſeen ſervice, and will find it no eaſy matter to aſſume their arms, and rally in the obſcurity of night, when the ſurpriſe and terror of an unexpected attack will more than compenſate for our inferiority in numbers. Many of them are diſſatisfied with the conduct of their commander; nor are there wanting ſome who favour our party, and not a few who hold this war in deteſtation: but both the one and the other muſt be treated like enemies, till they declare themſelves; for ſhould they overcome us, we ſhall ſhare the fate of rebels and traitors. They come to take from you all that you have acquired: they aſpire at no leſs than to be the abſolute lords of your liberties, lives, and hopes. They will call our victories theirs, theirs the land which you have conquered, at the expence of your ſweat and your blood, and theirs the glory of your heroic ploits. The only way to prevent theſe evils, is to behave yourſelves this night with your wonted intrepidity. You are better able to execute than I am to dictate: hold faſt your arms, and forget not your cuſtom of conquering. I will be your inſeparable companion in all the danger, and ſeek leſs to encourage you by my words than to perſuade you by my example *."

The troops were ſo much inflamed by this ſpeech, that Cortez found occaſion to moderate their ardour, by reminding them of the importance of exact diſcipline and coolneſs in action. They all acknowledged the wiſdom of his reſolution, and expreſſed their determination to conquer, or die fighting by his ſide: ſome even went ſo far, as to deſire him to take heed not to be enſnared by any

* Id. ibid.

terms;

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

terms; for if he offered to think of an accommodation, they would inſtantly withdraw their obedience. Cortez was rather pleaſed than offended at this freedom, and without loſs of time divided his men into three bodies, which were to ſucceed each other in the aſſault. At the head of the firſt he placed Sandoval, with inſtructions to take poſſeſſion of the ſtairs of the temple, and fruſtrate the uſe of the enemy's artillery, dividing his men in ſuch a manner as to interrupt the communication between the two towers on the ſides; the ſecond he intruſted to Chriſtoval de Olid, with orders to inveſt the middle tower, where Narvaez was lodged, and if poſſible to ſeize his perſon. Cortez himſelf commanded the third, and ſmalleſt diviſion, which was to act as a body of reſerve, and to aſſiſt the other two as occaſion ſhould require. The word, or ſignal, was the Holy Ghoſt, and the general order profound ſilence, till ſuch time as the aſſault was made; when the drums were commanded to beat, and the other warlike inſtruments to ſound, that ſo unexpected a noiſe might ſtrike terror into the enemy, and increaſe their confuſion.

Theſe commands being iſſued, Cortez continued his march in a ſlow pace, that the troops might be leſs fatigued when they arrived at Zempoalla, and the enemy ſunk in more profound repoſe. But before he had proceeded above half a league, his ſcouts returned with one of Narvaez's centinels, whom they had made priſoner, and informed him that the other had made his eſcape. This accident deſtroyed the hope of finding a ſleeping enemy; Cortez, therefore, ordered the troops to quicken their pace, that he might at leaſt arrive before his rival had time to make a proper diſpoſition. They now advanced with the utmoſt expedition; and when they came near the town, they left their horſes, baggage, and other incumbrances, at a brook a little out of the road. But the centinel, whoſe fear lent him wings, arrived ſome minutes before them, and inſtantly gave the alarm, calling out with a loud voice, "The enemy is upon us!"—Thoſe who were moſt alert betook themſelves to arms, and brought the centinel before Narvaez; who after aſking him ſome queſtions, treated his intelligence with deriſion, holding it impoſſible that Cortez, with his ſmall battallion, ſhould have the preſumption to attack him in his quarters, or that he could paſs the river, and continue his march in a night ſo dark and tempeſtuous *.

Cortez reached Zempoalla a little paſt midnight, and had the good fortune to eſcape the body of cavalry ſent to ſcour the country. He entered the town, and arrived at the temple, without being challenged by any of the enemy's outguards. The ſignal for the aſſault was inſtantly given; and Sandoval and his party were mounting the ſteps, according to their inſtructions, before they were diſcovered. Some of the men belonging to the artillery now heard the noiſe; and one cannon was fired, which killed two of Cortez's men, and ſpread a general alarm, but the reſt ruſhed on with ſuch impetuoſity, that the other guns could not be diſcharged. This alarm was immediately ſucceeded by the noiſe of drums and confuſed voices. Thoſe who were neareſt at hand repaired to the defence of

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 1. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 9, 10.

the

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

the ſtairs; the oppoſition increaſed; and Sandoval would have found it impoſſible to ſucceed in the execution of his orders, by reaſon of the diſadvantage of the ground, and the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, had he not been opportunely ſupported by the ſecond diviſion under Chriſtoval de Olid, and by Cortez in perſon; who, leaving his rear formed, flung himſelf ſword in hand into the hotteſt part of the engagement. His troops, animated by his voice and example, ſoon drove the enemy from their artillery. Some fled to their quarters, others repaired to the gate of the principal tower, where the diſpute again began, and was continued for ſome time with equal courage on both ſides. Narvaez, no leſs brave in action than arrogant in temper, had armed himſelf in haſte, and was encouraging his men to a vigorous defence, when one of Cortez's ſoldiers ſet fire to the reeds with which the tower was covered, and obliged him to ſally out. In the firſt rencounter he was ſtruck in the eye by a ſpear, and falling on the ground, was dragged down the ſteps, and inſtantly clapt in fetters. The cry of victory reſounded among the troops of Cortez: their enemies were ſeized with fear and conſternation; and all who had ſallied out with their leader, threw down their arms, and demanded quarter. The two towers on the ſides were ſtill, however, unreduced, and the officers who there commanded ſeemed determined on a deſperate reſiſtance; but the darkneſs was ſo great that they could not diſtinguiſh their friends from their enemies; their own artillery was turned againſt them; and wherever they caſt their eyes, they beheld lights gleaming through the obſcurity of night, which though proceeding only from a kind of glow-worms, their affrighted imaginations repreſented as the lighted matches, fire-locks being then unknown, of numerous files of muſketeers *. The ſoldiers, under the influence of this apprehenſion, obliged their officers to capitulate, and all ſubmitted to the conquerors before morning.

This important victory was gained with the loſs of only four ſoldiers on the ſide of Cortez, and two wounded. The enemy had two officers and fifteen private men killed, with near double that number wounded. Cortez immediately iſſued a proclamation, in order to quiet the minds of his priſoners, offering them liberty to return to Cuba, or to enliſt themſelves in his army, and ſhare his fortune, as they ſhould think moſt eligible. He waited on Narvaez, whoſe wound he had ordered to be dreſſed, and who ſaid, on his approach, in a tone of inſult, "You have reaſon, my lord Cortez, to value yourſelf on your good fortune." The general replied with an air of contempt, That he might conſider this victory as one of the leaſt conſiderable actions which he had performed ſince his arrival in New Spain. Notwithſtanding this ſeverity, he gave orders that Narvaez, and all the priſoners, ſhould be humanely treated, but diligently guarded, leſt the ſmall number of their conquerors ſhould animate them to freſh hoſtilities. At break of day he was happily joined by the two thouſand Chinantlan auxiliaries, whom he had before expected; a reinforcement which rendered him perfectly ſecure againſt the conſequences of a revolt, as it not only

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 10.

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

augmented his ſtrength, but ſhewed Narvaez, that he was beloved, befriended, and reſpected in the country.

Now it was that the enemy beheld their diſgrace in full view. Night had concealed from them the number of their adverſaries, and the bad condition of their arms: morning revealed all: they curſed the confidence of Narvaez; and their indignities at his ſupineneſs made way for their eſteem of the vigilance, prudence, and undaunted courage of Cortez. All were charmed with the generoſity of the conqueror, the clemency ſhewn to the priſoners in general, and the humanity and tenderneſs to the ſick and wounded. The friends of Cortez among the troops of his rival now laid aſide diſſimulation, entered freely into his ſervice, and were followed by thoſe who were leſs affected to his intereſt. They were all admitted into the preſence of their new general; and many would have fallen at his feet, had he not prevented them by his embraces. Every man gave in his name, diſputing for a preference on the roll; nor was there one who ſo much as intimated an inclination of returning to Cuba. When Cortez had ſufficiently examined their diſpoſitions, he ordered their arms to be returned, and by this mark of confidence entirely won their affections. The officers moſt attached to Narvaez were ſent with their general priſoners to Villa Rica, where a proper garriſon was eſtabliſhed*. Thus in the courſe of a few hours was Cortez delivered, by his own valour and ſagacity, from a danger that ſeemed to threaten him with inevitable ruin; the laſt effort of his mortal enemy Valaſquez was defeated; and he found himſelf not only poſſeſſed of a fleet of eighteen ſail, but at the head of an army of upwards of one thouſand Spaniards, ready to co-operate with him in the accompliſhment of his high deſigns.

But the combination of fortunate circumſtances which attended this victory, did not ſo elevate Cortez as to render him unmindful of Alvarado, and the forces left behind in Mexico. He was ſenſible of the danger to which ſuch an handful of men was expoſed, in the heart of a vaſt empire filled with diſcontent and ſedition. Their chief ſecurity depended on Montezuma's keeping his promiſe of not ſhifting his quarters, or attempting any innovation during the abſence of Cortez; an obligation of no great force where intereſt, inclination, and policy, united to oppoſe it. Beſides, Montezuma, however well affected to the Spaniards, might not have it in his power to repreſs the zeal of his ſubjects, and prevent them from embracing this opportunity of ſhowering down vengeance on the heads of thoſe who held their ſovereign in a diſgraceful, though a kind of voluntary bondage.

Full of theſe thoughts, Cortez determined to direct his march back to Mexico without loſs of time; and that no damage might happen to the fleet at Villa Rica, he ordered the ſhips to be unrigged, and all their ſails and cordage to be lodged in the fort. He intended to divide his forces, in order to avoid giving umbrage to Montezuma, by entering his capital with ſo large an army; but a letter which he received from Alvarado altered his determination, and made him reſolve to

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 1, 2. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 10.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

march with all his troops to the relief of that gallant officer. The advices were that the Mexicans had taken arms, and in deſpite of Montezuma, who had ſacredly obſerved his word, made ſuch frequent attacks upon the Spaniſh quarters, and with ſuch multitudes, that all the Spaniards muſt neceſſarily ſink under the number of their enemies, unleſs ſpeedily ſuccoured. The letter was brought by a Spaniſh ſoldier, accompanied with an embaſſy from Montezuma, repreſenting to Cortez, That it was entirely out of his power to repreſs the fury of his ſubjects; that he would never abandon Alvarado and the Spaniards, or forfeit his word, but if relief did not arrive ſoon, that he could not promiſe for the conſequences *.

After this intelligence, there was no room either for deliberation or delay: officers and ſoldiers unanimouſly declared that their immediate march was indiſpenſable, and their union neceſſary; and Montezuma's embaſſy furniſhed Cortez with a handſome pretext for leading to the capital what might be deemed a formidable army, a thouſand Spaniſh foot, and near one hundred cavalry. For the greater conveniency of proviſions, Cortez divided his army into ſmall bodies, who had orders to take different routes, and to meet at Tlaſcala, the general rendezvous. The troops, however, notwithſtanding this precaution, ſuffered great hardſhips from hunger and thirſt, as well as fatigue, all which they bore with incredible patience: even the ſoldiers who came with Narvaez, emulous of equalling the veterans, endured their ſufferings without murmuring, as they regarded Mexico as the land of promiſe, where they would be ſufficiently rewarded.

The entry of Cortez into Tlaſcala was ſplendid, and his reception hoſpitable. Magiſcatzin lodged him in his own houſe, and the ſenate gave orders for the whole army of the republic to be in readineſs to attend him to Mexico; but he would only accept of two thouſand choſen men, that his army might not appear ſo formidable as to alarm Montezuma. On entering the Mexican dominions he found, that diſaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deſerted the towns through which he paſſed; no proviſion was made for the ſubſiſtence of his troops; and though he was permitted to advance towards Mexico without oppoſition, and even to paſs the lake, there were ſeveral ſuſpicious appearances which rendered circumſpection neceſſary. The two Spaniſh brigantines were found ſtaved and half burnt; the ſuburbs, and forts at the entrance of the city were abandoned; the bridges ſerving for a communication between the ſtreets were broken down; and all was wrapt in profound and alarming ſilence. The painful anxiety inſpired by theſe unfavourable ſigns continued, till the Spaniards in Mexico diſcovering the army at a diſtance, raiſed a loud ſhout, and diſpelled the gloom of apprehenſion. Alverado and his people ran to the gate of their quarters, and received their companions with inexpreſſible tranſports of joy; and Montezuma, with all his attendants, came to the outermoſt court to congratulate the general on his arrival †.

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 11. † Id. ibid.

Cortez

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

Cortez is ſaid to have been ſo much elated with ſucceſs, that he not only forgot, on this occaſion, that reſpect which he was accuſtomed to pay to Montezuma, but to have embittered the inſult by expreſſions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people *. But however this may have been, authors being by no means agreed on the point, his firſt care certainly was to enquire into the origin of the inſurrection, that the knowledge of the cauſe might lead him to a proper judgement of the effects, and enable him to contrive a remedy for the evil. Here again the moſt reſpectable authors are divided; ſome aſcribing the hoſtilities of the Mexicans ſolely to the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards, and others conſidering the violences on both ſides, as reſulting entirely from the turbulent ambition of the Mexican nobles. But in this, as in moſt other caſes, truth ſeems to lie in a medium between the two extremes.

On the departure of Cortez for Zempoalla, the Mexican nobility flattered themſelves that the long expected opportunity of reſtoring their ſovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the dominion of ſtrangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppreſſors were divided, and the arms of one party turned againſt the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both †. With this view, conſultations were held and ſchemes concerted. Of theſe machinations Alvarado had intelligence: he was informed by his ſpies, that a dangerous conſpiracy was forming againſt the Spaniards; nor was it long before ſome of the conſpirators themſelves betrayed to him the whole ſecret. Alvarado, who wanted that extent of capacity which had enabled Cortez to diſſipate all the deſigns of his enemies, without affording them an occaſion of knowing their own ſtrength or his weakneſs, took no meaſures either for diſconcerting the plans or ſoothing the ſpirits of the Mexicans: he waited only for an opportunity of vengeance; and ſuch an opportunity offered itſelf.

A ſolemn feſtival was drawing near, which the Mexicans were annually wont to celebrate in the court of the great temple, with thoſe public dances called *mitotes*; conſiſting of a promiſcuous multitude of nobility and plebeians, who on ſuch occaſions mingled without diſtinction. This day was pitched upon by the nobles for putting their deſign in execution. Their intention was to begin the dance, in order to get the common people together, and then in a body, followed by the multitude, to proclaim aloud their ſovereign's liberty, and the defence of their gods. The morning before the appointed day ſome of the chief conſpirators came to viſit Alvarado, and aſked his permiſſion to celebrate their feſtival; a formal compliment by which they hoped to prevent him from taking umbrage at their aſſembling in ſuch numbers, or being led by jealouſy to ſuſpect their purpoſe. As his ſuſpicions were not yet fully confirmed, or becauſe he meant to be before hand with them in violence, he granted their requeſt, on condition that they ſhould not go armed, nor offer any human ſacrifices. But he was informed that very night, that arms were ſecretly diſtributing in all the houſes adjoining to the temple: his

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 2. † Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book v.

doubts

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

doubts vaniſhed; and he formed a raſh and barbarous reſolution, for which no apology, either moral or political, can be framed.

Alvarado determined to attack the Mexican nobility in the beginning of the feſtival, before they ſhould have time to take arms, or aſſemble the populace. Nor did he find it any difficult matter to put his bloody deſign in execution. He went out accompanied by fifty of his men, as if prompted by curioſity to ſee the ſpectacle; and while the Mexicans were in the height of their jollity, the Spaniards fell upon the unarmed throng, and maſſacred a great number, none eſcaping except ſuch as made their way over the wall that ſurrounded the temple, the avenues being ſecured. The ſoldiers ſet immediately about ſtripping the killed and wounded of the rich ornaments which they wore in honour of their gods, and which were none of the leaſt motives to that act of barbarity; and Alvarado, after indulging them in this licence, returned to the Spaniſh quarters in a kind of triumph, without once acquainting the populace with his reaſons, either real or pretended, for an aſſault ſo deliberately cruel *.

Enraged at the ſlaughter of their nobility, and the loſs of their jewels, the Mexicans flew to arms, in order to revenge an action at beſt atrocious, but which appeared ſtill more ſo to thoſe, who, unacquainted with the conſpiracy, conſidered it as flowing merely from an avaricious thirſt of gold. Their dread of the Spaniſh weapons, and their inbred reſpect for Montezuma vaniſhed in a moment: they reproached themſelves for their late ignominious patience, and liſtened only to their fury. Should they wait until, under various pretences, they were all butchered?—Their ſovereign, either forgetful of his office and dignity, or unable to exert it, could protect them no longer. Gods and men allowed them to defend themſelves, and arms were in their hands. The flame of patriotiſm was not confined to the capital, but ſpread itſelf rapidly over the whole empire, the people every where vowing the deſtruction of the Spaniards. Alvarado, in this extremity, ſhewed himſelf as brave, as he had been imprudent in giving cauſe for it. He doubled his guard on the emperor; obliged him to exert the remains of his authority in his favour; and fortifying his quarters in the beſt manner poſſible in ſuch circumſtances, he ſtood out the ſtorm, repelling the Mexicans in many attacks. Their fury, however, far from abating at the frequent and bloody repulſes which they had ſuffered, ſeemed only to increaſe with their loſſes. They killed ſeveral of the Spaniards; wounded more; reduced to aſhes their magazine of proviſions; and, in order to cut off their retreat, deſtroyed, as already obſerved, the two brigantines which Cortez had built to command the lake †.

Strong as the antipathy of the Mexicans was againſt the Spaniards, they not only neglected to break down the bridges on the cauſeways, but permitted

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 12. Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 2. In order to contradict the aſſertion of las Caſas, who affirms that this maſſacre was committed merely from motives of avarice, Herrera tells us, that the Mexicans had actually hid arms in the neighbouring houſes, for the deſtruction of the Spaniards, "as was affirmed by ſeveral women, who always diſcovered the truth." Ut ſupra.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 2.

Cortez

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

Cortez, in the manner related, to enter the capital a ſecond time without oppoſition. This neglect has been aſcribed by ſome writers to their want of military foreſight; but the deſtruction of the brigantines ſhews they were by no means deſtitute of that; and as the former meaſure was ſoon after adopted, we cannot ſuppoſe it to have been beyond the reach of their capacity. Nor did they let this apparent advantage ſlip, as ſuggeſted by other writers, from their eagerneſs in puſhing on the ſiege of the Spaniſh quarters; for they were no ſooner informed of the approach of Cortez, than they ſuſpended all hoſtilities, and this two or three days before his arrival *. They could not be ignorant how much his army was increaſed, yet they left him a free entrance. In this myſterious conduct there muſt, therefore, have been ſome deſign: the Mexicans, in a word, having tried their ſtrength with the Spaniards, appear to have been elated at finding their enemies not immortal, and confiding in their own numbers, to have deliberately admitted Cortez and his new army into the city, that they might afterwards break down the bridges, and exterminate them to a man, either by famine or the ſword †.

Cortez was fully perſuaded that ſome ſuch deſign was hatching: but he relied upon his own ſtrength for cruſhing it, without having recourſe, as formerly, to Montezuma's authority; and ſecretly perhaps he was not diſpleaſed, that Alvarado had furniſhed him with ſo good a pretext for beginning the violent conqueſt, and plundering of ſo rich a city. His behaviour to that officer, however, ſpoke a different language: he not only blamed Alvarado for neglecting to inform the people of the conſpiracy, but for not conſulting Montezuma before he took any ſtep in regard to it, as both muſt now conſider the ſlaughter of the Mexican nobility as an act of wanton cruelty and avarice; and he reſolved to take the firſt opportunity, if we may credit de Solis, to undeceive the populace, and weaken the faction of the nobles ‡.

The Mexicans kept cloſe all the evening on which Cortez arrived, nor was the quiet of the night diſturbed. Morning came without any alarm; and the general obſerving that the ſame ſuſpicious ſilence reigned as the day before, he diſpatched Diego de Ordaz, with a party of four hundred Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, to ſcour the ſtreets, and endeavour to penetrate into the cauſe of this myſterious ſtillneſs. Ordaz had not advanced a great way, when he diſcovered an armed party, ſent out probably as a decoy to draw him into danger, and which had the effect. The party retreated, and he purſued, in hopes of taking ſome priſoners from whom he might extort intelligence: but before he was able to effect his purpoſe, he found himſelf incloſed between two vaſt armies, both which attacked him at the ſame time; while in the windows and galleries of the houſes appeared a third body of enemies, who poured down ſuch ſhowers of ſtones, arrows, and darts as obſcured the ſky, and quite covered the Spaniards. Ordaz, who on this occa-

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 12. † This conjecture, founded on circumſtances, is ſupported by a fact from Herrera, who informs us, that the Mexicans ſtood at their doors, "and ſeemed to threaten as the Spaniards paſſed." ‡ Hiſt. de las Conq. de Mexico, lib. iv. c. 12.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

ſion ſtood in need of all his valour and experience, formed a double front, in order to reſiſt with ſwords and pikes the two torrents of enemies below, and plied thoſe above with his fire-arms. This diſpoſition was certainly the moſt judicious that could have been deviſed in his circumſtances; but his chief advantage, without which all his firmneſs and addreſs would have proved inſufficient to extricate him from the preſſing danger, aroſe from the impatient ardour of the Mexicans, who haſtened on ſo tumultuouſly, as to obſtruct each other by their numbers, and ſoon left nothing elſe to the Spaniards but to maſſacre without reſiſtance. The fire-arms cleared the galleries, and the carnage below was ſo dreadful, that the Mexicans, at laſt, loſing courage, retired to a diſtance, and uſed revilings and menaces inſtead of blows. Ordaz, who was only ſent to make diſcoveries, did not think it adviſeable to purſue his victory; he therefore retreated to his quarters, in the ſame diſpoſition as when he was cloſely charged by the enemy. After ſome difficulty he joined Cortez, having left eight men dead on the ſpot, himſelf with almoſt all his party being wounded *.

This daring proof of the reſentment of the Mexicans made Cortez ſenſible, that any attempt to recover their confidence would now be ineffectual; that it could only ſerve to diminiſh his reputation, and encourage the enemy, by convincing them he ſtood in awe of their numbers. He therefore determined to oblige them, by ſome ſignal blow, to make the firſt advances towards an accommodation; for which purpoſe, he was preparing to ſally forth with the greater part of his troops, in hopes that the vigour of ſuch a collected effort would bring them to terms, when the enemy anticipated his deſign. After the retreat of Diego de Ordaz, which the Mexicans conſidered as no better than a flight, they halted at ſome diſtance from the Spaniſh quarters, and formed the bold reſolution of attacking the palace on all ſides. The adjacent ſtreets were immediately filled with armed men; and when every thing was ready for the aſſault, the drums and ſhells gave the dreadful ſignal. The Mexican vanguard was compoſed of companies of archers, who were intended to clear the walls, in order to facilitate the approach of the centre and rear. They all advanced with precitation and fury; and the diſcharge of arrows, being deſtined to cover the eſcalade, was ſo incredibly thick, that the Spaniards found the utmoſt difficulty in defending the ramparts. The artillery and ſmall arms made dreadful havock among the enemy; yet ſuch was the obſtinate valour of the Mexicans, who came determined to conquer or die, that they intrepidly advanced to fill up the chaſms left by the fallen, trampling, without fear or diſmay, on the bodies of the killed and wounded, until they themſelves met the ſame fate, and were ſucceeded by other combatants, no leſs brave, and eager on vengeance.

Nothing was left untried by the Mexicans to gain poſſeſſion of the ramparts. Several of them attempted to ſcale the fortifications at the very mouths of the Spaniſh cannon; others endeavoured to force open the gates, or break down the walls with ill-contrived inſtruments; many mounted upon the ſhoulders of their

* Id. ibid.

com-

companions, that their weapons might do more execution; and great numbers formed their ſpears into ladders, by which they attempted to gain the windows and terraces. They all expoſed themſelves, without reſerve, to danger, and performed actions of the moſt impetuous valour and ſavage ferocity. At laſt night ſeaſonably interpoſed, and obliged them to retreat before they were vanquiſhed, out of a ſuperſtitious cuſtom which prevailed, as already obſerved, among all the inhabitants of New Spain, of never fighting during the abſence of the ſun's influence.

But, on the preſent occaſion, the ſuperſtition of the Mexicans was not able entirely to ſubdue their ardour. They continued during the night to ſhoot at a diſtance with fired arrows; which ſetting the buildings of the palace in flames, obliged the Spaniards to break down ſome walls, to cut off the communication between the houſes, and afterwards toil with indefatigable induſtry, in order to repair thoſe breaches, which would ſerve as an inlet to that torrent of enemies which they expected to ruſh upon them as ſoon as day appeared. In this apprehenſion they were deceived; for though the firſt beams of light had ſcarce declared the approach of morning when the Mexicans come in view, they kept at a diſtance, and endeavoured to provoke the Spaniards to quit their walls by the moſt injurious expreſſions. They oſtentatiouſly dared them to battle, treating them as cowards for lurking behind their entrenchments; and the general, who had before reſolved upon a ſally that day, laid hold of this provocation as an incentive to fire the minds of his people.

Conformable to this reſolution, Cortez drew out the whole body of his troops, leaving only ſuch a garriſon as was neceſſary for the ſecurity of the quarters; and after whetting their courage by a ſhort ſpeech, repreſenting the neceſſity they were under of giving the enemy ſome ſignal proof of their proweſs, he divided them into three battalions, each conſiſting of Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, and formed with a double front, in the manner ſo ſucceſsfully employed by Diego de Ordaz. Two of theſe battalions he ordered to clear the croſs ſtreets, and the third, compoſed of his beſt troops, at the head of which he marched in perſon, took the ſtreet of Tacuba, where the greateſt body of the enemy was poſted. The three battalions engaged at once; and the Mexicans both gave and received the charge with firmneſs, venturing to come to the puſh of ſpears with the Spaniards. The fire-arms, which were levelled at the galleries and windows, could not put a ſtop to the ſhowers of ſtones inceſſantly poured down; it was therefore neceſſary to ſet diverſe houſes on fire, in order to check an evil for which there was no other remedy.

After an obſtinate engagement, in which multitudes were ſlain, the Mexicans at laſt gave way before the ſuperior arms and diſcipline, rather than the valour of the Spaniards, and were purſued from ſtreet to ſtreet, into a great ſquare, where they made their laſt effort, and were totally routed. The flight was confuſed and diſorderly, the wounded being trampled to death by the flying; and the ſlaughter would have been ſtill more dreadful, had not Cortez put a ſtop to the purſuit, in hopes of inducing the enemy, by this act of moderation, to ſue for terms.

Already

BOOK I. A.D. 1520.

Already the carnage was ſo great that the canals were tinged with blood, and the ſtreets filled with heaps of dead bodies; but the loſs on the ſide of the Mexicans could not be diſtinctly computed. Cortez had twelve ſoldiers killed, and a much greater number wounded; a cheap price for victory, had the action been deciſive, or the conqueror in a better condition to ſupport the loſs of his men. The engagement laſted the whole morning, and the Spaniards were frequently hard preſſed. In purſuing they were obliged to fill up ditches, and ſuſtain at the ſame time the charge of the enemy, who returned in ſwarms on every new obſtruction. The Tlaſcalans behaved with great gallantry, and fought with order and regularity: every individual, in a word, fully diſcharged his duty; and Cortez, in particular, diſplayed all the qualities of a ſoldier and commander, being no leſs active with his arm than vigilant with his eye *.

A ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, as if by mutual agreement, was the conſequence of this trial of ſtrength, both parties taking breath, in order to renew their efforts with freſh vigour. Meanwhile Cortez did not neglect the opportunity which this interval afforded him, of making overtures of peace, by means of ſome of Montezuma's attendants. He was induced to this meaſure by obſerving that the Mexicans, who crowded in from all parts of the empire, like the head of the Hydra, only multiplied by their loſſes, and ſeemed to gather new life under the ſtroke levelled for their deſtruction. His propoſals, however, were rejected, to the great grief of Montezuma, who now began to be much alarmed, leſt his tumultuous ſubjects ſhould entirely throw off their allegiance, and loſe all dread of his authority. Some of the perſons appointed to conduct the negociation returned ſorely treated, and others remained with the enemy. Among theſe was Quilavaca, king of Iztacpalapa, Montezuma's brother, whom the malcontents choſe for their leader †.

All hopes of accommodation now vaniſhed, and Cortez made preparations both for reſiſting the prodigious number of his enemies, and for attacking them to advantage, by ſecuring his own people from the ſhowers of ſtones, darts, and arrows, diſcharged from the windows and galleries of the houſes. With this view he ordered four wooden towers to be built. Theſe towers, each of which was capable of containing thirty men, were ſo conſtructed as to move upon wheels, without much difficulty: they were covered with planks three inches thick, and furniſhed in the front and ſides with openings, for the conveniency of diſcharging under cover. Even the novelty of ſuch machines, he expected, would ſtrike terror into the enemy. When every thing was in readineſs, the general made a ſecond ſally in perſon, at the head of the bulk of the Spaniards, and all the Tlaſcalans; taking with him ſome pieces of cannon, the wooden towers, and a few horſe, to be uſed whenever they could act to advantage. All was in profound ſilence when the Spaniards left their quarters; but ſcarce had they paſſed through one ſtreet, when the alternate ſhouts of an innumerable multitude, intermixed with the hoarſe and diſmal ſound of drums,

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 12. 13. Herrera dic. II. lib. viii. c. 2. † Herrera dec. II. lib. viii. c. 2.

ſhells, and other warlike inſtruments, made them ſenſible that they were not marching againſt an enemy unprepared, and filled them with diſquieting apprehenſions.

The Mexicans did not ſtay till they were attacked: they came boldly up to the Spaniards; gave and received the firſt charge, without diſorder or precipitation; and when they found it neceſſary to give ground, retired to ſome entrenchments, which they had cut in the ſtreets. Theſe they defended with ſo much valour and obſtinacy, that they could only be diſlodged by the artillery. They fought with more regularity than in any former engagement; directed their courage to better purpoſe, and ſeemed to have improved in the art of war by experience. Their conduct diſcovered nothing of the raſhneſs of a popular tumult: they appeared to be under the command of judicious officers; every diſcharge was deliberate and well aimed; and all their poſts were defended with intrepidity, and abandoned without confuſion. Huge ſtones, and pieces of rocks, were tumbled down upon the wooden machines from the galleries, and broke them in pieces. When they became ſenſible of the damage ſuſtained by the artillery and muſketry, they retired gradually without turning their backs, maintaining a kind of running fight, till they came to the next entrenchment, where they again made an obſtinate ſtand.

During the greater part of the day the battle raged; the Mexicans diſputing every inch of ground with ſuch well directed valour, as convinced Cortez of the impoſſibility of reducing them by force. The city received conſiderable damage, many houſes being burnt down, and the enemy loſt more men than in both the preceding engagements. But though repulſed, they were not defeated: on the contrary, they maintained a retreating fight, till night ſeparated the combatants, and furniſhed Cortez with an opportunity of returning to his quarters without relinquiſhing the victory. He loſt forty men, chiefly Tlaſcalans; fifty Spaniards were grievouſly wounded; and among theſe the general, who was ſhot in the left hand by an arrow, during the heat of the battle *. But his deepeſt wound was in his heart; which was ſtung with grief and indignation at being foiled by an enemy that he had held in contempt.

The more leiſure Cortez had for reflection, the more keen his uneaſineſs grew. As ſoon as he arrived at his quarters, he delivered himſelf up to thought, and ſpent the greater part of the night in deep meditation; but meditation afforded him no relief: though anxious to keep poſſeſſion of Mexico, his tortured imagination could ſuggeſt no means for maintaining himſelf there. A mixture of ſhame, pride, and the fire of his own ardent genius, impelled him to new efforts, in order to ſubdue the enemy: but when he reflected that, though conſtantly victorious, his very victories ſerved only to accelerate his ruin; that, after all the multitudes ſlain, the number of the Mexicans ſeemed yet undiminiſhed; that, inſtead of being humbled, their reſentment and courage encreaſed

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 13.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

with their loſſes; and that they were daily improving in the art of war, a ſafe retreat appeared to be his only reſource.

Nor was Montezuma leſs diſtracted and embarraſſed by contending paſſions and combating reflections. He now began to apprehend, that his people had entirely thrown off their allegiance, on account of his attachment to the Spaniards; and yet he perceived a reſerve, on the ſide of Cortez, as if he ſuſpected him of encouraging his ſubjects in their hoſtilities. From the higheſt tower of the palace he had beheld the laſt engagement, and could thence diſcover the kings of Tezeuco and Iztacpalapa, with ſeveral other princes of the firſt diſtinction in the empire, and who might aſpire to the throne, animating the Mexicans, and directing the battle. Hitherto he had regarded the inſurrection as a popular tumult; but now he foreſaw the ruin of his own authority, and perhaps a total revolution in the government. In the firſt tranſports of his rage, he devoted all the nobility to deſtruction, breathing nothing but ſlaughter, and feeding his heart with revenge and blood; but when he reflected on his own inability, what he had been, what he was, and might likely be, the natural violence of his temper gave place to weakneſs, and he ſunk into a ſtate of the moſt humiliating deſpondency.

After recalling ſome degree of reſolution, Montezuma deliberated on the different means for re-eſtabliſhing his ſinking authority; and none appeared ſo well calculated for this purpoſe, as to diſpatch the Spaniards, return to his own palace, and endeavour to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects by acts of clemency and generoſity. Full of this idea, he ſent for Cortez, and told him, That now the diſtracted ſtate of his kingdom required ſome very effectual remedy; that his imagination could deviſe none more likely to be attended with happy conſequences, than that the Spaniards ſhould evacuate Mexico, and thereby deprive the inſurgents of all pretence for their violences. The clamours of his vaſſals, he ſaid, ſounded well in the ears of the vulgar, ſince all that they demanded was the liberty of their prince; and things were now come to ſuch a height, that no other proſpect of appeaſing the public diſcontents remained, but taking away the cauſe. He bitterly exclaimed againſt the inſolence of the nobility, and repeated how much he had ſuffered by preſerving his promiſe to Cortez, and continuing his attachment to the Spaniards; and he concluded with touching upon the groundleſs jealouſies entertained of his conduct, by thoſe very perſons on whoſe account he had forfeited the eſteem and affections of his ſubjects.

Cortez, whoſe own ſentiments entirely coincided with thoſe of Montezuma, in regard to the propriety of quitting Mexico in the preſent poſture of affairs, though from different motives, readily aſſented to the emperor's propoſition; and willing to put an act of neceſſity on the footing of obedience to the royal mandate, replied, That it was both his inclination and duty to pay an entire reſignation to the will of his imperial majeſty, without entering into the reaſons of his determination, or loſing time in repreſenting the inconveniencies which might

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

might enſue from it. But it would give him great uneaſineſs, he ſaid, to withdraw from his royal perſon, until he was fully aſſured of the obedience of his ſubjects; eſpecially as the declaration of the nobility, in favour of the populace, required the utmoſt circumſpection: yet as his departure was conſidered as a neceſſary ſtep towards a happy reconciliation, he had determined immediately to march with his army to Zempoalla, only requeſting of his majeſty, that he would, before the departure of the Spaniards, oblige his vaſſals to lay down their arms; not that their obſtinacy, he added, gave him any concern, as he carried on the point of his ſword, and in the valour of his troops, all that was neceſſary to his own ſecurity, but that they might learn to reſpect once more their ſovereign's authority, and not aſcribe to their own rebellious proceedings what they owed to his goodneſs.

Montezuma was highly delighted with this ready compliance, which was equally unexpected and agreeable to his wiſhes. He returned his acknowledgments to Cortez with much warmth, and both his voice and countenance ſtrongly ſpoke the ſatisfaction of his heart. He reſolved to oblige the general in the article of ordering his people to lay down their arms, at the ſame time that he entertained ſome doubts whether they would obey his commands, and dreaded the thoughts of ſo mortifying a ſtroke to his royal dignity. In the midſt of the conference advice was brought to Cortez, that the enemy were preparing to renew the aſſault, and that the garriſon were under arms. He immediately took his leave; but before he could join his troops, the Mexicans had puſhed them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they had gained the foot of the works, in deſpite of the utmoſt endeavours of the Spaniards, and the briſkeſt fire from the artillery and muſquetry. The Mexicans in the rear plied their bows and ſlings, in order to beat off the Spaniards from the ramparts, and make way for the vanguard to ſcale the works, and puſh the aſſault. In ſome places they had got footing within the fortifications, when Cortez came up with a body of reſerve, and diſlodged them with difficulty.

Montezuma thought this a ſeaſonable opportunity of acquitting himſelf of the promiſe which he had made to Cortez. He accordingly called for his crown and royal robes, not forgetting the imperial mantle, and the jewels which he uſed to wear upon ſolemn occaſions, and in all this pomp aſcended the terrace fronting the great avenue to the palace; a herald having firſt notified with a loud voice to the Mexican army, That the great Montezuma had condeſcended to ſhew himſelf to his people, to hear their demands, and redreſs their grievances. At the name of their ſovereign, whom they had been accuſtomed to honour and revere as a god, the tumult inſtantly ſubſided; every arm fell, the weapons dropping from the hands, and every tongue was ſilent: all were motionleſs and ſtill, as if afraid to breathe in his preſence. Montezuma approached with a look of ſeverity mixed with lenity; and as ſoon as the Mexicans obſerved him, all bowed their heads, many bent the knee, and not a few proſtrated themſelves on the ground. He threw his eyes over the whole multitude; then fixing them upon

ſome

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

ſome of the nobility, whom he called by their names, he commanded them to draw near, honouring them with the title of friends and kinſmen, and addreſſed them in a ſpeech to the following purport.

" I am ſo far, my vaſſals, from looking upon this expreſſion of your zeal as a crime, that I feel myſelf inclined to excuſe you. It was indeed a blameable exceſs of loyalty, to take up arms without my leave; but it was an exceſs of your fidelity, and therefore pardonable. You believed, and not without ſome appearance of reaſon, that I was detained by force and violence in this palace of my predeceſſors: and to relieve your ſovereign from confinement is too great an enterpriſe to be attempted without ſome diſorder, no law being ſufficient to reſtrain grief and reſentment within the bounds of moderation and prudence. The cauſe of your commotion is without foundation, as I remain, without any kind of violence, among thoſe foreigners whom you treat as enemies; yet I am ſenſible your inclinations are good, though you are miſtaken in your mode of proceeding. It is of my own free will that I have continued among the Spaniards; and I thought myſelf obliged to ſhew them this favour, on account of the reſpect they have always paid me, and out of regard to the prince who ſends them. They are now diſpatched: I have reſolved that they ſhall depart my court; and they are preparing inſtantly to quit the country. But it is not reaſonable that I ſhould be ſooner obeyed by them than by you, who are my natural ſubjects; nor that their courteſy ſhould appear greater than your duty. Lay down your arms, and come to my preſence as you ought, that all tumults and diſturbance ceaſing, you may be convinced how much you are in my favour, by the pardon I am ready to grant you *."

After Montezuma had finiſhed his ſpeech the ſilence continued, no perſon being ſo bold as to make a reply. All were aſtoniſhed to find their ſovereign overflowing with kindneſs, at a time when they expected the chaſtiſement of his indignation; and ſome wept to ſee the ſame prince who uſed to command with the moſt abſolute authority, ſuing with the ſervility of the meaneſt of his ſlaves. But this univerſal ſtillneſs was ſucceeded by the moſt violent commotions: the ſtorm ſeemed to have gathered force from its ſhort remiſſion. Fear was ſuddenly converted into fury, and profound reſpect into the moſt inſolent contempt. Some called aloud, that Montezuma ought to reſign the ſceptre and diadem for the diſtaff and ſpindle; and their injurious language and opprobrious expreſſions were ſucceeded by loud ſhouts, and then by a general diſcharge of arrows. Two Spaniſh ſoldiers who ſtood near the emperor, endeavoured to protect him with their ſhields; but all their care could not prevent him from receiving ſeveral arrows, or the blow of a ſtone, which ſtruck him on the temple, and laid him ſpeechleſs on the ground.

No ſooner did the Mexicans behold their ſovereign fall, than their veneration returned: they were ſeized with remorſe and horror, and fled, without knowing

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 14. Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. 2.

whither,

whither, as if the divine vengeance had been purſuing them for the awful crime they had committed *.

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1520.

Cortez, who was exceedingly troubled at the accident that had befallen the emperor, inſtantly ordered him to be carried to his apartment; and finding he had now no enemies to oppoſe, repaired in perſon to viſit that unfortunate prince. But Montezuma, who ſoon after recovered his ſenſes, not only refuſed all conſolation, but perceiving how low he was ſunk, the natural haughtineſs of his ſpirit returned, and in a tranſport of rage, he tore the bandages from his wounds, venting his indignation in furious threats, which ended in ſighs and lamentations. The wound in his head was at firſt conſidered as dangerous, and his inward agitations quickly made it mortal; nor was it poſſible to apply the neceſſary remedies, till he was become ſo weak that he had not force to reſiſt. He obſtinately rejected all nouriſhment, diſdaining to protract an ignominious life. Cortez and father Olmedo perceiving his danger, interpoſed their endeavours, in order to induce him to embrace the Chriſtian faith; but he would never condeſcend to liſten to them ſo far as to return a direct anſwer: one while he exclaimed againſt the inſult he had received; at another he breathed nothing but vengeance; anon he would fall into fits of deſpair, conjuring Cortez to revenge his injuries upon the traitors. In this conflict of mind he continued three days, and then expired, leſs the victim of the violence, than of the contempt of his ſubjects †.

CHAP. VI.

The Proceedings of Cortez *and his Followers continued, from the Death of* Montezuma *to the Reduction of* Mexico.

THE death of Montezuma was a ſevere blow to the ambition of Cortez. On the voluntary ſubjection of that prince he had founded the greater part of his deſigns. This proſpect now vaniſhed, and he found himſelf under the neceſſity of forming an entire new plan of operations. He ſaw the neceſſity of quitting Mexico, and waiting the arrival of ſupplies from Spain, before he could attempt the reduction of that city: but it was dangerous to retreat in the face of an enraged and exulting enemy; and therefore neceſſary, in the firſt place, to endeavour to intimidate or appeaſe the Mexicans. With this view, he called together all the ſervants of the deceaſed monarch, from among whom he choſe ſix perſons, of the greateſt eminence, to carry the royal corpſe into the city. Among theſe were ſeveral prieſts, who had been taken priſoners, and who were eye-witneſſes to the emperor's wound and death. He inſtructed them to acquaint, in his name, the princes who were at the head of the mutinous po-

* Id. ibid.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 2. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 14, 15.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

palace, That he had ſent them the body of their late ſovereign, murdered by their ſacrilegious hands, which enormous crime gave freſh right to the juſtice of his reſentment; that Montezuma, before his death, had frequently conjured him (as thoſe deputies well knew) to revenge his wrongs, and to chaſtiſe them for their impious rebellion; but as he regarded the inſurrection as the effects of popular fury, which they had not been able to reſtrain, he once more offered peace, that the innocent might not be involved in the puniſhment of the guilty: that he was ready to agree to any reaſonable terms; but if they rejected his propoſal, and delayed to repent of their atrocious guilt, that they ſhould not only be treated as enemies, but as rebels and traitors to their prince, and muſt expect to feel the utmoſt rigour of his arms: he would lay waſte, and utterly deſtroy their city; and they would be made ſenſible, when too late, of the difference between hoſtilities little more than defenſive, and a declared war for the purpoſe of chaſtiſement and vengeance.

The ſix Mexicans immediately departed with this meſſage, bearing the royal corpſe upon their ſhoulders. At a little diſtance from the quarters, a body of the citizens advanced to meet them, with ſigns of reverence and reſpect; and no ſooner did they obſerve the reliques of their ſovereign, than, ſeized anew with horror, they threw down their arms, abandoned their poſts, and began a lamentable yell, which ſoon diffuſed itſelf over the whole city, and made it one ſcene of weeping and howling. Theſe expreſſions of ſorrow continued the whole night; and in the morning, the body of the deceaſed monarch was carried with great ſolemnity to the mountain of Chapultepeque, where the Mexicans were accuſtomed to perform the obſequies, and preſerve the aſhes of their kings *.

During the three days that Montezuma languiſhed after his wound, the Mexicans attempted nothing of any conſequence. This remiſſion of hoſtilities was partly occaſioned by the remorſe of the people at the crime they had commited, and partly by their want of leaders, all the nobility being employed in the election of a new emperor. The prince whom they raiſed to the throne was Quitlavaca, king of Iztacpalapa, Montezuma's brother, a declared and inveterate enemy to the Spaniards. The effects of his councils ſoon appeared. No anſwer was returned to the propoſals of Cortez; and the day after the funeral of Montezuma, the war was renewed with freſh vigour, and more conduct. The ſtreets were not only filled with armed men, denouncing vengeance, but a tower of the great temple, which overlooked the Spaniſh quarters, was garriſoned with a body of five hundred choſen warriors, who thence annoyed the Spaniards with their ſlings and arrows.

Cortez could have wiſhed to retreat in peace, but that was now impracticable; and from this poſt it was neceſſary to diſlodge the enemy at any riſk. In order to accompliſh his deſign with more ſafety, he drew out the greater part of his army, and divided them into ſuch ſquadrons as were requiſite to defend the avenues of the temple, and prevent the Mexican garriſon from receiving reinforcements.

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 15.

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1520.

forcements. This being effected, Eſcabor, to whom the attack upon the temple itſelf was committed, began the aſſault with great fury, and maintained it with obſtinacy at the head of about two hundred choſen ſoldiers; but he was thrice repulſed by the Mexicans, who tumbled down large ſtones and beams from the top of the temple, upon the heads of the Spaniards, at the ſame time that they covered them with ſhowers of darts and arrows. Eſcabor was retreating in confuſion, when Cortez, who with a troop of horſe was repelling the Mexicans in the ſtreets, ſenſible that not only his reputation, but the ſafety of his army depended on the ſucceſs of this aſſault, inſtantly diſmounted; and ordering a ſhield to be tied to his wounded arm, ruſhed ſword in hand amid the thickeſt of the enemy. Animated by the example of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with ſuch ardour, that they forced their way up the ſtairs in the firſt attack, and ſoon after gained the rails that ſurrounded the platform at the top of the tower. There the ſtruggle was renewed, and a dreadful carnage followed. The Mexican warriors, who were all men of rank, ſuffered themſelves to be maſſacred rather than yield up their arms, and the prieſts and attendants on the temple furiouſly mingled with them, encouraging them to the defence of their gods. Some threw themſelves violently over the battlements; others bravely met their fate, by ruſhing upon the points of the Spaniſh ſpears; and two noble youths, who had long defended themſelves with vigour, conceived a deſign worthy of two Romans. In ſacrificing their own lives, they reſolved to rid their country of the author of all its calamities. For this purpoſe they laid down their arms, bent their knees, and approached Cortez in the poſture of ſupplicants; then inſtantly ſeized him, hurried him towards the battlements, and by a noble act of patriotiſm, endeavoured to blend his ruin with their own. But Cortez was ſo fortunate as to diſengage himſelf, by his ſtrength and agility, while they precipitated themſelves headlong, and were daſhed in pieces *.

As ſoon as Cortez became maſter of the temple, he ordered it to be ſet on fire, and the proviſions, which the Mexicans had laid up in great ſtore, to be tranſported to his quarters. The management of this buſineſs he committed to the Tlaſcalans, who inſtantly put it in execution, while he with his cavalry, and the party under Eſcabor, haſtened to the ſtreet of Tacuba, where he perceived the reſt of the Spaniards were hotly engaged. The cavalry preſſed forward, and broke through the multitude; killing, wounding, and trampling the enemy under foot. Eſcabor's infantry finiſhed the defeat of ſuch as had avoided the ſhock of the horſe. But Cortez, in the heat of the action, having engaged himſelf too far, found it impracticable to make his way back to his troops, being ſurrounded and borne away by the flying enemy; he therefore directed his courſe into another ſtreet, and fortunately relieved his friend Duero, whom the Mexicans had made priſoner. They returned together to the Spaniſh army, after encountering the moſt incredible dangers. The victory was now complete; but as it was impoſſible to purſue it without leaving the quarters expoſed, Cortez ordered

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 16.

BOOK I.
A. D. 1520.

a retreat to be ſounded, hoping that the enemy were at leaſt ſufficiently humbled, to permit him to quit the city without farther moleſtation.

The day after this engagement, the Mexicans demanded a parley, to which Cortez readily conſented, not without hopes of coming, at leaſt, to ſome reaſonable terms of accommodation. He went to the battlements to hear their overtures; when ſome of their nobles drawing near propoſed a ceſſation of arms in the name of the new emperor, on condition that Cortez, and all his people, ſhould immediately prepare to quit the imperial dominions, and direct their march to the ſea ſide, where their great canoes were waiting for them; adding, That if he did not inſtantly come to that reſolution, he and all that were with him muſt inevitably periſh, as they were now convinced by experience that the Spaniards were not immortal, and were obſtinately determined to effect their deſtruction, though the death of every Spaniard ſhould coſt them the lives of thouſands, after which there would ſtill remain a ſufficient number to celebrate the victory. This propoſal was perfectly agreeable to Cortez, who wiſhed nothing ſo much, in his preſent circumſtances, as a peaceable departure out of Mexico; but willing to make it appear that he was not to be intimidated into conceſſions, he replied, That he was ſo well acquainted with the ſuperior valour of his troops, though not immortal, as left him no doubt of being able to deſtroy the capital, and to ſubject the whole Mexican empire with his preſent force: yet moved at the calamities which the people had already ſuffered, through their own obſtinacy, he was determined to depart, the object of his embaſſy being fully anſwered, and all cauſe of delay terminated with the life of Montezuma, whoſe friendſhip and liberality had detained him beyond expectation; and that he would execute his deſign as ſoon as the preliminary articles were ſettled, and the proper diſpoſitions made for his march, and the accommodation of his army on the road *.

The Mexican deputies departed ſeemingly ſatisfied with this anſwer, and Cortez was ſincerely ſo at the proſpect of a ſafe retreat. But it was ſoon perceived, that nothing was more diſtant from the thoughts of the Mexicans than peace. The new emperor had called a council of his miniſters and grandees, in order to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued in regard to the war with the Spaniards; and after ſeveral conferences, it was reſolved, That the lamentable ſlaughter of their people by the Spaniſh weapons, made it neceſſary to change their whole ſyſtem of hoſtility, and inſtead of inceſſant attacks, to block up Cortez and his troops in their quarters, and endeavour to reduce them by famine. In conſequence of this reſolution the overtures of peace were ſet on foot, in order to gain a ſuſpenſion of arms; and the centinels diſcovered, in a few days, that the palace was blockaded at a diſtance; that the Mexicans were diligently employed in caſting up trenches and other works to defend the paſſage of the canals; and that they had detached ſome bodies of men to the lake, in order to break down the bridges of the principal cauſeway, and cut off all communication with the road that leads to Tlaſcala †.

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 17.

† De Solis, lib. iv. c. 18.

This

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1520.

This intelligence gave Cortez much concern. The neceſſity and danger of a retreat were now become equally obvious: the only point therefore to be determined was, how it could be accompliſhed with the leaſt inconveniency. For this purpoſe a council of war was aſſembled. The firſt and grand point debated was, Whether they ſhould march out openly in the face of day, when they could diſcern every danger, and ſee how to regulate their own motions, as well as how to reſiſt the aſſaults of the enemy; or whether they ſhould endeavour to retire ſecretly, by night. The latter opinion was preferred partly from a hope that the national ſuperſtition of the Mexicans would keep them quiet in the night, and partly from a fond belief in the predictions of one Botello, a private ſoldier, who paſſed for an aſtrologer among the troops, and who confidently aſſured the general of ſucceſs, if he made his retreat during the ſeaſon of darkneſs, but that not a man would be ſaved, if he marched out by day *: and it was farther reſolved to retreat that very night, before the enemy, whoſe labours only ceaſed with the ſetting-ſun, ſhould have leiſure to complete the works intended to obſtruct their paſſage †.

Cortez, whoſe mind was as provident as his heart was intrepid, had ordered a bridge of beams and planks to be made, which was now finiſhed, and might be carried on the ſhoulders of forty men. It was intended to be laid over the breaches in the cauſeway, to be carried from one opening to another, and was ſo conſtructed as to be capable of ſupporting the weight of all the horſe and artillery. In order to conceal his deſign, Cortez thought it neceſſary to keep up the appearance of renewing the negociation. With this view he had ſent into the city one of the chief prieſts, who was his priſoner, and he now diſpatched another Mexican of rank, to demand an anſwer to his laſt propoſals, with power of making certain alterations if required. The intermediate time he employed in diſpoſing every thing for his march. Inſtructions were given to the officers, and great circumſpection uſed to provide againſt all contingencies. The van-guard was compoſed of two hundred Spaniſh foot, ſupported by a choice body of Tlaſcalans, and twenty horſe, under the conduct of Sandoval, and other officers of reputation. The rear-guard, alſo conſiſting of a juſt mixture of horſe and foot, and a greater number of both, was entruſted to Alvarado and Juan Velaſquez de Leon. In the centre were placed the priſoners, (among whom were three ſons of Montezuma, together with ſeveral Mexican nobles) the artillery, the baggage, and the reſt of the army, except a choice body of one hundred men, under the command of the general, intended to be employed as neceſſity ſhould require ‡.

Theſe diſpoſitions being made, Cortez addreſſed the army in an eloquent ſpeech; ſetting before them, in the ſtrongeſt light, the difficulties and dangers which they muſt expect to encounter, leſt they ſhould ſink into ſecurity by ſuppoſing that the Mexicans would not engage by night. He next ordered all the

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 3. † De Solis, lib. iv. c. 17. ‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 18.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

gold and jewels to be brought into his apartment, and after ſeparating a fifth for the king, out of thoſe things which were moſt valuable, and leaſt bulky, he determined to leave the remainder, valued at upwards of ſeven hundred thouſand peſos, a prey to the enemy; ſaying, That it would be a ſhame to employ thoſe hands in the gratification of avarice, which ought to be left free for the defence of life and reputation: but finding the ſoldiers diſſatisfied at the thoughts of abandoning ſo much wealth, he added, That they were not to conſider it as loſt, as his intention was ſpeedily to renew the enterpriſe, in ſuch manner as would infallibly ſecure ſucceſs, and redeem the treaſure with double intereſt. He gave them however to underſtand, that he would not be offended at their carrying off as much gold as they conveniently could, provided they did not incommode themſelves; a permiſſion which was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, many loading themſelves in ſuch a manner as to be altogether unfit for ſervice *.

About midnight the Spaniards left their quarters, and marched, in the order already mentioned, obſerving profound ſilence, along the cauſeway that led to Tacuba; becauſe it was ſhorter than any of the reſt, had fewer bridges, and lying moſt remote from the road towards Tlaſcala and the ſea-coaſt, had been left more entire by the enemy. They reached the firſt breach in it without moleſtation, and hoped that their retreat was undiſcovered: but the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper diſpoſitions for a moſt formidable attack. Favoured by the darkneſs of the night, they had filled with armed men, and drawn together an incredible number of canoes, which covered the whole length of the lake on both ſides of the cauſeway; and while the Spaniards were employed in placing their bridge in the breach, and in conducting their horſes and artillery along it, they were ſuddenly alarmed with the tremendous ſound of warlike inſtruments, and a general ſhout from the innumerable multitude of their enemies. The Mexicans ruſhed forward to the charge with fearleſs impetuoſity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs; and the Spaniards felt the ſharpneſs of their arrows, almoſt at the ſame time that they heard the noiſe of their enemies.

Unfortunately, in this moment of danger, the courage of Cortez and his army was put to a new trial: the wooden bridge, by the weight of the horſes and artillery, was wedged ſo faſt in the ſtones and mud, that it was found impoſſible to remove it. Diſmayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the ſecond breach; and in deſpite of their valour, diſcipline, and the ſuperiority of their arms, (from which, by reaſon of their confined ſituation, and the obſcurity of the night, they derived little advantage) they muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of their enemies, had the Mexicans continued the engagement with the ſame regularity and order obſerved in the firſt attack. But theſe yielding to their natural fury and impetuoſity, they

* De Solis, ut ſupra.

preſſed on tumultuouſly: the canoes crowded upon each other, and were daſhed in pieces againſt the cauſeway; and little more remained for the Spaniards than to maſſacre the naked and diſorderly multitude. Even this exhauſted their ſtrength and ſpirits; they were fatigued with the inceſſant exerciſe of their ſwords and ſpears, when a freſh attack, in front, required a farther exertion of their valour. Numbers of the Mexicans, whoſe canoes could not get forward to engage, impatient of the delay, had thrown themſelves into the water, and ſcrambling up the cauſeway, where the Spaniards were to paſs, formed themſelves in tolerable order, and obliged Cortez to preſent a double front, and renew the engagement. Actuated by deſpair, and animated by the example of their general, the Spaniards now fought with ſuch fearleſs intrepidity, that the Mexicans, in front, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, inſtantly gave way, and were purſued with incredible ſlaughter to the ſecond breach, where thouſands threw themſelves into the water, and were trampled to death by the cavalry. The carnage was ſo great, that the chaſm in the cauſeway was filled up with dead bodies, over which, by the aſſiſtance of a beam left entire by the enemy, Cortez and part of his army paſſed, and proſecuted their march to the laſt breach, without meeting with any farther obſtruction. Fortunately the Mexicans had neglected to occupy this paſs; and the water being ſhallower, by reaſon of the vicinity of the ſhore, the Spaniards were able to wade to the other ſide.

Cortez formed his troops, as ſoon as he reached the main land, and immediately returned, accompanied by Sandoval, Olid, Davila, and other officers, together with a party of horſe, and ſuch foot ſoldiers as were yet capable of ſervice, in order to aſſiſt the remainder of the army in their retreat, and encourage them by his preſence and example to perſevere in the efforts neceſſary to effect it. He was met by a party of his ſoldiers, who had broke through the enemy; but he found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of the aſſailants, who preſſed on with irreſiſtible violence. All Mexico was now in arms; and as freſh warriors inſtantly ſupplied the place of ſuch as fell, the Spaniards were unable to ſuſtain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, from every ſide. Nothing but confuſion, terror, and diſmay reigned in that part of the army which was next the city. Horſe and foot, officers and ſoldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together, and many fell without knowing from what hand the blow came.

The general returned as far as the ſecond breach, at which the conflict was terrible. In vain did Alvarado endeavour to animate his men by the moſt warm exhortations, and the moſt heroic acts of valour: they were unable to repel the enemy, or to retreat without confuſion; the number of the Mexicans increaſing, as did their fury, ſhouts, and rage. Nothing was to be heard, amid the darkneſs of the night, but the Spaniards crying, "Here! here! help! help!"—or breathing their laſt in petitions to heaven; while the Mexicans roared, "Kill! kill!"—All was diſorder and dread; exultation on one ſide, and death, anguiſh, and groans on the other. In this extremity, Cortez charged with

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

with five horſe the thickeſt of the enemy, and opened a path for his troops; while Alvarado, who was on the oppoſite ſide of the breach, and in the moſt imminent danger, ſaved his life by an aſtoniſhing feat of agility. Poiſing himſelf on the ſhaft of his ſpear, he entirely cleared the paſs, which to this day is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Alvarado's Leap*. Many endeavoured to follow his example, but not one reached the other ſide; the greater part of the rear-guard being either drowned, killed, or taken priſoners *.

Cortez halted in the neighbourhood of Tacuba, in order to afford time for thoſe who could eſcape from the battle, to join the army. Nor was this precaution unneceſſary, as ſeveral Spaniards and Tlaſcalans were by that means ſaved. But ſtill the loſs was ſo great, that when morning appeared, and diſcovered to the general the ſhattered remains of his forces, now reduced to leſs than half their number; the ſurvivors dejected, and moſt of them covered with wounds; the thoughts of what he had ſuffered, and the remembrance of ſo many faithful friends and gallant followers, who had fallen in that night of ſorrow, filled his ſoul with ſuch anguiſh, that while muſtering his troops, and endeavouring to comfort them under their misfortunes, the tears were obſerved trickling from his eyes †!—and his ſoldiers remarked with particular ſatisfaction, that while attentive to the duties of a commander, he was not inſenſible to the feelings of a man ‡. Among the officers of diſtinction, who periſhed in this fatal retreat, was Juan Velaſquez de Leon, who had forſaken the party of his kinſman, the governor of Cuba, to follow the fortune of Cortez, and who was on that account as well as for his military merit, conſidered as the ſecond perſon in the army. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage were loſt; the greater part of the horſes, and above two thouſand Tlaſcalans, were killed, and only a very ſmall portion of the treaſure was ſaved ‖. Many of the ſoldiers, in conſequence of the imprudent permiſſion of Cortez, had ſo overloaded themſelves with bars of gold, as not only to be unfit for action, but incapable of flying, and ignominiouſly fell the victims of their own avarice.

But amid all theſe diſaſters, it was no ſmall conſolation to Cortez and the whole army to find that Marina and Aguilar, whoſe office as interpreters was of ſo much importance, had made their eſcape. Nor was it leſs fortunate that the Mexicans gave over the purſuit, and allowed the Spaniards time to breathe after their fatigue. This pauſe proceeded from an accident which was not underſtood at the time. The ſons of Montezuma, together with all the Mexican priſoners, had periſhed in the undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter; and in the morning when the enemy, allured by the ſpoils of the dead, beheld pierced with their own arrows, the

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 3. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 18. † De Solis, lib. iv. c. 19. ‡ Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book v. ‖ Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 3. The Spaniſh hiſtorians differ remarkably with reſpect to the loſs of their countrymen on this occaſion. Cortez himſelf ſtates the number at 150, De Solis at 200, Herrera at 280, Gomara at 450, and Caſtillo at 870. Gomara, from the ſubſequent muſters, appears to be neareſt the truth. Dr. Robertſon, who has taken much pains on this ſubject, computes the loſs of the Spaniards at full 600.

bodies

CHAP. V. A. D. 1520.

bodies of thoſe unhappy princes, they ſtood amazed and confounded at the ſhocking ſpectacle. Thoſe who firſt ſaw it drew back, that others might approach, and all contemplated with ſilent horror, the children of their ſovereign murdered by the ſame hands that had wrought the death of the father. When the melancholy news ſpread among the troops, they were ſeized with fear and remorſe, not doubting but the indignation of the gods would follow this repetition of their ſacrilege. A panic ſtruck them, and vengeance was ſuſpended. Their reſentment againſt the Spaniards was abſorbed in ſorrow for their own guilt, and pity for the timeleſs fate of the innocent princes. An account of this mournful event was ſent by the Mexican chiefs to the new emperor; and he, under the neceſſity of affecting a ſhare in the general deſpondency, ordered the army to halt, till the prieſts, followed by a numerous train from the city, came to receive the royal corſes, in order to convey them to the burial place of their anceſtors *.

Meanwhile Cortez, having reſted and formed his troops, proceeded on his march with all poſſible ſpeed. But before the army had gained any place of ſhelter, he obſerved the whole multitude of the Mexicans advancing upon his rear with rapidity, while he was harraſſed on every ſide by the inhabitants of the adjacent country. Exhauſted with fatigue, and dejected by misfortunes, the Spaniards were ready to ſink under their calamities, when Cortez obſerved a tower upon an eminence, of which he reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf, as a defenſible poſt. But the execution of this deſign was attended with almoſt inſuperable difficulties: he was obliged to keep a front to the enemy, and continue fighting while he aſcended the hill. At length, however, he arrived at the tower, took poſſeſſion of it without reſiſtance, and found in it not only all the ſhelter for which he wiſhed, but ſome proviſions to refreſh his men. The enemy did not intermit their attacks through the remainder of the day, but were with little trouble prevented from making any impreſſion; and when evening began to approach, they all retired, and purſued the road towards Mexico.

After providing againſt the poſſibility of a ſurpriſe, and ordering the guards and centinels to be ſooner relieved than uſual, that all might have their ſhare of reſt, Cortez aſſembled his officers to deliberate concerning the route which they ſhould hold in their retreat. They were now on the weſt ſide of the lake: Tlaſcala, the only place where they could hope for a friendly reception, lay about ſixty-four miles to the eaſt of Mexico; ſo that they were obliged to go round the north end of the lake, before they could fall into the road which led thither. A Tlaſcalan ſoldier undertook to be their guide; and it was unanimouſly reſolved, that they ſhould march the ſpace of two or three leagues that very night, in order to gain ground of the enemy, in caſe they ſhould be diſpoſed to continue the purſuit. They accordingly began to move about midnight, and proſecuted their march till morning, amid perpetual alarms from the neighbouring peaſants, whom they miſtook for the advanced parties of the Mexican army. The dawn

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 19.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

diſpelled their apprehenſions; and in a ſhort time, they diſcovered a village, advantageouſly ſituated, and as they had reaſon to think, well peopled. Of this place Cortez determined to take poſſeſſion at all hazards; but force was unneceſſary: the village was entirely abandoned by the inhabitants; and the Spaniards found in it, what was no leſs welcome than ſo ſeaſonable a reſting-place, or leſs neceſſary for recruiting their exhauſted ſtrength, a conſiderable quantity of proviſions. Here the army continued two days, being unable ſooner to proceed on account of the diſtreſſed condition of the wounded. They made two marches more through a rough, barren, and rocky country; always keeping at a diſtance from the great road, and perſevering in their journey under the united calamities of fatigue, thirſt, and hunger, feeding upon herbs, roots, and the fleſh of one of the horſes that died; without any covering under which to paſs the night, and continually perſecuted by flying bodies of the enemy *.

The laſt of theſe two laborious and diſtreſſing marches, which the Spaniards were encouraged to accompliſh by the unſhaken fortitude, and cheering example of their general, terminated at a little village, where the army was received with a ſuſpicious civility. The inhabitants not only gave up freely all their own proviſions, but procured large quantities from the neighbouring hamlets; inſomuch that the half-famiſhed ſoldiers began to forget all their paſt ſufferings in the preſent enjoyment, without once reflecting on the danger of ſuch ſecurity. This was a ſtratagem of the Mexicans, in order to lull the vigilance of Cortez; but they wanted policy to complete the deceit, betraying their deſign by their own eagerneſs and ſimplicity.

Early next morning the Spaniſh army, recruited by reſt and ſuſtenance, began to aſcend the mountain which, on the other ſide, declines into the valley of Otumba, through which they muſt neceſſarily paſs, in order to take the road that leads to Tlaſcala. They were ſtill purſued by flying parties of the enemy, whoſe ſhouts and ſcoffs now expreſſed rather a joyful ſatisfaction than indignation; and Marina remarked that they frequently exclaimed, in an exulting tone, "Go on, ruffians! go to the place where you ſhall quickly meet the vengeance due to your crimes." This threat, though ſufficient to rouſe the attention of Cortez, the Spaniards did not fully comprehend till they reached the ſummit of the mountain, whence they diſcovered a vaſt army, whoſe front occupied the whole breadth of the ſpacious valley, and whoſe depth the eye could not reach. It was the laſt effort of the Mexican power for the deſtruction of the Spaniards. The new ſovereign had collected the whole force of the empire; and while one body was diſpatched to aſſail the Spaniards in their retreat, the principal army had been aſſembled on the other ſide of the lake, in order to obſtruct Cortez in his march, and was poſted with admirable judgment in this extenſive plain, where the Mexicans could at once act to advantage, lie undiſcovered by their enemies, and be certain of meeting them, if any made their eſcape. The Mexican army was compoſed of various nations, as

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 20.

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1520.

appeared by the diverſity of the enſigns which ſtreamed in the air. In the centre of the multitude was diſtinguiſhed the captain-general of the empire, borne upon men's ſhoulders, in a litter moſt ſumptuouſly adorned, and elevated in ſuch a manner, that, being conſpicuous to all, and a witneſs of every one's behaviour, his orders might be iſſued with judgment, and punctually obeyed. On this litter, or chair of ſtate, ſtood erected the royal ſtandard of Mexico, which could only be entruſted to the hands of the commander in chief, and was never brought into the field except in caſes of the laſt importance. This ſtandard conſiſted of a net of maſſy gold, hanging on a ſtaff richly encruſted with the ſame metal, and crowned with beautiful plumes of various colours; both which maintained a kind of myſterious ſuperiority over the ſymbols of the leſſer enſigns. It was always ſurrounded by a choſen body of the nobility, as on its conſervation depended victory or defeat, the Mexicans never looking upon themſelves as completely vanquiſhed while they retained in their hands this emblem of their honour and valour.

The ſight of ſuch a myriad of enemies could not fail to appear formidable to an handful of men, already broken by misfortunes; but, inſtead of intimidating, it ſerved only to inflame the ardour of the Spaniards, who were all fully perſuaded, that the enemy here made their laſt puſh, and that on the fortune of this field depended not only their lives, but all their future hopes of wealth and fame. Cortez examined the countenances of his people, with that look which inſpires confidence better than words, and finding them eager on vengeance, exclaimed, "We muſt all now either die or conquer:—the cauſe of our God fight for us!"—He had no time to utter more words, the ſoldiers impatiently demanding the ſignal to engage. He did not allow their ardour to cool, but immediately advanced with his front extended, and united the main body with the cavalry on the wings, giving charge to the latter to be careful of the rear and flanks. In this order he ruſhed upon the enemy, after a fortunate diſcharge of the fire-arms and croſs-bows, which made the Mexican battalions in front reel back upon the ſecond line. The conſequent diſorder was happily improved by the cavalry, who penetrated into the midſt of the enemy, and opened a path for the infantry to follow. The Tlaſcalans, animated by the example of the Spaniards, threw themſelves into the thickeſt of the battle, with an inſatiable thirſt after Mexican blood, ſingling out thoſe who appeared to be leaders. The ſlaughter was terrible, but no hope of victory appeared; the Mexicans advancing with ſurprizing reſolution to ſupply the places of thoſe who fell, and continually renewing the combat with freſh troops. The Spaniards, though ſucceſsful in every attack, ſaw no end of their toils, and were ready to ſink under the fatigue of fighting, when Cortez, by a fortunate inſtance of mental recollection ſupported by valour, at once decided the diſpute. At the head of a ſelect body of horſe, accompanied by four of his braveſt officers, he forced his way towards the royal ſtandard, on which he had heard depended the iſſue of the battle, with an impetuoſity that bore down every thing before it. The body of nobles who guarded

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

guarded the ſtandard made a deſperate reſiſtance, but were at laſt broken; and Cortez, cloſing with the captain-general, at one ſtroke of his lance tumbled him, mortally wounded, from his litter! while Juan de Salamanca, a private ſoldier, but a gentleman by birth, whoſe name deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, ſeized the imperial enſign, which he gave into the hands of his general, and bravely diſmounting, put an end to the life of the Mexican commander.

The conſequences of this blow were exactly what had been expected. The moment that their leader fell, and the ſtandard, towards which all had directed their eyes, diſappeared, an univerſal panic ſeized the Mexicans; every other enſign was lowered; every ſoldier threw down his arms, and all betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, ſeeking for ſhelter in the neighbouring mountains, the adjacent woods, and fields of green maize. The Spaniards purſued their victory with all the rigours of war, making a terrible deſtruction of the fugitives. Twenty thouſand of the Mexicans are ſaid to have fallen in the battle and purſuit, among whom were many perſons of diſtinction, who had come dreſſed in their richeſt ornaments, as to an aſſured triumph; ſo that the booty acquired by the Spaniards was very conſiderable; and as Cortez gave it all to the ſoldiers in reward of their valour, it was ſome compenſation for the wealth which they had loſt in their retreat, or left in Mexico *.

As ſoon as the general could recall his troops from the pillage of the field, he purſued his march, leſt the enemy ſhould have time to recover their confuſion, and give him farther annoyance. He was ſenſible they would not venture again on a pitched battle, but even their ſkirmiſhing might prove dangerous to men almoſt ſpent with fatigue. He made all poſſible diſpatch; but it was impracticable that day to get beyond the Mexican confines, and till he left theſe behind he could expect no ſecurity. It was neceſſary to make allowance for the wounded, and to give them time for reſt, after being exhauſted with loſs of blood: the general therefore took poſſeſſion of nine houſes, at ſome diſtance from the field of battle, where he paſſed the night unmoleſted, but not without apprehenſions, and next morning he was ſo fortunate as to find the roads entirely abandoned by the enemy. The ſame day he reached the frontiers of Tlaſcala, after one of the moſt celebrated retreats recorded in hiſtory, and a victory to which there is no parallel in the annals of mankind. The whole army expreſſed their joy and triumph by loud acclamations, and the Tlaſcalans threw themſelves upon their faces, kiſſing the ground, to expreſs the pleaſure they felt in returning victorious to their native country, and their ſenſe of the hardſhips, the toils, and perils which they had ſuſtained. They proceeded immediately to Gualipar, a conſiderable town belonging to the republic, and were met on the road by the inhabitants, who received them with open arms, accommodated them in their houſes, and furniſhed them with abundance of the beſt proviſions that the country afforded. Cortez accepted the invitation; but as he could not be certain that the republic

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 20. Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 3.

ſtill

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1520.

ſtill entertained the ſame friendly ſentiments towards the Spaniards, he quartered his ſoldiers with great caution, and kept as ſtrict watch as if in an enemy's country *.

At this place the general made a ſhort ſpeech to his army, on the importance of preſerving the friendſhip of the Tlaſcalans, and the neceſſity of cultivating it by acts of kindneſs and civility, ſtudiouſly avoiding every cauſe of offence, as an injury to the meaneſt inhabitant might endanger their common ſafety; and in order to ſet an example of reſpect, as well as to relieve his own mind from that uncertainty and ſolicitude under which it laboured, he reſolved to tranſmit immediately to the ſenate of Tlaſcala an account of his retreat and ſucceſs. But fame had already carried the news of his victory, without diminution of his glory; and before the meſſengers could ſet out came the ſage Magiſcatzin, the venerable Xicotencal, his ſon, and other ſenators, to viſit Cortez on the part of the republic. They all ſaluted him with the moſt cordial expreſſions of friendſhip, except Xicotencal the younger, who appeared cold and reſerved in his compliments; a behaviour which, though at that time aſcribed to the ruggedneſs of a military man, ſoon appeared to be the effect of jealouſy and diſtruſt. Magiſcatzin, as the ſenator firſt in authority, informed Cortez that the republic had aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand men to ſuccour him againſt the common enemy; and aſſured him, that he might depend upon the whole ſtrength of Tlaſcala and her allies, to aſſiſt him in taking vengeance on the traitorous Mexicans.

It gave Cortez no ſmall ſatisfaction to find, that the attachment of the republic to the Spaniards was as ſtrong as when they marched in a more proſperous condition towards Mexico, and he expreſſed his acknowledgments in the warmeſt terms that real gratitude could dictate. The Tlaſcalans were now ſenſible that the Spaniards were neither immortal nor invincible, as their diſaſterous retreat ſufficiently atteſted; but they conſidered that only as an accident of war, and any impreſſion it had made was entirely effaced by the victory at Otumba, which even heightened their admiration of the Spaniſh valour and conduct. They invited Cortez to their city, where his quarters were already provided; but they willingly admitted his apology for not immediately accepting the offer, as they were deſirous to prepare for his reception, having reſolved to celebrate his entry with the ſame ſolemnities uſed in the triumphal proceſſions of their own generals.

The Spaniſh army continued three days at Gualipar, being liberally ſupplied with every neceſſary at the expence of the republic of Tlaſcala. On the fourth morning Cortez gave notice to the ſenate of his approach; and the ſick and wounded being ſomewhat recovered, he proceeded on his march. The Spaniards on this occaſion diſplayed all their finery, adorning themſelves with the jewels and plumes of the vanquiſhed Mexicans; a very emphatical manner of expreſſing the importance of their victory. They were met by the caziques and principal members of the republic, clad in their ſenatorial robes, and accompanied by a numerous attendance. The roads were covered with multitudes of people, who poured

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 1.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

forth their congratulations in loud ſhouts, and burſts of popular applauſe, mingled with reproaches on the Mexicans, and encomiums on the valour of the Spaniards. When they entered the city they were ſaluted with the ſound of various inſtruments of muſic, all expreſſive of exultation and triumph. After the troops were conveniently quartered, Magiſcatzin inſiſted on having Cortez for his gueſt, while old Xicotencal paid the ſame compliment to Alvarado, whoſe valour, ſtrength, and activity had been extolled to him by the auxiliary Tlaſcalans. The evening was ſpent in feſtivity and joy, concluding with a ball, and certain dances in maſquerade; the diverſion of the multitude, whoſe diſorderly noiſy mirth finiſhed the demonſtrations of their applauſe *.

The eſteem of the Tlaſcalans for the Spaniards was greatly increaſed, by the liberality with which Cortez and his followers ſhared with them the jewels and other ornaments taken in the battle of Otumba; which were peculiarly acceptable to them, as being ſpoils of their moſt inveterate, and moſt formidable enemy. But in the midſt of this intercourſe of civilities, both the Spaniards and Tlaſcalans were plunged into deſpondency. Cortez was ſeized with a burning fever, in conſequence of a contuſion on the forehead, received in the late engagement; the perpetual fatigue he had undergone, and the unremitting vigilance with which he watched over his people. The Spaniards dreaded the iſſue of his diſtemper, as upon him they reſted their future fortune, while the Tlaſcalans bewailed him as a hero worthy of immortality. The ſenate aſſembled the phyſicians moſt celebrated for their knowledge of the medicinal plants of Tlaſcala, in which all their ſkill conſiſted, and promiſed them the higheſt rewards, if they ſucceeded in reſtoring the general's health. This they undertook, with a confidence which appears to have been well-founded; for by means of their cooling applications, and the natural ſtrength of his conſtitution, a favourable criſis was produced, and Cortez was ſoon able to appear in public, to the inexpreſſible joy of all parties †.

The firſt care of Cortez after his recovery was to inquire into the ſtate of the ſettlement at Villa Rica, the foundation of all his remaining hopes; and he had the ſatisfaction to learn, that nothing had happened, either in the garriſon or on the coaſt, that could give him any uneaſineſs. But, at the ſame time, he received the diſagreeable intelligence, that a party of nine men, diſpatched to Tlaſcala for the ſhare of the Mexican gold allotted to the garriſon, were not returned, and it was reported they had been ſurpriſed, and cut off in the mountains; that it was to be feared the ſame fate had likewiſe befallen the wounded ſoldiers of Narvaez's army, amounting to upwards of forty, as they had marched away in ſmall parties as ſoon as they recovered, in order to join their companions in Mexico, which they eagerly ſought as the centre of their wiſhes.

This intelligence, which proved to be too true, gave Cortez infinite concern. The loſs of fifty men, at a time when the life of every Spaniard was of importance, was ſeverely felt by the whole army. But circumſtances occurred which

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 1. Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 3.

† Id. ibid.

prevented

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1520.

prevented them from brooding over their misfortunes. It was ſoon known, that the party which guarded the treaſure had actually been murdered in the province of Tepeaca, which had thrown off, at the inſtigation of the Mexicans, the allegiance promiſed to the crown of Spain. There appeared a neceſſity for puniſhing this act of infidelity and violence, and of reducing the province to obedience, as all intercourſe between Villa Rica and Mexico, towards which Cortez's ambition ſtill pointed, would otherwiſe be obſtructed; and it fortunately happened that the Tlaſcalans had equal cauſe of complaint againſt the Tepeacans, who had lately made an irruption into the territories of the republic. The ſenate therefore came to a reſolution to chaſtiſe them, and to crave the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards for that purpoſe, at the ſame time that Cortez was deliberating how to engage the republic in his revenge.

While both parties were preparing for ſignal vengeance, advice was brought to Tlaſcala, that ambaſſadors from the new emperor of Mexico to the republic were arrived on the frontiers, and waited for permiſſion to advance to the capital. The Tlaſcalans were not ignorant that the purport of this embaſſy was to detach them from the alliance of the Spaniards; but, though the ſenate remained unſhaken on that point, it was determined to give audience to the ambaſſadors, that ſo flattering an acknowledgment of their equality, and of the condeſcenſion of the court of Mexico, might be rendered conſpicuous to all the neighbouring nations. The Mexican envoys made their entry with great ſolemnity, and were introduced to the ſenate with the uſual formalities. After naming their maſter with profound ſubmiſſion, they propoſed of peace and perpetual friendſhip between the two nations, freedom of commerce, and a community of intereſts, on condition that the republic ſhould join the emperor againſt the Spaniards. This propoſition was no ſooner made, than a murmur of diſapprobation ran through the whole aſſembly, and the ambaſſadors were ordered to withdraw; after which it was reſolved, by way of anſwer, That the republic would admit the peace with all poſſible reſpect, provided the conditions were reaſonable, and conſiſtent with the honour of both nations; but that no intereſt could ſeduce the Tlaſcalans to violate the laws of hoſpitality, or perfidiouſly betray the voluntary friendſhip conceived for the Spaniards, confirmed by an exchange of obligations, and ſealed by the moſt ſacred engagements. This reply would have been ſufficient ſeriouſly to convince the Mexicans that their embaſſy muſt prove ineffectual; but they did not ſtay to receive it: afraid of a popular tumult, they privately withdrew, and retired with all expedition beyond the boundaries of the republic.

The diſappointment of the Mexicans was the occaſion of triumph to the Spaniards, as it afforded them a convincing proof of the firm attachment of the Tlaſcalans. It was ſoon however diſcovered, that all the ſenators were not equally ſincere in their profeſſions of friendſhip. Young Xicotencal could never forget that he had been foiled by Cortez in the military art, on his ſkill in which he founded his higheſt reputation: he conſidered the ſuperiority of the Spaniſh general, as a real injury to himſelf, as it diminiſhed his conſequence; and he appears beſides to have had more diſtinct views of the intereſts of his

BOOK I.
A. D. 1520.

country, and a more jealous eye towards public liberty than any other of his countrymen. In the ſenate he concealed his ſentiments from a conſciouſneſs that they would not be liſtened to, and a fear of embroiling himſelf unneceſſarily with Cortez; but he repreſented privately to his friends and adherents, with a deſign of bringing over the people in general, that the peace propoſed by the Mexicans was perfectly advantageous, as the emperor offered many privileges, and requeſted no condition, but what the ſenate ought to accede to for the public good. "Should we even," ſaid he, "forgive theſe ſtrangers their evil intentions againſt our religion, have we not ſtill reaſon to reſent their endeavours to change our laws and government, by converting into a monarchy this venerable republic, and reducing us under the odious dominion of an emperor? a yoke which we have thrown off at the expence of our blood, and which it grieves us to ſee even on the necks of our moſt inveterate enemies!"

Theſe ſentiments he loſt no opportunity of inculcating, and enforced with ſo much eloquence, that he ſoon gained ſuch a formidable party as encouraged him to become more public in his declarations. The ſenate had intelligence of his deſigns, and took the matter into conſideration, with that ſerioufneſs which it required. They all condemned him, as a perſon who endeavoured to diſturb the public peace, diſgrace the reſolutions of the ſupreme council, and ſtain with diſhonour the national character. Some gave it as their opinion that he deſerved death, among which number was his venerable father, whoſe honourable conſtancy, and inflexible juſtice, had ſuch an influence on the minds of the ſenators, that they agreed to mitigate the puniſhment. They ordered the offender to be brought priſoner to the bar of the ſenate; and after reprimanding him for his treaſonous practices, made him deliver up his truncheon, and deprived him of his commiſſion, with all the privileges belonging to it, by the ceremony of throwing him down the ſtairs of the tribunal. The ignominy of this degradation made him ſenſible, in a few days, that he had no method of recovering his conſequence among his countrymen, except through the interceſſion of the perſon againſt whom all his ſchemes were levelled; and by the mediation of Cortez, to whom he condeſcended to apply, renewing his profeſſions of friendſhip, he was again reſtored to his honours and employments *.

No ſooner had Cortez ſurmounted the dangers, to which he was expoſed by the machinations of Xicotencal, than his courage and perſeverance were expoſed to a new trial. When every thing was ready, on the part of the republic, for chaſtiſing the Tepeacans, the Spaniſh ſoldiers who had come under Narvaez, and who were chiefly planters, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed a freſh expedition. The remembrance of paſt fatigues and perils made them averſe to new exploits: they ſighed after repoſe, and their poſſeſſions in the iſland of Cuba, formally requiring to be led back to Villa Rica, and put on board the fleet. Cortez ordered them to be aſſembled; and perceiving they were only to be influenced by motives of intereſt or of fear, he told them, that the enemy had ſecured the paſſes in the mountains, ſo as to render the march to Villa Rica impracticable, except by wading through rivers of blood, and

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 2. Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 4.

encountering

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1520.

encountering the greateſt danger and difficulties; that, if they perſiſted in making ſuch a retreat, they muſt rely on their own ſtrength, as it was highly improbable the Tlaſcalans would ſupport a meaſure ſo contradictory to their wiſhes, and indeed equally deſtructive of the honour and intereſt of the Spaniards and the republic: he therefore adviſed them, to preſerve the friendſhip of the Tlaſcalans, by entering chearfully on the expedition againſt the Tepeacans, as the only rational means by which their deſign of returning to Villa Rica could be accompliſhed; and he promiſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that as ſoon as they had reduced the Tepeacans, all who were not willing to follow his fortune ſhould have liberty to depart. But it was his duty, he added, as their general, to keep them from running into ſuch imminent danger, as was unavoidable, if they began their march in the preſent poſture of affairs. By theſe arguments, in which he diſcovered a perfect knowledge of the human heart, and the motives which generally impel to action, Cortez engaged them to co-operate in his deſigns, from a perſuaſion that ruin would follow the immediate proſecution of their own inclinations.

As ſoon as the malcontents gave their conſent to his propoſal, Cortez ſelected eight thouſand Tlaſcalans, commanded by officers whoſe valour and fidelity he had experienced in divers engagements with the Mexicans, leaving the care of aſſembling the main body of the Tlaſcalan army to Xicotencal, whoſe friendſhip he hoped he had ſecured by his late generoſity. With this force, four hundred and twenty Spaniſh foot, and ſixteen horſe, he began his march, and halted that night at a village within the enemies frontiers, at the diſtance of five miles from Tepeaca, the capital of the province of the ſame name. Here he took ſome of the peaſants priſoners, and by kindneſs and preſents prevailed on them to carry a meſſage to the caziques and chief men of Tepeaca, acquainting them, that he was come at the head of an army, in order to revenge the death of the Spaniards, whom they had ſo barbarouſly and treacherouſly murdered, and alſo to chaſtiſe their revolt, contrary to the obedience they had ſworn to the king of Caſtile; but, provided they would take up arms againſt the Mexicans, and join in alliance with the Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, that he would pardon their heinous tranſgreſſion, and receive them into friendſhip, ſecuring them from that terrible vengeance which hung over them, and which would otherwiſe be executed with all the rigours of war.

The anſwer returned by the Tepeacans was an inſolent defiance, accompanied with a threat, that they would inſtantly take the field in queſt of the Spaniards, whom they would carry bound to the altars of their gods. Cortez repeated his propoſal, and received an anſwer ſtill more inſolent. On this he led his army towards the capital, fully reſolved to deſolate it with fire and ſword. The Tepeacans, reinforced by a body of Mexicans, lay in ambuſh on the way; but their impatience diſcovering them, they were attacked with ſuch fury as quickly put them into diſorder, and all who could not ſave themſelves by flight were cut in pieces. Recovering however from their ſurpriſe, they rallied in a manner very unuſual among barbarians, and renewed the battle with great obſtinacy. They

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

ſuffered a ſecond defeat; after which both the Mexicans and Tepeacans, in arms, abandoned the country, leaving the whole province entirely at the mercy of the conquerors. The inhabitants of Tepeaca were ſo much terrified at the diſcomfiture and retreat of the army, that they immediately ſent deputies with their ſubmiſſion to Cortez; requeſting, that he would not wreak his vengeance on an innocent people, miſguided and forced into hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards by their leaders, who were entirely in the intereſt and at the diſpoſal of the emperor of Mexico. On this repreſentation Cortez marched to the capital; received the homage of the people in the name of his Catholic majeſty, whom he ordered to be proclaimed; pardoned their tranſgreſſion; took them under his protection; and by his well-timed lenity, gained their friendſhip and confidence.

As the principal object of this expedition was, to ſecure a free communication between Villa Rica and Mexico, Cortez no ſooner found himſelf maſter of Tepeaca, than he ordered a trench, fortified with palliſades, to be drawn round the city; and not only raiſed works for the defence of thoſe quarters leaſt fortified by nature, but erected a kind of citadel, in order to ſecure the town againſt the aſſaults of the Mexicans. In this fortreſs he left a garriſon, calling the place *Segura de la Frontera*, "the Security of the Frontier," which was the ſecond Spaniſh ſettlement in the Mexican empire *. But while we admire the prudence and courage of Cortez in bringing this enterpriſe to ſo deſirable a concluſion, we muſt blame his cruel ſeverity, in ordering the priſoners of war to be ſold as ſlaves, while he extended his pardon towards the citizens.

A few days after the Spaniards had taken up their quarters in Tepeaca, Xicotencal arrived with the main body of the Tlaſcalan army. The preſence of ſuch a multitude of enemies, computed at fifty thouſand, greatly alarmed and diſtreſſed the Tepeacans; a circumſtance which determined Cortez to find employment for his troops. He accordingly divided the Tlaſcalans into ſeveral bodies, which he detached againſt certain ſtrong holds in the province of Tepeaca that had not yet ſurrendered, and which were garriſoned by Mexicans. Each battalion was attended by about thirty Spaniards, who had inſtructions to uſe force, if perſuaſion ſhould not anſwer the purpoſe of bringing the enemy to ſubmiſſion. The orders were punctually executed; and though the enemy every where made a ſhew of reſiſtence, all the places were reduced, with very inconſiderable loſs. An incredible number of priſoners were taken, beſides much booty; with which, and the ſale of the captives, the officers employed in this ſervice were enriched †.

Auguſt, A. D. 1520.

But while the Spaniards were thus puſhing their conqueſts, a revolution happened in Mexico by no means favourable to the hopes of Cortez. This was the death of the emperor Quetlavaca; who though an inveterate enemy to the Spaniards, was a prince of no great abilities. His ſucceſſor was a perſon of

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 4. De Solis, lib. v. c. 3. † De Solis, lib. v. c. 4.

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1520.

a very ſuperior character. The Mexicans immediately caſt their eyes on Guatimozin, nephew and ſon-in-law of Montezuma, on whom they with one voice conferred the imperial enſigns. His high reputation for valour and talents had pointed him out to the choice of his countrymen in this dangerous criſis, and he was no ſooner ſeated on the throne than he ſhewed himſelf worthy of the ſupreme command. Though only twenty-five years old, he devoted himſelf entirely to the cares of government, and diſcovered an equal knowledge of civil and military affairs. He was perfectly acquainted with the tranſactions of Cortez in the provinces, and thence conjectured his ultimate deſigns: he ſaw the ſtorm that was gathering, and he began his reign with providing againſt it. He fortified the city of Mexico in the beſt manner of which his ſubjects were capable; he laid up in his magazines great ſtore of arms and proviſions; and he intimated to the inhabitants of every province of his empire, how much it concerned them to unite, in order to deliver themſelves from the tyranny of the ſtrangers. He encouraged the ſoldiers by rewards and honours, and he gained the affections of the people by promiſing them an exemption from the oppreſſive taxes impoſed during the late reign. He ingratiated himſelf with the nobility, by admitting them freely into his preſence, and by moderating that exceſs of homage, approaching to adoration, which his predeceſſors ſo rigidly exacted from their vaſſals. He made preſents to the caziques on the frontiers, exhorting them to fidelity, and the defence of their governments; and that they might not have reaſon to complain that he left the whole load of the war upon them, he ſent an army of thirty thouſand men for their ſupport and encouragement *.

Cortez had notice of all theſe particulars; but ſupported as he now was by a large army of confederate Indians, who had acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards, ſuch intelligence, inſtead of diſcouraging him from proſecuting the conqueſt of the Mexican empire, only rouſed him to a vigorous exertion of his abilities. Meſſengers had been ſent by the cazique of Guacachula, a populous city in the road to Mexico, conſidered by the new emperor as one of the bulwarks of his dominions, acquainting Cortez that an army of Mexicans was arrived there, committing ſuch violences, as obliged the inhabitans to have recourſe to the protection of the Spaniards. The cazique urged, as a claim to the aſſiſtance of Cortez, that he was one of the nobles who promiſed obedience to the king of Spain in the aſſembly held by Montezuma; and that he had ever ſince favoured the cauſe of the Spaniards, for which he was now puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. From the meſſengers Cortez learned, that twenty thouſand Mexicans were quartered in their city and its diſtrict, and ten thouſand more in Yzucan, a neighbouring town; and as he was not only convinced of the ſin-

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 4. Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 4. Some authors aſcribe theſe meaſures to Quetlavaca; but Herrera, whoſe authority, in this caſe, ought to be of great weight, expreſsly affirms, that, Quetlavaca having died of the ſmall pox, (which was introduced by the Spaniards into America, and made great havock among the inhabitants) "all thoſe things were done by Guatimozin, nephew to Montezuma:"—and in this opinion he is ſupported by de Solis. Ut ſupra.

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BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

cerity of the cazique, but ſenſible of the neceſſity of expelling the enemy, and of ſubjecting the frontier towns, before a greater force could be ſent to defend them, he inſtantly determined on the enterpriſe.

Cortez's vigour in acting was not inferior to his promptitude in reſolving. He formed the ſame day an army of three hundred Spaniſh foot, twelve horſe, and above thirty thouſand Tlaſcalans, under the command of Chriſtopher de Olid, whom he diſpatched next morning for Guacachula. Olid marched with great expedition to within ſix leagues of the city, where the mutinous ſpirit of ſome of his people obliged him to halt. A rumour prevailed among the peaſants, that the emperor of Mexico was in full march, at the head of a great army, to relieve the towns garriſoned by his troops; which gained ſo much credit among the Spaniſh ſoldiers, and produced ſuch an effect on the minds of men tired out with what they deemed fruitleſs victories, that they refuſed to proceed. This, with other concurring circumſtances, obliged Cortez to join the main army, and conduct the expedition in perſon. Every thing wore a new aſpect on his arrival; all fears, diſcontents, and jealouſies vaniſhed; and the ſoldiers to a man declared, that they would die by the ſide of their general. He immediately proſecuted his march, giving notice to the cazique of Guacachula of his approach. The Mexicans were poſted on the farther ſide of the city; but on receiving the firſt notice of the Spaniards, they drew up in order of battle, and boldly advanced beyond the city, to diſpute a paſs. Both armies engaged with ardour, and the combat was maintained with obſtinacy; the Mexicans not only defending themſelves with vigour, but intrepidly advancing upon their enemies, with all the ſigns of a determined reſolution to ſtand their ground to the utmoſt. Victory continued doubtful, when the cazique of Guacachula ſeized this opportunity of proving the ſincerity of his profeſſions, by falling upon the enemy's rear, at the ſame time that his people annoyed them with darts and arrows from the walls. The Mexicans were broken, and defeated with great ſlaughter, leaving more than half their number upon the field *.

Cortez quartered the Spaniards within the city of Guacachula, and without the walls the Tlaſcalans, and other confederates, whoſe numbers daily increaſed. His reputation was now ſo great among the Indians, that ſeveral caziques, whom he had compelled to acknowledge the king of Spain, came voluntarily with their troops to ſerve under his command; and his army was ſo much augmented before he left Guacachula, that it amounted, according to his own account, to one hundred and twenty thouſand men. With all this force he advanced towards Yzucan, which contained, as he had been informed, a garriſon of ten thouſand Mexicans, beſides thoſe who eſcaped from the battle. The place was ſtrong by nature, and fortified by walls and ravelines, which obſtructed the paſſes between the mountains. Before it ran a river, which the Spaniards were obliged to paſs, and the enemy had broken down the bridge, with a reſolution of defending the banks. Olid, who commanded the van, threw himſelf

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 4.

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CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1520.

into this river, gained the oppoſite bank, under a ſhower of darts and arrows, and drove the enemy from their poſts, after receiving a wound in his thigh, and having his horſe killed under him. It was expected the city would make a vigorous defence, and the height of the walls made the Spaniards apprehenſive that the aſſault would be bloody; but ſo great was the panic infuſed into the Mexican garriſon, upon the flight of the party appointed to diſpute the paſſage of the river, that, though they had driven forth all the ſuſpected citizens, with an intention of holding out to the utmoſt, they immediately betook themſelves to flight, and left Yzucan as the reward of the conquerors. The general by this time was come up with the main body; and ſuſpecting a ſtratagem, he ordered a body of Tlaſcalans to examine the place, which they found entirely abandoned. On this diſcovery, Cortez publiſhed a general pardon to ſuch as ſhould return to their habitations. It was readily accepted: the town was ſoon filled with people; and the ſame conduct being obſerved in other expeditions, a great number of cities and provinces ſubmitted to his Catholic majeſty *.

Theſe ſucceſſes, which gave Cortez the command of the Mexican frontier, encouraged him to think of renewing his attack on the capital, and a ſeries of fortunate incidents enabled him to put it in execution. As he was ſenſible that it would be in vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unleſs he could ſecure the command of the lake, he had given orders to Martin Lopez, to prepare in the mountains of Tlaſcala materials for building twelve brigantines, in ſuch manner as to be carried thither in pieces, ready to be put together, and launched when he ſtood in need of their ſervice. Theſe were now in great forwardneſs, by the ingenuity and activity of that able mechanic; and the general, ſoon after his return to Segura de la Frontera, received an unexpected reinforcement. Not once doubting of the ſucceſs of Narvaez, Velaſquez had ſent two ſhips after him with new inſtructions, and a ſupply of men and military ſtores. Pedro Cavellero, Sandoval's lieutenant at Villa Rica, went out in a boat to reconnoitre them on their arrival; and underſtanding the deſign of their voyage, artfully decoyed them into the harbour, ſeized the veſſels, and made the crew priſoners. The ſoldiers were ſent under a guard to Segura de la Frontera, and readily agreed to join their countrymen, and follow the fortune of Cortez †.

Nor was this the only reinforcement which that gallant commander received, by ſingular and unexpected means, before he renewed his attempt upon Mexico. On his return to Tlaſcala, whither he was called by the death of Magiſcatzin, he was informed that three ſhips of more conſiderable force were arrived at Villa Rica. Theſe belonged to an armament fitted out by Franciſco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who had long aimed at intruding into ſome diſtrict of New Spain, in hopes of dividing with Cortez the wealth of that rich country, and the glory of annexing it to the crown of Spain. They ſteered their courſe to the northward, and the troops landed in the province of Panuco; but the country ſeemed ſo poor, and the

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 4. Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 5. † De Solis, lib. v. c. 5.

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

natives were ſo fierce, that the invaders were glad to make their eſcape. Soon after they put to ſea, the ſhips were ſeparated in a ſtorm; and, what is truly extraordinary, the perſons on board all three, officers and private men, without being acquainted with each other's intention, came unanimouſly to a reſolution of joining Cortez the moment they came on ſhore. They all landed ſafely at Villa Rica, and made the beſt of their way for Tlaſcala; where the army was alſo joined by the crew of a trading veſſel from the Canaries, after the general had purchaſed the cargo, conſiſting of military ſtores and other neceſſaries, which were to him invaluable in his preſent circumſtances *.

Oct. 28.

From theſe various quarters Cortez received a ſupply of near two hundred men, which enabled him to diſmiſs ſuch of Narvaez's ſoldiers as remained with reluctance in his ſervice. No ſooner had he got rid of the malcontents, than he iſſued orders to the confederate Indians to hold themſelves in readineſs; and, as he had yet received no anſwer to the diſpatches ſent to Spain, by Montejo and Portocarrero, he thought it neceſſary to enforce his ſolicitations in a letter to Charles V. containing a faithful recital of all his adventures, proſperous and adverſe, from the time he firſt quitted Zempoalla, till his retreat from Mexico, together with an account of his preſent condition and deſigns, and an earneſt requeſt for ſuccours, as well as for ſpeedy juſtice againſt the governors of Jamaica and Cuba. This letter was accompanied with a ſecond preſent of gold and jewels, to which the ſoldiers voluntarily contributed. A ſhip was equipped with all expedition to carry the diſpatches to Europe; and that nothing might be omitted which could promote his deſigns, the general applied alſo for ſuccours to the royal audience of St. Domingo, as that tribunal had always favoured his expedition, and uſed its utmoſt endeavours to defeat the attempts of Velaſquez †.

Nothing places the fortitude of Cortez in ſo ſtrong a light as that uncertainty under which he laboured in regard to the reſolutions of the court of Spain. Nor would the knowledge of the fate of his diſpatches have afforded him conſolation. Portocarrero and Montejo, ſeconded by Martin Cortez, the general's father, had paid long and fruitleſs attendance on the Spaniſh miniſtry. The intricate and unſettled ſtate of the kingdom, and the time of their arrival, turned the whole attention of the court upon matters more immediately intereſting; while the ſtrong faction formed by the friends of Velaſquez, at the head of which was Fonſeca, biſhop of Burgos, threw almoſt inſurmountable obſtructions in the way of the negociation. Though the deputies, by dint of perſeverance, had obtained the honour of an audience of the emperor, who informed himſelf exactly of the tranſactions in New Spain, and thence conceived a very favourable idea of the character and capacity of the general, the variety of buſineſs in which Charles was then engaged prevented him from entering into the merits of the diſpute between Cortez and Velaſquez; and as the emperor departed for the Netherlands ſoon after this audience, the pretenſions of the general were referred to cardinal

* De Solis, lib. iv. c. 17. Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 5. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. viii. c. 5. De Solis, lib. v. c. 6.

Adriano, governor of Spain during his majeſty's abſence. The cardinal was ſincerely deſirous to do juſtice to the merit of Cortez; but as all the information by which he was to regulate himſelf in judging of the matter recommended to his examination muſt paſs through the council of the Indies, of which the biſhop of Burgos was preſident, he found himſelf embarraſſed how to proceed. The diſturbances of the ſtate conſpired to divert the attention of Adriano; ſo that Martin Cortez and the deputies, tired out with fruitleſs ſolcitations, at laſt withdrew from court, and retired to Medellin, with a reſolution to let the ſtorm blow over, and wait the return of the emperor *, who did not viſit Spain till long after the arrival of the ſecond diſpatches.

But Cortez, though ſtill uncertain whether he ſhould be condemned as a traitor, or rewarded as the faithful ſervant of his king, prepared to renew his enterpriſe againſt Mexico with as much ardour, as if he had been encouraged by the higheſt aſſurances of royal favour. With this view he aſſembled a council of war, in which it was reſolved to march directly to Tezeuco, and at all events to gain poſſeſſion of that city, as the moſt proper ſtation for launching the brigantines, as well as for making his approaches to the capital. There it was determined to eſtabliſh the head quarters; to wait for reinforcements; to examine the enemy's ſtrength, and conſider more at leiſure the means of accompliſhing the principal undertaking.

The day after this reſolution Cortez muſtered his Spaniſh troops, and found that they amounted to five hundred and forty foot, four-ſcore of which were armed with muſkets or croſs-bows, forty horſe, and a train of nine field-pieces, brought from on board the fleet. This muſter was performed in the manner of a general review with much pomp and ſhew, in the ſight of an innumerable multitude of people, who expreſſed their admiration of the Spaniſh diſcipline by repeated acclamations. Xicotencal, general of the republic, muſtered his troops in the ſame manner. Firſt paſſed the drums and trumpets, and the reſt of the warlike inſtruments uſed by the Tlaſcalans; then the captains in files, gaily adorned with large plumes of various colours, and jewels hanging at their ears and lips: they carried their Macanas, or two-handed ſwords, under the left arm, with their points upward, and every one had a page bearing his ſhield, on which were portrayed different figures, expreſſing their own exploits, and the defeat of their enemies. After their manner, they complimented the two generals, and the troops marched by in different bodies, diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their plumes, and by their enſigns. The whole army conſiſted of ten thouſand choſen men, the reſt of the forces of the republic being left to aſſiſt in conducting the brigantines; a ſervice of the utmoſt importance, and with which the ſenate was proud to be entruſted †.

After publiſhing certain regulations for the better preſervation of order and diſcipline among the troops, and making a ſhort ſpeech to the army, Cortez began his march, and took up his quarters that night at a place called Tezmeluca,

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 1, and lib. v. c. 7.

† De Solis, lib. v. c. 9.

about

BOOK I. A. D. 1520.

about six leagues from Tlaſcala. It was a conſiderable town ſituated on the Mexican confines, and in the juriſdiction of Guaxocingo, the cazique of which province made ample proviſion for the troops. Next day Cortez continued his march, in the enemy's country, with all neceſſary precaution, and received advice towards evening that the Mexican army was aſſembled on the other ſide of a mountain, whoſe woods and rocks rendered the paſſage to the road of Tezeuco very difficult: he therefore reſolved to halt till morning, before he attempted to aſcend the eminence; and day diſcovered the prudence of this precaution. The enemy had blocked up all the paſſes of the mountain with trees cut down and laid acroſs, and ſharp ſtakes fixed in the ground, to wound and incommode the cavalry. Undaunted at theſe obſtructions, the general ordered two thouſand Tlaſcalans to join the vanguard, in order to clear the road; a ſervice which they executed with ſo much expedition, that the rear of the army ſcarce ſeemed to halt.

From the brow of this mountain the Spaniards could diſcover the great lake of Mexico, the capital, and all the attendant cities; and Cortez took occaſion to remind his ſoldiers of the proſperity and riches which they had enjoyed, as well as of the calamities they had ſuffered in that neighbourhood, endeavouring to rouſe them, at once by motives of avarice and revenge. They likewiſe diſcovered, in more diſtant towns, ſome fires, which they conſidered as ſignals of their approach, and in the intermediate plain, the vaſt multitude of the Mexican army, ſeemingly reſolved to diſpute their march. The Spaniſh ſoldiers rejoiced at the opportunity of coming ſo ſoon to action, and the eagerneſs of the Tlaſcalans for the fight was ſo great, that Cortez was with difficulty able to reſtrain their ardour within the bounds of diſcipline. But on the nearer approach of the Spaniards, the Mexicans, ſeeing them attended by ſo ſtrong a force, abandoned their reſolution of diſputing the paſſage of the valley, and betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, while Cortez purſued his march towards Tezeuco, at which he arrived without farther obſtruction *.

Before Cortez reached this city, he was met by meſſengers from the king, or cazique, with propoſals of confederacy, and intelligence that quarters were provided for his troops. Who the prince was that made this propoſition, the original hiſtorians do not diſtinctly inform us; though there is reaſon to believe that Cazumazin, who had formerly conſpired the deſtruction of the Spaniards, and who was depoſed by Montezuma, through the influence of Cortez, had now recovered the throne of Tezeuco, and was countenanced by the reigning emperor. However this may have been, Cortez certainly ſuſpected the ſincerity of the offer; for which reaſon, though he returned a civil anſwer, he took up his quarters in a neighbouring village, keeping ſtrict watch for fear of being ſurpriſed. Next morning he entered the city, which he found entirely open, and defenceleſs; the king, whoſe deſigns were actually treacherous, having fled to the Mexican army on learning that the Spaniards were ſupported by ſo great a body of Tlaſcalans.

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 10.

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CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1521.

The firſt care of Cortez was to conciliate the good-will of the people, which he did ſo effectually that the nobility ſoon deſired permiſſion to make an offer of their friendſhip and obedience. Their requeſt was readily granted; and they came in ſolemn proceſſion, headed by a youth of genteel mien, who ſpoke for the reſt, and told the general, that he preſented to him this troop of ſoldiers, willing to ſerve in his army, and deſirous to merit by their actions a ſhelter under the ſhade of his enſigns. Cortez heard him with admiration, and with much ſatisfaction learned, that he was the lawful heir of the principality, the preſent king having firſt aſcended the throne by the murder of his elder brother. Immediately perceiving the advantage which might be derived from this circumſtance, eſpecially as Caeumazin was become odious to his ſubjects, he called together the nobles, and placing the young prince by his ſide, addreſſed them to the following purport: Jan. 4.

"You have before you, my friends, the lawful ſon of your lawful king. The unjuſt maſter, to whoſe ill-acquired power you pay a forced obedience, ſeized the ſceptre of Tezeuco with a hand dyed in the blood of his elder brother; and, as the art of preſerving dominion is unknown to an uſurper, he has governed by the ſame violence by which he made his way to the throne, little caring how much he deſerved the hatred of his ſubjects, provided he made them fear him, and treating thoſe as ſlaves who bore with his crimes. But at length, by baſely abandoning you in time of danger, and neglecting your defence, he hath at once ſhewn his own want of courage, and put it in your power to eſcape from his tyranny. I might, if I were ſo inclined, take advantage of your defenceleſs condition, and uſe the rights of war, by ſubjecting this city, which I hold as you ſee, at the mercy of my ſword; but the laſt neceſſity only can make the Spaniards puniſh with rigour; and as he who intended us the injury was not really your king, you ought not to ſuffer as his vaſſals, nor for his offence, nor ought this prince to remain without the kingdom to which his birth entitles him. Receive then, from my hand, the king whom you before received from Heaven. Pay to him, for my ſake, that obedience which you owe him, as the rightful ſucceſſor of his father, and place him on the throne of his anceſtors; for as I leſs regard my own conveniency, than I do equity and juſtice, I deſire his friendſhip more than his kingdom, and your ſatisfaction rather than your ſubjection."

This propoſal was received by the nobles with univerſal applauſe, and next day was appointed for the coronation of the prince. Cortez aſſiſted at the ſolemnity, delivering the ſceptre into the hands of the young king, and placing the crown upon his head; a maſter-ſtroke of policy, by which he at once ſecured the affections of the people, and gained a more abſolute ſway over them, than if he had actually conquered them. The nobles declared themſelves his friends, and vowed enmity againſt the Mexicans: the city was ſoon repeopled, by the return of ſuch families as had fled on the approach of the Spaniards; and the king himſelf ſeemed at a loſs how to expreſs his gratitude, appearing in the

BOOK I.
A. D. 1521.

general's preſence with all the obſequiouſneſs of a ſubject, and taking no reſolution without conſulting him *.

Cortez, having thus ſettled every thing in Tezeuco perfectly to his ſatisfaction, employed part of his troops in widening and deepening the canal which conveyed the waters of the lake to that city, in order to facilitate the launching of the brigantines, while with the reſt he endeavoured to circumſcribe the Mexican power. With this view he marched at the head of three hundred Spaniards, and ten thouſand Tlaſcalans, to attack the city of Iztacpalapa, already deſcribed, which afforded ſhelter to a number of canoes that daily annoyed his workmen. On his approach, he diſcovered a body of eight thouſand armed men at a little diſtance from the walls, who came gallantly out into the open field, and ſtood an engagement, though inferior in number, with ſo much courage as enabled them to retreat gradually towards the city. Cortez ſuſpected a ſtratagem, by ſeeing the gates left open: he therefore purſued with all imaginable caution; and finding the city entirely deſerted on the ſide towards the land, made diſpoſitions for maintaining himſelf there during the enſuing night. But no ſooner did darkneſs draw on, than the Spaniards perceived the canals begin to overflow their banks, the waters ruſhing impetuouſly into the lower grounds; a circumſtance which led them to conjecture, that the enemy had opened their ſluices with an intention to drown that part of the city. The danger was imminent; and Cortez inſtantly gave orders for retreating with all expedition, not a little mortified at being outwitted by a people whom he conſidered as barbarous.

The ſtratagem of the Mexicans was indeed laid with admirable judgment: they not only ſallied out to provoke the Spaniards, feigned a retreat to draw them into danger, after maintaining for a while the unequal combat with obſtinacy, but abandoned their houſes, which they endeavoured to lay under water, in order to deſtroy the enemy, and had provided a great army to prevent the poſſibility of a retreat, and complete the ruin of their invaders. By this army, which he had eluded in the evening by his precipitate retreat, Cortez found himſelf ſurrounded next morning when his troops were very unfit for battle, having paſſed the night in a wet and diſagreeable condition. Animated, however by a ſpirit of vengeance, the Spaniards charged with irreſiſtible fury, nor were the Tlaſcalans wanting in their duty: the Mexicans were broken, and obliged to leave the field with conſiderable loſs; but they again rallied, and harraſſed the confederates in their march, till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Tezeuco †.

This retreat was deemed inglorious by the Spaniards, who had now long been accuſtomed to ſucceſs, without a ſingle failure in any attack. But they had ſoon an opportunity of vindicating the reputation of their arms. Moſt of the cities adjacent to Mexico were originally the capitals of ſmall independent ſtates, and ſome of them having been but lately annexed to the Mexican empire, ſtill retained the remembrance of their ancient liberty, and bore with impatience the

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 11, 12. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 2.

† De Solis, lib. v. c. 12. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 1.

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1521.

rigorous yoke of their new maſters. Cortez had early obſerved ſymptoms of this diſaffection; and by confidently offering to deliver them from the odious dominion of the Mexicans, with liberal promiſes of more indulgent treatment, if they would join him againſt their oppreſſors, he prevailed on the people of ſeveral neighbouring diſtricts to acknowledge the king of Caſtile as their ſovereign. Among theſe were the provinces of Chalco and Otumba, from which Cortez received meſſengers the day after his return from the unfortunate attempt on Iztacpalapa. They informed him, that a powerful army of Mexicans was arrived on their frontiers, with a deſign to chaſtiſe and deſtroy them for having joined the Spaniards, and deſired ſome aſſiſtance to enable them to withſtand the enemy.

This requeſt appeared not only reaſonable but neceſſary to be granted, as it was of the utmoſt importance to prevent the Mexicans from eſtabliſhing themſelves in a country where they could cut off the communication with Tlaſcala. Cortez therefore inſtantly diſpatched Gonzalo de Sandoval and Franciſco de Lugo with two hundred Spaniſh foot, fifteen horſe, and a large body of Tlaſcalans to the aſſiſtance of his new allies. The Mexicans had aſſembled all the troops of the neighbouring provinces to chaſtiſe the rebels of Chalco and Otumba, and hearing that the Spaniards were coming to their relief, had ſolicited a reinforcement from the troops quartered about the lake. Thus provided with a formidable army, they ſeized an advantageous poſt, in the road which the Spaniards muſt paſs before they could join their allies. Sandoval and Lugo, advertiſed of their deſign, marched in order of battle, without altering their pace, and received the charge of the enemy with calm intrepidity; the horſe were then ordered to advance, under a diſcharge from the fire-arms and croſs-bows: the Tlaſcalans and Spaniſh foot ſupported the ſmall body of cavalry, and broke the Mexicans with great ſlaughter. The rout ſoon became general; and the people of Chalco and Otumba, who had ſallied out of the adjacent towns on hearing the ſound of the fire-arms, coming up at the ſame time, the purſuit was ſo bloody that the Mexican army was almoſt entirely cut off, and the confederate provinces relieved, with little or no loſs.

The Spaniards paſſed that night in the city of Chalco, where their victory was celebrated with the moſt extravagant rejoicings. The inhabitants of this province, as ſubjects of the Mexican emperor, were declared enemies to the Tlaſcalans, and had beſides perpetual diſputes with them about the boundaries of their territory; but all differences were now accommodated. The people of Chalco owned the obligation they were under to the Tlaſcalans for coming to their relief: they were alſo ſenſible, that the only means of preſerving the protection of Cortez was to maintain a ſtrict friendſhip with his allies: the Spaniards acted as mediators; and the chiefs of both nations being aſſembled, peace was concluded with all the neceſſary forms, and the ſolemnities uſual on ſuch occaſions, Sandoval and Lugo undertaking to get it confirmed by Cortez, and the Tlaſcalans to procure its ratification on the part of the republic.

This

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

This expedition being finiſhed with ſo much glory and celerity, Sandoval and Lugo marched back to the army at Tezeuco, carrying along with them eight Mexican nobles who had been taken priſoners in the late engagement. Cortez received the two captains with particular marks of approbation, not forgetting the leaders of the Tlaſcalans. When the Mexican priſoners were brought before him, full of fear and confuſion, he ordered them to be unbound; and deſirous to make uſe of this opportunity, in order to juſtify to his allies the war which he had undertaken, by making farther advances towards a peace, and at the ſame time to convince his enemies of his generoſity, he ſpoke to them, by the help of his interpreters, to the following effect:

"I might, according to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed in your nation, and that kind of juſtice upon which the laws of war are founded, take vengeance on your offences with fire and ſword, treating you with the ſame inhumanity with which you treat your priſoners. But the Spaniards do not think that being taken in the ſervice of one's king is a crime that deſerves puniſhment, knowing how to diſtinguiſh between the culpable and unfortunate; and that you may be ſenſible of the difference of our clemency and your cruelty, I give you at the ſame time both life and liberty. Repair immediately to the ſtandard of your prince, and tell him from me, that I am come to demand ſatisfaction for the unjuſt war which he made on me, at the time of my retreat from Mexico, perfidiouſly breaking the treaty by which I obliged myſelf to leave the city, and in conſequence of which hoſtilities were ſuſpended; but that I come more eſpecially to revenge the death of Montezuma, the chief cauſe of my anger. Tell him that I have an army reinforced not only by a number of invincible Spaniards, but by a variety of nations who abhor the Mexican tyranny;—tell him that, in a little time, I intend to ſeek him in the midſt of his palace, ſurrounded by his court, bringing in my train all the horrors of war, and reſolved never to lay aſide my juſt indignation, until I have reduced all the cities in his dominions to aſhes, and waſhed away the memory of his name with the blood of his ſubjects.

"But," added he, "if Guatimozin, in order to avoid the impending ruin, is deſirous of liſtening to terms of accommodation, I am ready to grant them, notwithſtanding the injuries I have ſuſtained; for the arms of my king, like the lightning of heaven, fall only where they find reſiſtance, and are always more ready to obey the dictates of humanity than the impulſes of revenge."—With this meſſage Cortez diſmiſſed the priſoners under an eſcort, filled with gratitude, and promiſing to acquaint their prince with his overtures; but they never returned with an anſwer. Nor did the general expect any: he was too well acquainted with the haughty ſpirit of Guatimozin to think that he would accept the terms he propoſed, and his own purpoſe was fully anſwered by making the propoſal in preſence of his allies *."

The brigantines were now the only preparation wanting to enable Cortez to lay cloſe ſiege to Mexico, and about this time, to his unſpeakable ſatisfaction, he received

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 13.

intelligence

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1521.

intelligence from Martin Lopez, that the materials for conſtructing them were completely finiſhed, and would be conveyed, with all ſpeed, to the frontiers of Tlaſcala. For this ſervice, no leſs ſingular than important, the republic had provided ten thouſand Tamemes; eight thouſand to carry the planks, maſts, iron-work, and other neceſſaries, and two thouſand to relieve thoſe occaſionally of their burden: and fifteen thouſand warriors, who waited an opportunity to join the army, were appointed to accompany and defend them. With this convoy Lopez began his march, requeſting that he might be met by a body of Spaniards at Gualipar, not thinking it adviſable to attempt a paſſage through the Mexican territories with Tlaſcalans only; and Cortez, no leſs ſenſible of the propriety of ſuch a guard, inſtantly diſpatched Sandoval with two hundred Spaniſh foot, fifteen horſe, and two field-pieces, to join the forces of the republic, that they might be able to reſiſt all the attacks of the enemy. This junction was happily effected; and Sandoval had the honour of conducting ſafely to Tezeuco, a convoy on which depended the fate of Mexico *.

Lopez and his workmen immediately applied themſelves with the utmoſt diligence, to the conſtructing of the veſſels from the materials which they had already prepared; but Cortez underſtanding, that it would be at leaſt twenty days before they could be fit for ſervice, reſolved to employ that interval in viewing perſonally the country about the lake, that he might know what poſts were fit to be ſeized, in order to prevent ſuccours from being conveyed to Mexico, as well as to take advantage of ſuch opportunities as ſhould offer, during his march, to diſtreſs the enemy. This deſign he communicated to his officers, and finding it unanimouſly approved of, he inſtantly took meaſures for carrying it into execution; leaving Sandoval, who was daily riſing in the general's confidence, and in the eſteem of the whole army, governor of Tezeuco, with particular orders to forward the building of the brigantines, by lending all neceſſary aſſiſtance to Lopez.

It was thought proper to begin this expedition with an attack upon Yaltocan, a town five leagues diſtant from Tezeuco, ſituated upon one of the little lakes which diſcharge themſelves into the great one. The inhabitants of this place had returned an inſolent anſwer to propoſals of peace which were made them by Cortez, and wounded his meſſengers; he therefore reſolved to chaſtiſe them, that their puniſhment might make the neighbouring nations more reſpectful. He took with him two hundred and fifty Spaniſh foot, twenty horſe, and twenty thouſand Tlaſcalans. After marching about four leagues, he diſcovered a numerous army of Mexicans drawn up in order of battle, at ſome diſtance from the place threatened. Orders were given to attack them, and executed with ſo much alacrity, that they were ſuddenly broken and driven off the field. The aſſault upon the town was deferred till next morning; when it was carried, after a vigorous reſiſtance, and pillaged and burnt. Cortez continued his march, and halted that night at Colbatilan, a conſiderable town, which he found entirely deſerted by the inhabitants. The large towns of Tenayuca and

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 14.

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

Eſcapuzalco, both upon the great lake, were alſo forſaken by the citizens. The army lodged a night in each of them, and Cortez took notice of the diſtance, and whatever elſe might be of uſe to his principal deſign, without ſuffering any damage to be done to the buildings, that it might not be ſaid he executed vengeance without provocation.

Tacuba, the third city in the empire, was diſtant from the laſt of theſe towns only about half a league. It was ſituated on the extremity of the great cauſeway, where the Spaniards had formerly ſuffered ſo much, and was a place of great importance, being the neareſt to Mexico of all the towns upon the lake, and the key of that capital on the weſt. Cortez therefore reſolved to view it accurately, but without any intention of poſſeſſing himſelf at preſent of a poſt ſo diſtant from Tezeuco, his head quarters. He accordingly advanced in good order towards the walls; and on his approach, he diſcovered a large army drawn up in order of battle. This army was compoſed of a Mexican detachment appointed to obſerve the motions of the Spaniards in their march, and another body ſent to aſſiſt the garriſon of Tacuba. The Mexicans charged with fury, accompanied with loud cries of defiance; but they were ſoon broken by a fortunate diſcharge of the fire arms, ſeconded by an impetuous movement of the cavalry. They rallied however unexpectedly, and diſputed the victory with obſtinacy againſt Cortez and his whole army. At laſt they were obliged to take refuge in the city, and the confederates remained maſters of the field, where they paſſed the night unmoleſted; but no ſooner did morning appear than the enemy were ſeen advancing, as if with an intention of redeeming the honour loſt the preceding day. They were again defeated, and chaſed into the city with a facility that made Cortez ſuſpect ſome ſtratagem; he therefore retreated to his former ſtation, where he continued five days, every one of which was diſtinguiſhed by ſome ſharp engagement.

The general's intention was to waſte the garriſon in ſallies; and finding, by the abatement of their ardour, and the faintneſs of their efforts, that their numbers were greatly diminiſhed, he reſolved to attack them in his turn. Orders were given for this purpoſe, and every thing was diſpoſed for the aſſault, when Cortez obſerved a body of Mexicans advancing along the cauſeway. It was neceſſary to defeat this detachment before he could execute his deſigns againſt the town, or venture to retreat with ſafety; he therefore reſolved to engage them before they could join the garriſon, leaving part of his army to carry on the ſiege. The Mexicans fled at the firſt charge, retiring in ſeeming confuſion, in order to draw the Spaniards upon the cauſeway; and the general, deceived by the ſtratagem, though not the firſt of the kind that had been practiſed upon him, purſued without ſuſpicion. No ſooner did the enemy perceive Cortez and his troops within the lake, than they ſuddenly faced about, and endeavoured to keep him in play by their reſiſtance, while a number of canoes ſallied out of Mexico, and inveſted both ſides of the cauſeway, ſo that the Spaniards were at once expoſed to three attacks. Courage alone could now extricate them; and Cortez, with ſword in hand, expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, performing ſuch feats of valour as

aſtoniſhed

aſtoniſhed both the Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, and effected a retreat with ſuch gallantry as in ſome meaſure repaired the error he had committed. But it was thought adviſable to continue the ſiege of Tacuba *.

When Cortez returned to Tezeuco, after this unpropitious expedition, he found himſelf reinforced with two hundred Spaniſh ſoldiers, eighty horſes, two battering cannon, and a conſiderable ſupply of ammunition and arms, which had been tranſported to Villa Rica in four ſhips from Hiſpaniola. About the ſame time meſſengers arrived from Chalco and Themanalco with advice that the Mexicans had renewed their hoſtilities againſt the frontier provinces. Guatimozin, whoſe mind was continually bent upon the deſtruction of the Spaniards, ſenſible that nothing would diſtreſs them more than cutting off their communication with Tlaſcala and Villa Rica, had provided a powerful army for that purpoſe. This was a matter of ſo much conſequence to Cortez, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſupporting, at all hazards, thoſe allies to whoſe fidelity he owed the preſervation of that eſſential communication. He therefore diſpatched Sandoval with three hundred Spaniards, and a large body of Tlaſcalans to the aſſiſtance of the Chalqueſe.

Sandoval marched with all convenient ſpeed, and on his arrival, he found the people whom he was ſent to ſuccour in arms againſt the enemy. The Mexicans, who were ſtill ſuperior to the confederates in numbers, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome hollow ways, in order to bring on an engagement, in a place where the Spaniſh cavalry could not act. It was neceſſary to diſlodge them from this poſt; and Sandoval entered upon the attack with ſo much intrepidity, that he fully accompliſhed his deſign, though not without conſiderable loſs. The loſs on the ſide of the Mexicans was ſtill greater; but, confiding in their numbers, they renewed the engagement in the plain, where the confederates, now fighting upon equal terms, obtained a complete victory, after a violent conflict, in which the enemy behaved with great gallantry, and diſplayed a fury bordering upon deſperation.

The ſame evening Sandoval advanced to Guaſtepeque, where he hoped his fatigued troops might be able to reſt ſecurely; but ſcarce had they laid aſide their arms, when the ſcouts brought advice, that a freſh army of Mexicans, amounting to fifteen thouſand men, was advancing to attack them. Reſolution was the only remedy. Sandoval animated his men, and then led them againſt the enemy, whoſe front being put in diſorder by the fire-arms and croſs-bows, an opportunity was afforded the cavalry to charge without danger. The ſhock was irreſiſtible: the Mexicans were completely broken; and the Tlaſcalans at the ſame time falling upon the flanks, they fled precipitately towards Guaſtepeque, where they hoped to find ſhelter, but the confederates entering the town with them, divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies, ſcoured all the ſtreets, and drove the enemy again into the open fields, purſuing them with great ſlaughter.

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 15.

This

BOOK I.
A. D. 1521.

This victory was followed by the reduction of Capiſtlan, a ſtrong town, ſeated on a rocky eminence, abrupt on one ſide, and ſecured on the other by a deep and rapid river. It was diſtant about two leagues from Guaſtepeque, whither the routed Mexicans crowded, as to an impregnable fortreſs. Nothing, however, could withſtand the valour of the confederates, now fluſhed with ſucceſs. Sandoval reſolved to drive the enemy from this poſt, that he might free the frontier provinces from the fear of new invaſions, which could eaſily be effected from ſo convenient a rendezvous; and perceiving there were only three ways by which he could make the attack, and all of them difficult, he ordered the Tlaſcalans and Chalqueſe to advance in front, as more accuſtomed to ſuch ſteep and rugged paſſes. They obeyed, but ſo reluctantly, that Sandoval, impatient of delay, ruſhed forward with his Spaniards to the aſſault; a circumſtance which ſo animated the Indians, that they forgot the difficulty of the attempt, and ſeemed emulous who ſhould firſt gain the brow of the eminence. In many places the path was ſo ſteep that they were altogether employed in conquering the aſcent; it being impoſſible to uſe their hands either in defence or attack, without running the hazard of tumbling to the bottom: the Mexicans all the while rolling down great ſtones, and ſhowering darts and arrows upon them. At length they gained the ſummit, under a diſcharge of the fire-arms, which drove back the enemy, and enabled the confederates to form. They now attacked with incredible valour, as if determined to revenge the difficulties and dangers they had encountered: they forced their way through all oppoſition; drove the Mexicans into the town; and purſued them ſo cloſely that, being unable to rally, they entered the place with them, gained poſſeſſion without farther reſiſtance, and forced the enemy to the brink of the precipiece, where all who did not throw themſelves over were put to the ſword *.

The ſlaughter of the Mexicans, on this occaſion, is ſaid to have been ſo great, that ſome Spaniards who ran to the river, in order to quench their thirſt, were obliged to refrain from drinking, or to indulge with horror, its waters being tinged with blood †. The victory, in a word, was deciſive; and Sandoval thinking he had now ſufficiently deterred the Mexicans from any farther attempts in that quarter, returned to Tezeuco. But ſcarce was he arrived there, when Cortez received advice, that Quatemozin, ſtill anxious to cut off the communication with Tlaſcala, had ſent a new army into the province of Chalco, as ſoon as he was informed of the departure of the Spaniards. From the uneaſineſs occaſioned by this intelligence, the general was, however, fortunately ſoon relieved: the Chalqueſe ſenſible, that they had now no dependance but upon their own valour, ſuddenly aſſembled in arms, defeated the Mexicans, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, and drove them out of their territory; an event which occaſioned much joy at Tezeuco, as it thence appeared that the frontier provinces were now in a condition to defend themſelves.

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 16. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 2.

As

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1521.

As the brigantines were not yet finiſhed, Cortez reſolved to examine in perſon the ſituation of Suchimilco, a town ſituated upon the great lake, and which communicated with Mexico by a broad cauſeway that joined the principal ones which led to that capital. He accordingly ſet out at the head of three hundred Spaniards, and ſome thouſands of confederate Indians, leaving the reſt of the army at Tezeuco under the command of Sandoval; and he marched with ſuch diligence, that he arrived the ſame night at Chalco, where he found the inhabitants arming, in order to oppoſe a new body of Mexicans, ſent to invade their province. This ſeaſonable ſuccour was received with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy by the Chalqueſe, who entertained no doubt about victory, when commanded by the Spaniſh general. They deſired to be led immediately againſt the enemy, ambitious of diſtinguiſhing their courage before ſo perfect a judge of military merit; but of this opportunity they were diſappointed: the Mexicans, on receiving advice of the arrival of the Spaniards, had ſeparated themſelves into ſmall parties, and taken poſſeſſion of certain fortreſſes, ſituated in the mountains round the frontier. Thence Cortez reſolved to diſlodge them, but the attempt was found impracticable; and after many fruitleſs efforts, and conſiderable loſs, he was obliged to retire to Quaſtepeque in order to refreſh his army. April 5.

The Spaniards were lodged at Guaſtepeque in the cazique's palace, which was ſcarce inferior in extent or magnificence to the imperial reſidence. Here Cortez learned, that the enemy had abandoned the fortreſſes on the mountains, and were aſſembled at Quanovac, a populous and ſtrong town, where they determined to make an obſtinate reſiſtance againſt all the power of the confederates. He advanced towards the place, which was defended by a deep and wide ditch filled with water, which tumbled down rapidly from the adjacent mountains. The Mexicans had cut down the bridges, and placed ſuch a number of men on the oppoſite bank, that the paſſage ſeemed altogether impracticable to the greater part of the confederates, both Spaniards and Indians; but Cortez did not deſpair of being able to effect it. With this view, he drew up his army at a little diſtance, ordering the muſketeers to keep up a perpetual fire, while he went in perſon to view the ditch; and having diſcovered a place much narrower than the common width, he directed two bridges to be haſtily conſtructed and thrown over, by which means the infantry were enabled to paſs, the fire-arms and croſs-bows keeping the enemy at a diſtance. The van-guard, compoſed chiefly of Spaniards, no ſooner reached the oppoſite ſide, than they formed into a ſquare battalion, which ſeemed to bid defiance to all oppoſition: but the Mexicans, now ſenſible that they ought to have diſputed the paſſage more vigorouſly, poured down in ſuch multitudes, that the Spaniards could hardly maintain their ground, though they were continually receiving ſupplies from the troops that were filing over the bridges with all poſſible expedition; and the event would have been very doubtful, had not Cortez fortunately found a paſſage for the cavalry, with which he charged the enemy in the rear. Diſtracted by this double attack, the Mexicans fled with precipitation to the mountains, leaving Quanavac at the mercy of the conquerors.

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

In this place, which was ſaved from the fury of the ſoldiers at the interceſſion of the cazique and the principal inhabitants, Cortez paſſed the night, and early next morning ſet out for Suchimilco, the chief object of his expedition. The march was difficult and fatiguing, the ſoldiers being ready to periſh with thirſt in a long, barren, ſandy defile, where they were expoſed to the reflected beams of the mid-day ſun. Night however brought relief, and a comfortable ſupply of proviſions, in a village recently abandoned by the enemy. At break of day Cortez drew up his army in order of battle, and continued his march with all poſſible precaution, conjecturing that the enemy would make the moſt vigorous efforts in defence of a place of ſuch importance as Suchimilco. Nor was he miſtaken. The Mexicans had extended their numerous battalions in a plain, at ſome diſtance from the city, having in front a deep and rapid river, which diſcharged itſelf into the lake. They had doubled their lines on the banks of this river, and diſpoſed their main body for the defence of a wooden bridge, which they had left ſtanding, after barricading it with planks and faſcines; believing, that though this fortification ſhould be forced, they would ſtill be able to cut off their enemies, by means of the narrowneſs of the paſs.

Cortez perceived the difficulty, but without ſeeming to regard it, extended his front along the oppoſite bank of the river, and ordered the Spaniards to advance, and attack the bridge; a ſervice which they performed with great gallantry, though they met with the moſt vigorous oppoſition. Three times were they repulſed, and as often renewed the charge with ardour: at laſt they gained the paſs; on which ſucceſs the Mexicans every where gave way, their commanders ordering a retreat, that they might be in a condition to rally. They accordingly made a ſecond ſtand under the walls of the town, and were again attacked ſo impetuouſly by the confederates, that they were obliged to fly for ſhelter to the city. Great numbers were killed as they crowded in at the gates, and Cortez commanded the works which they had erected for the defence of the ſtreets to be forced. Here it was that the general, tranſported by his impetuous courage, engaged himſelf ſo far with the enemy, that, after being fatigued with fighting, having his horſe killed under him, and all endeavours to rejoin his troops proving ineffectual, he was in a manner made priſoner by the enemy. Nothing could have ſaved him, but the deſire which the Mexicans had to take him alive as a preſent for the emperor. His diſtreſs was obſerved by Chriſtoval de Olea, a Spaniſh ſoldier, who forced his way through the thickeſt of the enemy, killed with his own hand thoſe who preſſed upon his general, and reſtored him to liberty. As ſoon as Cortez rejoined his troops, he puſhed the Mexicans with ſo much vigour, that they fled to that part of the city which ſtood in the water, leaving the Spaniards maſters of all the ſtreets upon the firm land *.

When Cortez entered Suchimilco, he left part of his army without the walls, in order to ſecure a retreat, and repel any attacks that might be made from abroad. This body of reſerve, which was commanded by Olid and Alvarado,

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 17, 18.

found

found ſufficient employment while the general was forcing his way into the city. A band of Mexican nobles made an extraordinary effort to reinforce the garriſon of this place, whoſe conſervation the emperor Guatimozin had very much at heart. They landed with ten thouſand choſen men; and knowing that Cortez was engaged in the ſtreets, intended to fall upon the rear of the confederates. Aſtoniſhed to find an army without the walls, where they expected no reſiſtance, the Mexicans ſtood for ſome moments in ſuſpence, as if deliberating whether they ſhould attempt to execute the ſervice on which they came; then ruſhing on with impetuoſity, they bravely attempted to cut their way into the town. The attack was obſtinate and bloody; but the confederates received them with ſo much reſolution, that they were at laſt obliged to retreat to their canoes, leaving many of their number dead upon the field. Olid and Alverado were both wounded, with ſeveral other Spaniards and Tlaſcalans of eminence. CHAP. VI. A. D. 1521.

This ſecond advantage rendered Cortez perfectly ſecure on the ſide of the land, and being now maſter of the principal ſtreets, he took poſſeſſion of a temple, which from its height commanded a view of the whole city and lake. Here he placed a garriſon, with orders to keep a conſtant watch, and to obſerve the motions of the enemy, both by land and water. The utility of this precaution was ſoon experienced. Towards the cloſe of the evening two thouſand armed canoes were ſeen advancing with all the ſpeed they could make. The guards were immediately doubled, and every meaſure was taken to give the enemy a ſuitable reception, and provide againſt the dangers of the night. In the morning the Mexicans landed at a conſiderable diſtance from the city. Cortez marched againſt them with the bulk of the confederate army; and the enemy, who were fifteen thouſand ſtrong, did not decline the combat: but the reſiſtance which they made was ſo feeble, and their flight ſo ſudden, that the action rather deſerves the name of a rout than a victory *. In Suchimilco the general ſtayed four days for the recovery of the wounded; after which he returned to the head quarters, the purpoſe of the expedition being now fully anſwered.

When Cortez arrived at Tezeuco he found the brigantines completed, and the canal ſufficiently enlarged to facilitate their conveyance to the lake. All other neceſſary preparations for the ſiege were carried on with vigour: great quantities of arms were made for the Indians; an exact account was taken of the ſtores in the magazine; the artillery was proved; and a day was fixed for the launching of the veſſels, when the auxiliary caziques were ordered to appear at the general rendezvous with their troops. But while Cortez was thus bringing his ſchemes to a criſis, and looking forward with a ſteady eye to the fall of the Mexican empire, which ſeemed now neither uncertain nor remote, a conſpiracy was ripening that threatened at once to terminate his life and hopes. The followers of Narvaez had never perfectly united with the original companions of Cortez, nor did they enter into his meaſures with the ſame honeſt zeal. On every occaſion that required an extraordinary exertion of courage or

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 18.

patience,

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

patience, their ſpirits were apt to ſink: the expeditions againſt the towns in the neighbourhood of the lake, though generally ſucceſsful, had been accompanied with ſuch incredible hardſhips, as ſhook the reſolution even of thoſe among them who had adhered to Cortez when he was deſerted by their aſſociates; and now, a on nearer view of what they had to encounter, in attempting to reduce Mexico itſelf, their fears entirely predominated, and they begun to deliberate how they might provide for their own ſafety, as their commander ſeemed raſhly determined to ſacrifice their lives to a blind ambition.

Antonio Villafana, a private ſoldier, artfully fomented this growing ſpirit of diſaffection, to which fear had originally given birth. His quarters became the rendezvous of the malcontents; where, after various conſultations, in which they could find no probable means of checking the career of Cortez, or of eſcaping from an enterpriſe which they deemed pregnant with ruin, it was reſolved, at the inſtigation of Villafana, to aſſaſſinate the general and his principal officers, and to confer the command upon ſome perſon who would relinquiſh his wild plans, and adopt meaſures more conſiſtent with their common ſecurity. Deſpair inſpired them with courage; and the manner of perpetrating the crime was immediately ſettled, after all preſent had ſet their names to a writing, whereby they obliged themſelves to ſupport Villafana in his attempt upon the life of Cortez. They agreed to feign a pacquet from Villa Rica, with letters from Spain, and to give it to the general when at table with his friends, the conſpirators all ruſhing in together, under pretence of hearing the news; and while Cortez was employed in opening the pacquet, that they ſhould make uſe of the opportunity afforded by that moment of anxious ſuſpenſe to murder him and his favourite officers with their poniards. The principal perſons marked out for deſtruction beſides the general, were Sandoval, Olid, and Alverado; and they intended to chuſe for their commander Franciſco Verdugo, brother-in-law to Velaſquez, as they thought he would be moſt eaſily brought over, and the moſt proper perſon to give credit to their party. But as they knew him to be a man of honour, they durſt not acquaint him with their deſign till the crime ſhould be committed, when they concluded he would be induced to accept of the command, in order to prevent greater evils.

Such was the ſcheme concerted for the deſtruction of Cortez and thoſe who ſtood higheſt in his confidence; and the very day, and even the hour for putting it in execution was fixed. But many men may be brought to conſent to ſuch atrocious deeds, whoſe nature ſhrinks from the perpetration of them. One of Cortez's ancient followers had been drawn into the conſpiracy; but ruminating on his own treachery, and ſtruck with horror at the thought of being inſtrumental in ſhedding the blood of a man whom he had ſo long been accuſtomed to honour and revere, he went privately to the general, and after begging his life, revealed all that he knew. The occaſion admitted of no delay, and very little deliberation; and happily Cortez at once diſcerned what conduct was proper in a ſituation ſo critical. He immediately went to ſecure Villafana, attended by the two alcades, and ſome other officers whom he could truſt, and found him in his

quarters, with three or four of his accomplices. The aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the traitor at this unexpected viſit ſufficiently betrayed his guilt. After he was ſeized and put into irons, Cortez ordered every one to retire, under pretence of examining him in private; when, taking advantage of the information he had received, he ſnatched from his boſom the paper containing the aſſociation ſigned by the conſpirators. Impatient to know how far the defection extended, he read it, and found there the names of ſome perſons whoſe infidelity filled him with ſorrow and ſurpriſe; but concealing this circumſtance from his friends, he cauſed the ſoldiers found with Villafana to be confined in a ſeparate apartment, and then withdrew, leaving inſtructions with the officers of juſtice to proceed to his trial with all poſſible ſpeed, without taking any notice of his accomplices. As the proofs of his guilt were manifeſt, Villafana confeſſed his crime, was inſtantly condemned to ſuffer death, and next morning was ſeen hanging at the window of his quarters.

Cortez was equally afflicted and enraged at the long liſt of ſoldiers, (ſaid to have amounted to three hundred,) concerned in this conſpiracy; but he had no ſooner leiſure for reflection than he was ſenſible, that neither juſtice nor reſentment could be ſatisfied at the expence of ſo many lives, which were invaluable in the preſent conjuncture. He could not execute ſuch a number of Spaniards, without relinquiſhing his deſigns upon Mexico: he therefore had recourſe to an expedient, in order to appeaſe juſtice, and to avoid puniſhing the guilty, without ſeeming to connive at the crime, or to be afraid of exerting his authority. It was inſinuated that Villafana had torn and ſwallowed a paper ſuppoſed to contain the names of the conſpirators, and that the ſevereſt tortures had not been able to make him diſcover one of his accomplices. As ſoon as this report had time to ſpread, Cortez called together his troops, and explained to them the atrocious purpoſe of Villafana, as well as the juſtice of his puniſhment; adding, that he was happily ignorant of all the circumſtances of this dark tranſaction, and wiſhed to remain ſo, the traitor having ſuddenly deſtroyed a paper which probably contained an account of it; that he only deſired to be informed of any complaints which his ſoldiers might have againſt his proceedings, that he might endeavour to correct his faults, and be enabled to yield general ſatisfaction. This artful declaration, and the compoſed manner in which it was delivered, reſtored tranquillity to many a breaſt that was throbbing, when he began to ſpeak, with conſciouſneſs of guilt and dread of detection; and as a farther proof of his ſincerity, he ordered the ſoldiers, who had been found in company with Villafana, to be ſet at liberty, under pretence that no evidence appeared againſt them.

By theſe ſpirited and prudent meaſures Cortez ſuppreſſed a dangerous faction, reconciled the minds of his ſoldiers, and defeated a deſign upon his own life, by ſacrificing only the chief inſtrument and firſt mover of the conſpiracy. He had the advantage of being able to keep a watchful eye on ſuch of his followers as were diſaffected, while they, rejoicing that their paſt guilt was undiſcovered, ſerved him with extraordinary zeal and activity, in order to avert thoſe ſuſpicions which they were

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

conſcious they had merited. Nor were theſe the only advantages that Cortez derived from the fortunate ſuppreſſion of this conſpiracy. He made uſe of the opportunity which it afforded him to ſtrengthen his authority, under colour of perſonal ſafety, by appointing a body guard of twelve truſty ſoldiers, commanded by an officer in whom he could confide *.

This diſorder among the Spaniards was followed by another among the Tlaſcalans. Xicotencal, general of the republic, either from ſome freſh diſguſt, or becauſe he had not yet laid aſide his ancient animoſity, and judged this a proper ſeaſon to diſtreſs his rival, withdrew privately from Tezeuco, with a body of men whom he had engaged in his intereſt. Cortez was informed of his retreat by the Tlaſcalans themſelves, few of whom approved his conduct. The defection of a commander, ſo conſiderable among the confederate Indians, was of the moſt alarming conſequence, at a criſis when the greateſt unanimity was neceſſary to give ſucceſs to the deſigns of Cortez. Some noble Indians were diſpatched after him, in order to perſuade him to return. But this expedient proved fruitleſs. Xicotencal not only rejected their arguments, but diſmiſſed them with a contemptuous anſwer; a circumſtance which ſo much enraged Cortez, that he immediately ſent a party of Spaniards and Chalqueſe to take him priſoner, or to kill him, if he reſiſted. The latter part of the inſtructions was put in execution: Xicontencal fought obſtinately, and was ſlain. His troops, who had followed him contrary to their own inclination, made but a feeble reſiſtance, and returned with the Spaniards to the army, leaving their commander hanging on a tree †.

Having thus fortunately ſtruggled through two dangerous factions, and removed all obſtructions to his main deſign, Cortez ordered the brigantines to be launched, in preſence of all the Spaniſh troops, as well as of the auxiliary Indians, who were drawn up on the banks of the canal. Father Olmedo bleſſed them as they paſſed, and gave each its name, according to the cuſtom of mariners; and every eye followed them, with wonder and hope, till they entered the lake, when they hoiſted their ſails, let fly their colours, and bore away before the wind, while the muſic played, and the guns were fired, which were anſwered from the ſhore by a general ſhout of joy, and Te Deum was ſung for the happy ſucceſs ‡. It was indeed a matter of no ſmall aſtoniſhment in an age ſo little improved, that thirteen veſſels of ſuch a ſize as to deſerve the name of ſhips, ſhould be conſtructed in a country which furniſhed no material for them except wood, carried ſixty miles over land on men's ſhoulders, and completed in ſuch a manner as to anſwer all the purpoſes of navigation.

April 28.

Cortez now reviewed his Spaniſh troops, which conſiſted of eighty-ſix horſemen, and eight hundred and fourteen foot ſoldiers; of whom near two hundred were armed with muſkets or croſs-bows, the reſt with ſword, buckler, and lance. The train of artillery was compoſed of three battering-cannon, and fifteen field-pieces.

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 19. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 1. † De Solis, lib. iv. c. 19. ‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 2. De Solis, lib. v. c. 20.

On

On board each of the brigantines he put one of his ſmall cannon, twenty-five Spaniards, and twelve Indian rowers, under the command of a captain. Things being thus diſpoſed, he determined to attack Mexico from three different quarters; from Iztacpalapa on the eaſt ſide of the lake, from Tacuba on the weſt, and Cuyocan towards the ſouth, thoſe towns being ſituated on the principal cauſeways that led to the capital, and intended for its defence. He appointed Sandoval to command in the firſt, Alvarado in the ſecond, and Olid in the third; allotting to each one hundred and fifty Spaniards, and a large body of confederate Indians. He took upon himſelf the conduct of the brigantines, which commanded the lake, that he might overſee every thing, and carry relief where it ſhould be moſt wanted *.

Alvarado and Olid marched in company to Tacuba, which they found entirely deſerted by the inhabitants; the greater part of whom were gone to the defence of Mexico, where Guatimozin had collected the chief force of his empire, and the reſt had retired to the mountains of Chapultepeque, in order to protect the aqueducts which came from thence, and ſupplied that city with freſh water. As it was of the utmoſt conſequence to preſerve theſe conveyances, the emperor had ordered an army for the defence of each aqueduct, as ſoon as he was informed that Cortez had reſolved upon the ſiege of his capital. The two Spaniſh captains led their troops againſt the enemy, defeated them after a warm engagement, and then broke down the aqueducts, ſuffering the water to take its natural courſe into the lake. This was the firſt ſtep towards the ſiege of Mexico; and it was important, as it reduced the inhabitants to great inconveniency and diſtreſs, by obliging them to ſeek for freſh water at a diſtance, in the brooks that ran from the mountains, and occupied a number of hands that might otherwiſe have been employed in repelling the attacks of the enemy. May 10.

This ſervice being performed, Olid and Alvarado took poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſtations without oppoſition, and Cortez was proceeding with his fleet of brigantines to aſſiſt Sandoval in diſlodging the enemy from that part of the city of Iztacpalapa which ſtood in the water, when he obſerved a multitude of canoes coming out of Mexico, and advancing towards him. Theſe being joined by others from the neighbouring towns, to the amount, as was ſuppoſed of four thouſand, ſeemed to cover the whole face of the lake, aud afforded a ſpectacle both beautiful and terrible. This powerful fleet had been provided by Guatimozin, in order to attempt the deſtruction of the brigantines, the fatal effects of whoſe operations he foreſaw and dreaded. Cortez was glad of an opportunity of manifeſting his ſuperiority on the watery element, and ſhewing himſelf lord of the lake; eſpecially as he perceived, by the crowds of people who filled the windows and balconies, that the whole city of Mexico was held in anxious ſuſpenſe on the iſſue of the diſpute. He drew up his brigantines in the form of a creſcent, that he might extend his front, and engage with freedom. In this order he advanced ſlowly towards the enemy, that his rowers being re-

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 20.

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

freſhed by lying on their oars, might break in with greater vigour upon the canoes, when they came within a proper diſtance; it being ſuch a dead calm at the time that no dependance could be placed in the ſails. The Mexicans advanced boldly to the charge; and fortunately for Cortez, when they drew near, a breeze ſprung up: in a moment the ſails were ſpread, and the brigantines bore down with ſuch impetuoſity, that they broke and overturned every thing before them, while the artillery, fire-arms, and croſs-bows, made dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy. The nobles of Mexico, who commanded five hundred ſtout canoes, ſtill made ſome reſiſtance, but the reſt was all diſorder and confuſion; the canoes running foul of and overſetting one another, in order to avoid being ſhattered by the brigantines, or ſunk by the artillery. The Mexicans in a word ſuffered a complete defeat; ſome hundreds of their canoes being deſtroyed, and ſeveral thouſands of their people ſlain by the arms, or drowned by the irreſiſtible ſhock of the veſſels of the Spaniards, who thus acquired the reputation of being invincible on this new element, and the brigantines henceforth rode triumphant on the lake, inſulting the city of Mexico with impunity *.

The night after this victory Cortez paſſed at a ſtation near Tezeuco, and was preparing next morning to ſail for Iztacpalapa, in order to aſſiſt Sandoval, according to his former reſolution, when he diſcovered a fleet of canoes making all poſſible diſpatch towards Cuyocan, and thought Olid might ſtand in more immediate need of ſuccour. In this conjecture he was not deceived: he found that officer engaging the enemy on the cauſeway, and obliged to make head againſt thoſe who defended it, as well as to reſiſt the canoes that attacked him on each ſide. Olid was on the point of retreating when the brigantines came up to his relief; and the difficulties with which he had to ſtruggle were indeed inſuperable, while expoſed to ſo many different attacks. The Mexicans had drawn up the bridges over thoſe chaſms towards the city, by which the waters of the higher lake diſcharged themſelves into the lower. At each chaſm they had fixed planks, in ſuch a manner, that they could annoy the Spaniards under cover; and in caſe they ſhould be forced to retreat, they had raiſed farther obſtructions by trenches dug behind, and filled with water, over which were laid looſe planks, that could eaſily be removed, after they had retired.

In this manner were the three cauſeways fortified, and ſuch were the difficulties that Olid was endeavouring to ſurmount when Cortez arrived. He had already made himſelf maſter of the firſt bridge, from which he drove the enemy by his fire-arms; then filled it up with faſcines, over which the troops paſſed, in order to attack the ſecond. The fleet of canoes had put him to a ſtand; but they were ſoon thrown into confuſion by the brigantines, which likewiſe played their artillery ſo briſkly upon thoſe who defended the trenches, that the Mexicans fled in diſorder to the laſt chaſm towards the city. Night prevented the confederates from taking advantage of the terror and confuſion of the enemy, in order to make themſelves maſters of this paſs; but they maintained the ground

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 20. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 4.

which

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1521.

which they had gained, and early next morning advanced to the attack, when they found the rampart ſo ſtrongly fortified, and defended by ſuch a multitude of people, that the attempt to force it ſeemed hazardous, if not impracticable. A retreat, however, was deemed diſgraceful, as well as impolitic, unleſs in the laſt neceſſity, after they were engaged. A briſk fire was therefore kept up from the brigantines, while Olid was employed in filling up the chaſm, and deſtroying the fortifications on the cauſeway. This ſervice being performed, he charged the Mexicans who defended the works, making room for the auxiliary Indians under his command to advance. The enemy at the ſame time were ſupported by troops from the city, and made a vigorous reſiſtance: but they at laſt began to give way; when Cortez, incenſed at their obſtinacy, landed at the head of thirty Spaniards, and infuſed ſuch ſpirits into the troops, that they drove the enemy before them into the city, gained the principal ſtreet, and forced a ſtrong temple, filled with armed men, without a ſingle repulſe. The whole quarter in which that temple ſtood was immediately deſerted by the enemy; and Cortez was ſo well ſatisfied with having got footing once more in the capital, that he had thoughts of maintaining a garriſon there, and even of advancing the quarters thither from Cuyocan. But he relinquiſhed this deſign by the advice of his officers, who repreſented the danger to which his troops would be expoſed, from the inceſſent attacks of the Mexicans, and the difficulty of ſupplying them with proviſions; that they ought to make their advances equally from each of the three ſtations, in order to divide the enemy's forces, until all had carried their approaches into the city, and drawn ſo near, that they could be mutually aſſiſting to each other *.

In conſequence of this advice, Cortez, with his fleet of brigantines, eſcorted Olid and his troops back to Cuyocan, in order to keep off the canoes, and thence proceeded to Iztacpalapa, where he found Sandoval reduced to the laſt extremity. This brave officer had poſſeſſed himſelf of the buildings on the land, and lodged his troops there, fortifying his quarters in the beſt manner poſſible; but the enemy, who retired to that part of the city which ſtood in the water, continued to annoy him from their canoes. He made great havoc among ſuch as ſtood his approach, and had vanquiſhed three reinforcements from Mexico, that came to attack him by land. At length he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the whole city. With this view he ſeized a large houſe, in the quarter towards the lake, making a paſſage through the water with faſcines; but ſcarce had he gained poſſeſſion of it, when a fleet of canoes, which had lain in ambuſh, attended by a troop of ſwimmers, removed the faſcines, and cut off his retreat, while a number of Mexican archers plied him from the windows and terraces of the neighbouring houſes. In this ſituation Cortez found him, and played the artillery of his brigantines ſo ſucceſsfully upon the canoes, that they retired in the utmoſt confuſion into the canals leading through the city to the lake. Many of them were ſunk by the crowding in of people from the terraces, and

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 21.

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

not a few were deſtroyed by the brigantines, in endeavouring to avoid that danger. The Spaniards made ſome priſoners, and found a ſufficient booty to encourage the ſoldiers.

But Cortez perceived, notwithſtanding this advantage, that it would be impoſſible to uſe the cauſeway of Iztacpalapa to advantage, until that part of the city which afforded a retreat for the Mexican canoes was deſtroyed: and this would occaſion ſuch delay as might prove fatal to the other attacks; he therefore reſolved to evacuate the poſt entirely, and ſend the body of forces under Sandoval to ſeize upon Tapeaquilla, where there was another cauſeway, leſs commodious for attacking by reaſon of its narrowneſs, but more advantageous to the deſign which he had now formed of ſtarving the enemy into ſubmiſſion, if force ſhould prove ineffectual. This reſolution was immediately executed: Sandoval marched by land, eſcorted by the brigantines, till he arrived at his new quarters; of which he took poſſeſſion without reſiſtance, Tapeaquilla being entirely deſerted by the inhabitants.

Cortez now ſailed for Tacuba, where he found Alvarado ſtill in poſſeſſion of that city, which had been abandoned to him, but ſtruggling with the ſame difficulties that Olid had experienced in advancing along the cauſeway of Cuyocan. His troops were waſted by conſtant ſkirmiſhes, and his approaches to Mexico were obſtructed by breaches and trenches, which the enemy were fortifying every day. Even after the arrival of Cortez, the Spaniards were expoſed to the continual perſecution of the Mexican canoes, in all quarters where the brigantines were not preſent to protect them; and it was impoſſible for thirteen veſſels to cover the aſſailants in three different ſtations at the ſame time. Senſible of theſe diſadvantages, Cortez commanded all attacks to ceaſe till farther orders, and employed himſelf in aſſembling ſuch a fleet of canoes as ſhould be ſufficient to obſtruct all convoys to the city, as well as to protect his troops in their approaches. When he had collected the number thought requiſite, he divided them into three ſquadrons, manned by Indians, who knew how to manage them, and commanded by captains of their own nation. Theſe canoes he diſtributed among the brigantines, which he alſo divided into ſquadrons, ſending four to Sandoval, four to Alverado, and joining Olid with the other five, under his own command *.

From this time the Spaniards carried on their attacks with more facility: an entire ſtop was put to the inſults of the Mexican canoes; and as all intercourſe with the country was in a manner cut off, the enemy ſeverely felt the ſcarcity of freſh water, and even began to be ſtraitened in proviſions, notwithſtanding the ſtores laid up by the foreſight of Guatimozin. In order to remove theſe obſtructions, to reſiſt and annoy the beſiegers, the Mexicans employed all their addreſs and ingenuity; and the variety of expedients, to which they had recourſe, and which diſcover both ſubtilty and military ſkill, prove that they were by no means ſuch a contemptible enemy as they have been repreſented by ſome writers. Perceiving that all their endeavours to fortify the cauſeways proved

* Id. ibid.

ineffectual, they ſent by ſecret and remote paſſages ſeveral canoes full of pioneers, to clear the chaſms which the Spaniards had filled up, that they might fall upon them with their whole force when they ſhould be obliged to retire, and take advantage of theſe unexpected obſtructions. This ſtratagem being detected, though not without ſome loſs, they had recourſe to another: they made frequent ſallies by night, contrary to their cuſtom, in order to alarm the confederates, and fatigue them by watching, that they might afterwards attack them with freſh troops.

But the ſcheme which moſt ſtrongly diſcovered the induſtry and ingenuity of the Mexicans, was that formed againſt the brigantines, whoſe ſuperior force they dreaded, and endeavoured to overcome by engaging them ſingly. They built thirty of that ſort of large canoes, which the natives called Piraguas, of a greater ſize than common, and ſtrengthened them with thick planks to receive the ſhot, and enable the men to engage under ſhelter. With this fleet they ſailed out under night, and took their ſtation behind the reeds in the lake, which grew ſo high and thick that they formed ſeveral groves impenetrable to the ſight. In order to draw the brigantines into the ambuſcade, they had provided ſome canoes laden with proviſions as a bait; and they had fixed ſtakes in the water, in hopes either to wreck the brigantines, or to make it eaſier to board them.

Next morning two of the brigantines being ſeen cruiſing near the place where the Mexicans had taken their ſtation, they ſent out their canoes by a remote way, that, being ſeen at a diſtance, they might pretend to fly, and take ſhelter among the reeds. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The Spaniards, who had no ſuſpicion, purſued the flying canoes with all the force of their oars, fell in among the hidden ſtakes, and were ſo embarraſſed that they could neither retreat nor advance, when they ſaw the piraguas coming out with deſperate fury to fall upon them. A ſharp engagement now began. The Spaniards plied their muſkets and artillery with all poſſible diligence, while the chief ſtruggle of the Mexicans was to board the brigantines, in which they were repeatedly foiled. All the valour of the Spaniſh mariners muſt, however, have ſunk under the weight of numbers, had not the ſhock of the cannon ſomewhat diſengaged their veſſels, which were afterwards cleared from every impediment by ſome expert ſwimmers, who removed the ſtakes by the aſſiſtance of hatchets. Being now at full liberty, they made dreadful havock among the enemy; ſunk and deſtroyed moſt of the piraguas, and purſued the reſt as far as their own ſecurity would permit. The victory was complete; but it was not purchaſed without loſs: the brigantines were much damaged, and the two captains, Barba and Pertillo, fell gallantly defending their veſſels *.

Cortez had ſoon an opportunity of revenging the death of thoſe brave officers. Having received intelligence that the Mexicans had repaired their veſſels, and ſtationed them a ſecond time behind the reeds, in order to draw the Spaniards to an engagement, under the ſame diſadvantages as formerly, he reſolved to countermine their plot. Six brigantines were concealed among the reeds, not far from

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 22.

the

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

the place where the paraguas lay. One of theſe was ordered to cruiſe about, as if in ſearch of canoes laden with proviſions, and afterwards to draw as near the concealed piraguas as was neceſſary to let them ſee they were diſcovered; and when they purſued, ſhe had orders to make all poſſible haſte to the place of the counter ambuſcade. Every thing ſucceeded to the general's moſt ſanguine expectations. The Mexicans gave chaſe to the brigantine, as a ſure prize, and were ſuddenly ſaluted by the artillery of the reſt of the ſquadron. All their attempts to retreat were now in vain: the Spaniards poured in their ſhot with ſo much fury, that ſcarce a ſingle paragua eſcaped being ſunk or taken.

Theſe ſucceſſes, though by no means deciſive, ſerved to animate the Spaniards, and to diſhearten the Mexicans; who, according to the intelligence received from the city, were now reduced to great want of proviſions. It was alſo reported that the neceſſities of the common people had rendered them clamorous, and that the nobility were divided in their ſentiments relative to the ſtate of affairs. This Cortez conſidered as a proper opportunity to renew his overtures of peace; for though he had great reaſon to believe, that he ſhould be able to reduce Mexico by force, he was ſenſible it muſt yet coſt much blood, and was beſides ſolicitous to preſerve ſo fine a city from deſtruction, that it might remain as a monument of his glory, and become the capital of his conqueſts. The propoſals, which conſiſted chiefly in a demand of homage to the king of Spain, were ſent by ſome noble Mexicans, who had been taken priſoners; and it is affirmed that the emperor called a council of his miniſters and principal officers, and laid before them the wretched condition of the city; the prodigious diminution of the number of inhabitants; the murmurs of the people; and all the preſent and future conſequences of the ſiege; after which he aſked their opinion relative to the propoſals made by Cortez, and expreſſed his own inclination for peace, as far as was conſiſtent for a prince of a martial genius and invincible courage. All the members of the council were of the ſame way of thinking: but when the propoſition was referred to the prieſts, they oppoſed it with the utmoſt violence, foreſeeing the overthrow of their temples, and conſequently the ruin of their influence over the minds of the people. They pretended to have received certain anſwers from their idols, which gave them freſh aſſurances of victory: and this information ſo animated the council, that they unanimouſly declared for the continuance of the war. Guatimozin, who ſeems only to have affected pacific ſentiments, in order to convince the Mexicans how tender he was of their lives and property, and who was probably not unacquainted with the opinion of the prieſts, or the effect which it was likely to produce on the council, now iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting any one from mentioning peace, whatever diſtreſs the city might be reduced to, under pain of capital puniſhment *.

Cortez was no ſooner informed of this determination, than he reſolved to puſh on his hoſtilities by the three cauſeways at the ſame time, and to carry fire and ſword into the very heart of the city. With that view he ſent inſtructions to

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 22.

Alvarado

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1521.

Alvarado and Sandoval to advance with their reſpective diviſions to a general aſſault, while he placed himſelf at the head of the troops poſted on the cauſeway of Cuyocan, and properly commanded by Chriſtoval de Olid. Animated by the preſence of their general, and the expectation of ſome deciſive event, the Spaniards puſhed forward with irreſiſtible fury, till they came to the laſt breach in the cauſeway, which the Mexicans had enlarged to the extent of ſixty feet; and on the oppoſite bank they had raiſed a fortification of timbers, ſtrongly united, and covered with planks, in which were ſeveral artificial openings, through which they could ply their darts and arrows, under cover. This fortification was garriſoned by a body of ſelect troops; but it was inſufficient to withſtand the force of the artillery, which were no ſooner brought to bear than it was broken in pieces, the Mexicans who defended it retiring with threatening geſtures into the city.

Having thus cleared the paſs, the next care of Cortez was to tranſport over his troops, by the aſſiſtance of the canoes and brigantines; and while he advanced againſt the enemy, who were ſtill poſted behind the trenches cut acroſs the ſtreets, he ordered Julian de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the reinforcement brought from Hiſpaniola, to fill up and ſecure the gaps in the cauſeway. But that officer, deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action and the career of victory, no ſooner heard the noiſe of the battle, than he left the important charge committed to him to the care of another of his company, who likewiſe ſlighted it, and all hurried on inconſiderately to mingle with the combatants; ſo that this paſs, which had been looked upon as impracticable at the time of the attack, now remained entirely abandoned to the enemy.

The Mexicans obſtinately ſtood the firſt charge; and it coſt Cortez no ſmall trouble, and ſome blood, to force them from their trenches. The hazard of the Spaniards was yet greater, when they had paſſed the ruined buildings, and were obliged to defend themſelves againſt the arrows and darts of the enemy, which came pouring upon them from the windows and tops of the houſes; but in the very middle of the engagement, there appeared a ſudden ſlackneſs in the enemy, which ſeemed to be the effect of ſome new inſtructions, as they haſtily quitted the ground which they had gallantly defended, without being broken. This conjecture was not ill founded; Guatimozin having received information, that the great breach in the cauſeway was left open and unguarded, inſtantly diſpatched a large body of choſen warriors to take poſſeſſion of it, and at the ſame time commanded the troops poſted in the front of the Mexican army to ſlacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to puſh forward, in hopes of ſnatching a complete victory.

Cortez, who ſuſpected ſome ſtratagem, and had now no more than time to return to his quarters, ordered a retreat. But ſcarce had the Spaniards begun to march, when their ears were ſtruck with the awful ſound of the *Sacred Trumpet!*—ſo called, becauſe none but the prieſts were permitted to blow it, and they only on the moſt ſolemn and trying occaſions, when they denounced hoſtilities, or

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

animated the people in defence of their gods. It was conſecrated to the God of War; and on a ſignal given by Guatimozin, its loud and doleful notes broke from the boſom of the great temple. The Mexicans, as if rouſed by a voice from heaven, no ſooner heard the awakening call, than they ruſhed upon their enemies with frantic rage, accompanied with frightful ſhouts, and an enthuſiaſtic contempt of death. The Spaniards were unable to reſiſt the immenſe multitude that preſſed upon them, impelled at once by religious fury and the aſſurance of ſucceſs. In vain did Cortez endeavour to give a check to the purſuit by a general diſcharge of the fire arms and croſs-bows: their execution was not perceived among the incredible numbers of the enemy; and when he was attempting to make a ſtand with the cavalry, information was brought of the fatal gap, which obſtructed his retreat. Now was the time for a vigorous reſiſtance; but ſuch was the terror and confuſion occaſioned by this intelligence, that the general's voice was not heard: Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, horſe and foot, fled with precipitation, and plunged promiſcuouſly into the breach in the cauſeway, while the Mexicans in their light canoes ruſhed upon them fiercely from every ſide, through ſhoals which the brigantines durſt not approach, and either killed, drowned, or took priſoners the greater part of them. Cortez, with the few Spaniards who ſtill ſtood by him, endeavoured to keep off the enemy, and the ſlaughter which he made was terrible; but all his efforts proved ineffectual: his horſe was killed under him; he received ſeveral wounds; was in danger of being taken; eſcaped with difficulty to the brigantines; and returned to Cuyocan diſappointed, dejected, and defeated. Forty Spaniards fell alive into the hands of the Mexicans, an enemy never known to ſhew mercy to a captive; about half that number were ſlain, with above one thouſand Tlaſcalans *.

Meanwhile Sandoval and Alvarado were not more ſucceſsful in their reſpective commands: they gained bridges, filled up breaches in the cauſeways, forced their way into the city, and deſtroyed ſeveral houſes; but they were ſo vigorouſly aſſaulted in their retreat, which both found neceſſary, that they were obliged to have recourſe to flight. Twenty Spaniards were killed or taken, in the two attacks, with a proportional number of confederate Indians; a circumſtance which greatly diſcouraged the troops, eſpecially as the Mexicans, in the preſent inſtance, appeared to have been victorious without any accident in their favour.

But the ſorrowful reflections of the Spaniards, who eſcaped in this unfortunate rout, were not confined merely to their own ſufferings: new feelings, no leſs painful, were excited by the barbarous triumph and horrid feſtival with which the Mexicans celebrated their victory. No ſooner did night draw on, than every quarter of the city was illuminated; and the great temple, dedicated to the God of War, ſhone with ſuch peculiar ſplendour, that the Spaniards could plainly ſee the people in motion, and the prieſts buſy in haſtening the preparations for the death of the miſerable captives. They fancied they diſcerned their companions by the whiteneſs of their ſkins, as they were ſtript naked, and compelled to dance

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 22. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 4.

before

CHAP. V. A. D. 1521.

before the image of the god to whom they were to be offered, and whoſe altar was afterwards ſprinkled with the blood of their yet fluttering hearts. They heard the ſhrieks of thoſe who were ſacrificed, and thought they could diſtinguiſh each unhappy victim by the well-known ſound of his voice. Imagination added to what they heard or ſaw, and augmented the horror of the diſmal ſpectacle. The moſt obdurate natures melted into tears of compaſſion, and the ſtouteſt heart trembled at a ſcene ſo affecting and dreadful *.

The part which Cortez had to act on this melancholy occaſion was peculiarly diſtreſſing, and required an extraordinary exertion of fortitude. Beſides his ſhare in common ſorrow, he was oppreſſed with the additional load of anxious reflections natural to a general on ſuch an unexpected calamity, without being permitted to relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguiſh. He was obliged to aſſume an air of tranquillity, in order to revive the ſpirits and hopes of his followers, whoſe moſt vigorous efforts were neceſſary to ſave them from total ruin. The Mexicans, elated with their victory, ſallied out before morning, by the three cauſeways, to attack the Spaniards in their quarters; but they did not find an enemy unprepared. Alarmed by the ſound of the awful trumpet, which inſpired their antagoniſts with ſo much fury, and to whoſe influence their leaders truſted more than to the probability of ſurpriſe, the Spaniards were all under arms; and by the aſſiſtance of the artillery and the brigantines, the Mexicans were repulſed with great ſlaughter, at each of the three attacks.

Guatimozin however, diſregarding the failure of this attempt, uſed every effort and artifice to improve his late victory, by weakening the enemy, and inſpiring his own people with confidence. He ſent the heads of the Spaniards who had been ſacrificed to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, that theſe tokens of his ſucceſs might confirm them in their obedience, and animate them to the defence of their ſovereign againſt the common enemy; and he aſſured them, that the God of War, appeaſed by the blood of their invaders, ſo plentifully ſhed on his altars, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days the Spaniards ſhould be finally deſtroyed, with all who adhered to their intereſt.

The effects of this political prediction, which gained univerſal credit among that ſuperſtitious race of men, were as great as the emperor could have wiſhed. The zeal of the provinces that had already declared againſt the Spaniards was augmented, and the people of ſeveral which had hitherto remained inactive, now took arms with enthuſiaſtic ardour to execute the decrees of their ſupreme god. The threatenings of this terrible divinity were artfully propagated among the Indian auxiliaries who had joined the Spaniards; and they, accuſtomed to receive his oracles with the ſame implicit faith as the other Mexican tribes, were ſo much ſtruck with the preciſe time limited for the period of their lives, in caſe they continued in diſobedience, that in the ſpace of three nights Cortez found himſelf almoſt entirely deſerted by his allies. Even the Tlaſcalans, alarmed at the dreadful denunciation, diſbanded in diſorder, and left their ſtations, none remaining

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 23. Caſtillo, c. 152. Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book v.

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

behind but a few of the chiefs, who perhaps laboured under the ſame apprehenſions, but valued their lives leſs than their honour.

This unexpected deſertion, added to his other misfortunes, made Cortez almoſt deſpair of the ſucceſs of his undertaking; but the moment that he was informed of its cauſe, a ray of hope broke in upon his mind: he determined, for his greater ſecurity, to ſuſpend all military operations during the time marked out by the oracle, and to turn the prediction to his own advantage, by exhibiting a ſtriking demonſtration of its falſity. With this view he ſent meſſengers after the fugitives, in order to temporize with their fears, while the Spaniſh troops lay ſafely under cover of the artillery and brigantines, till the fatal term expired. The expedient ſucceeded. His allies, aſhamed of their credulity, returned to their ſeveral ſtations, animated with freſh vigour and reſolution: other tribes, who had hitherto adhered to the emperor, concluding that the gods, having thus deceived the Mexicans, had finally decreed their ruin, now joined the Spaniards; and ſuch was the levity of the natives in general, that, in a ſhort time after this almoſt total defection, Cortez found himſelf ſupported by an army of near two hundred thouſand Indians *.

The Mexicans, however, were not idle during this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities to which they had reduced their enemies: they made frequent and deſperate ſallies; but all their efforts were not ſufficient to recover one of the poſts of which the Spaniards had taken poſſeſſion. Hence the city continued blocked up, and the famine was daily increaſing. The particulars of that calamity Cortez learned from his priſoners, who gave him to underſtand, That the people were obliged to drink the brackiſh water of the lake, which produced a variety of diſeaſes, of which great numbers died; and that the inconſiderable ſupply of proviſions brought by ſuch canoes as eſcaped the brigantines, being equally divided among the nobles, became an additional ſubject of impatience and diſcontent to the populace, whoſe clamours began to give ſuſpicion of their fidelity. This intelligence was of the utmoſt importance, and Cortez did not fail to profit by it. He immediately aſſembled a council of his officers, in order to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued at ſuch a juncture; and in that council it was unanimouſly reſolved to renew the three attacks, and to puſh both the ſiege and the blockade.

Cortez, however, ſaw the neceſſity of adopting a new ſyſtem of operations. Senſible of the impoſſibility of carrying Mexico by a ſingle effort, notwithſtanding his increaſe of force, and convinced by fatal experience of the danger of retreating in the face of the enemy, he determined to make his advances gradually, and to maintain the poſts that he gained. Water, proviſions, and whatever elſe was requiſite for the ſubſiſtence of the troops, being accordingly provided, the three captains, Sandoval, Alvarado, and Olid, marched out of their quarters at the head of their reſpective diviſions, each having his brigantines and canoes to ſupport him; Cortez, as formerly, leading the diviſion under Olid. They

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 23. Cortez, Relat. p. 275.

found

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1521.

found the three cauſeways in a poſture of defence; the bridges drawn up, and the chaſms fortified and guarded by an innumerable multitude of armed men: but the brigantines played their cannon to ſo much advantage, while the ſoldiers kept up a conſtant diſcharge of fire-arms and croſs-bows, that all oppoſition ſoon gave way, and the three diviſions arrived about the ſame time in the city, and made good their quarters. This was all their aim for that day: they therefore lodged themſelves in the beſt manner poſſible; determining next morning to proceed in their attempt to reach the great ſquare of Tlatelulco, which was the centre of their ſeveral expectations, and towards which they tended by different lines *.

This new method of proceeding occaſioned great trouble and confuſion among the Mexicans, and entirely diſconcerted all the meaſures which they had taken for charging the Spaniards in their retreat. The report that the enemy had made good their quarters rapidly ſpread through the city, and every mind was employed in contriving ſome reſource againſt the preſſing danger. The nobles repaired in a body to the imperial palace, and endeavoured to prevail on Guatimozin to quit the capital, and retire to a place of more ſecurity; but their utmoſt entreaties could only induce him to remove to a more diſtant quarter of the city, declaring that he was fully determined to ſhare the fate of his people. In conſequence of this reſolution, the whole remaining force of Mexico was aſſembled, with a deſign of expelling the Spaniards by one deciſive effort; but no ſooner did the Mexicans, who divided themſelves into three bodies, come within reach of the artillery planted in all the avenues to the Spaniſh quarters, than their courage failed them. The cannon made ſuch dreadful ſlaughter in the van, that it fell back upon the centre, and threw the whole army into confuſion. Several attempts were made to rally, but the Spaniards kept up ſuch an inceſſant fire, that the Mexicans were never able to advance ſo near as to employ their weapons; ſo that they were obliged to retire, diſpirited and baffled, while the beſiegers enlarged their quarters, without the loſs of a ſingle man.

The Spaniards, however, had ſtill many difficulties to encounter. For the ſpace of four days they were in continual action, diſputing every inch of ground: they were obliged to deſtroy houſes, level works, and fill up the ditches which were dug acroſs every ſtreet; and after the toils of the day, they were under the neceſſity of fortifying quarters for their ſecurity during the night. But all theſe obſtacles were gallantly ſurmounted, and all the three diviſions penetrated into the great ſquare, nearly at the ſame time. Alvarado arrived there firſt, and found the Mexicans drawn up in order of battle; but he charged them with ſo much vigour that they were ſoon broken, and obliged to ſeek ſhelter in the neighbouring ſtreets. He had juſt taken poſſeſſion of an adjoining temple, from the top of which he made a ſignal to his friends of his ſucceſs, when Cortez and Olid arrived with the diviſion under their command, driving before them a multitude of Mexicans; who now being encloſed between the two bodies of the confederates, were ſo warmly attacked in front and rear, that few of them eſcaped. July 27.

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 23, 24.

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

Sandoval arrived ſoon after with his diviſion, forcing along a crowd of the enemy, who were all likewiſe maſſacred; and the Spaniards found themſelves maſters of three-fourths of the city.

No ſooner was it known, that the whole force of the Spaniards was united, than the Mexicans ran with precipitation to defend the perſon of their prince; ſo that Cortez had an opportunity to lodge his army to the beſt advantage, and to fortify his quarters for that night, without oppoſition or interruption. In the morning he drew out his troops with an intention to attack that quarter of the city into which the emperor and his court had retired; and as it was ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, he expected a vigorous reſiſtance. He therefore judged it adviſable, before he began the aſſault, to renew his overtures of peace, that he might not be expoſed to thoſe efforts that are inſpired by deſpair, and which ſometimes change victory into defeat. Four noble priſoners were accordingly choſen to carry a meſſage to Guatimozin, acquainting him, that the Spaniſh general was far from deſiring the deſtruction of ſo fine a city, and would willingly avoid the further effuſion of blood, provided any reaſonable terms of accommodation were agreed to, on the part of his imperial majeſty *.

Guatimozin was too proud to return any anſwer to propoſals which he conſidered as inſidious; but the Mexican nobility, ſolicitous to ſave the life of a monarch whom they adored, amuſed Cortez with a pretended negociation for the ſpace of four days, during which they were contriving the emperor's eſcape, that he might rouſe the more diſtant provinces of his empire to arms, while they maintained the war, or accepted of ſuch conditions as they could obtain from the conquerors. Cortez at laſt ſuſpected their deſign, and aware of how much importance it was to defeat it, appointed Sandoval, the officer on whoſe vigilance he could moſt perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines, with ſtrict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy. At the ſame time he approached their fortifications by land, in order to forward the peace by the appearance of war. The Mexicans now endeavoured to amuſe him, by promiſing an interview with the emperor: he liſtened to them once more; and was again deceived †.

Meanwhile Sandoval had obſerved many ſuſpicious appearances on the lake. A great number of canoes and piraguas had been aſſembled for ſome time in a bay near that quarter of the city where the court now reſided. They excited the circumſpection of Sandoval; and on the morning that Cortez was to receive his final anſwer from the Mexican deputies, that attentive and diſcerning officer perceived at the dawn a great number of people crowding on board theſe veſſels. His ſuſpicions were confirmed. He made towards them with his fleet of brigantines, and was aſtoniſhed at the gallantry with which they received him: undiſmayed at the havock made by the artillery at a diſtance, they undauntedly advanced to cloſe quarters, and maintained the ſtruggle with obſtinacy. But Sandoval was not ſo much occupied with the conteſt for victory as to

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 24. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 5. † Id. ibid.

forget

CHAP. VI.
A. D. 1521.

forget his general inſtructions: he obſerved, in the bottom of the bay, ſix or ſeven piraguas making the beſt of their way, with the utmoſt force of oars, and inſtantly gave the ſignal to chaſe. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the fleeteſt brigantine, ſoon overtook them, and was preparing to fire upon the foremoſt piragua, which ſeemed to lead and govern the reſt; when the rowers, appriſed of his deſign, at once dropt their oars, and all on board threw down their arms, conjuring him to forbear, as the ſacred perſon of his imperial majeſty was in that veſſel. Holguin immediately leaped into the piragua, and eagerly ſeized his prize. Guatimozin advanced to meet him with dignity and compoſure, betraying no ſigns either of fear or ſurpriſe: "I am your priſoner," ſaid he, and ready to go whitherſoever you think fit to conduct me. All that I have to deſire of you is, that ſome regard may be had to the honour of the empreſs, my conſort, and to that of the women who accompany her." He then paſſed into the brigantine, giving his hand to the empreſs to aſſiſt her; and he poſſeſſed ſuch perfect preſence of mind, that perceiving Holguin in ſome anxiety about the other piraguas, "You have no occaſion," added he, "to give yourſelf any concern about thoſe men: they are my followers, and will all come to die at the feet of their prince." Accordingly, on the firſt ſignal which he made them, they let the weapons drop out of their hands, and followed the brigantine as priſoners, in obedience to their ſovereign's command *.

Sandoval was ſtill hotly engaged with the fleet of canoes, and by the reſiſtance which he met with, had a ſtriking example of the courage and fidelity of the Mexican nobles, who at the hazard of their own lives had undertaken to ſecure the liberty of their prince. But no ſooner had they notice that he was made captive, than their animating ſhouts were converted into dolorous lamentations; and they not only ſurrendered with little or no oppoſition, but ſeveral of them requeſted that they might be carried on board the brigantines to ſhare the fate of their emperor.

The ſame thing happened on ſhore, where Cortez had renewed his attacks, on finding himſelf deceived by the Mexican deputies. The defendants, who had hitherto ſtood their ground with ſurpriſing reſolution, on being informed of the taking of the piraguas, inſtantly retired in confuſion. The occaſion of that ſudden change was preſently known, and Cortez went to receive his royal priſoner. Guatimozin, when conducted to the general's quarters, entered firſt, thereby intimating that he had no reluctance to his confinement. He immediately took his ſeat; then ſeeming to recollect himſelf, he ſuddenly roſe up, and deſired Cortez to ſit down. When both had taken their ſeats, the emperor eyed the Spaniſh general with an air of majeſty, and ſaid, "I have done what became a ſovereign: I have defended my people to the laſt extremity: nothing now remains but to die. Take that dagger," pointing to one which Cortez wore, "plant it in this breaſt, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of uſe †." Cortez endeavoured to comfort him by expatiating on the valour and

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 25.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 5.

BOOK I. A. D. 1521.

generoſity of the Spaniſh monarch, whoſe friendſhip he might hope for, as well as the recovery of his liberty and the throne of his anceſtors; and he aſſured the captive monarch, that, in the meantime, while waiting for their ſovereign's inſtructions, he ſhould be reſpected by the Spaniards, and attended by them in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould not be able to diſtinguiſh their ſervices from thoſe of his own ſubjects *.

Cortez now propoſed to complete the reduction of that quarter of the city which was ſtill poſſeſſed by the enemy. With this view he took leave of his royal priſoners, whom he committed to the care of Sandoval; but Guatimozin, penetrating his deſign, deſired to ſpeak with him before his departure, and conjured him not to uſe the people harſhly, as their reſiſtance, if any yet remained, proceeded entirely from their ignorance of his condition. He therefore ſought leave, which was readily granted him, to inform his ſubjects of his fate, and of the neceſſity of conforming themſelves to the will of their gods. No ſooner did the Mexicans receive this intimation, than they threw down their arms, and ſub-

Aug. 13. mitted to the law of the conqueror; and Cortez took poſſeſſion of that ſmall part of the capital which had eſcaped the general deſtruction †. Thus terminated the ſiege of Mexico, the moſt memorable event in the conqueſt of the New World. It laſted almoſt three months, and was diſtinguiſhed by a ſeries of gallant efforts, both on the ſide of the beſiegers and the beſieged, worthy to decide the fate of a great empire.

After having ſhewn that Cortez, according to his own account, was at one time ſupported by near two hundred thouſand auxiliary Indians, and aſſigned the reaſons of their engaging in his cauſe, it would be impertinent here to remark with a learned hiſtorian, that this conqueſt was not accompliſhed merely by dint of Spaniſh valour. But we may juſtly obſerve, That if this view of the ſubject places the archievements of the Spaniards in a leſs romantic, it ſets them in a truer light; while it heightens our admiration of the political and military talents of Cortez, who was able to unite in his favour ſo many nations, with whoſe language and manners he was unacquainted; to reconcile their jarring claims and interfering intereſts; to take advantage of their paſſions and prejudices; to acquire an aſcendency over their councils; and to over-awe their fierce ſpirits, in the field, by his authority; to tame them to diſcipline; and to direct their combined efforts, as if they had been governed by one ſoul, towards the great object of his ambition.

* De Solis, lib. v. c. 25. † Id. ibid.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The final Subjection of the Mexican *Empire, and its Settlement as a* Spaniſh *Province.*

CHAP. VII.
A. D. 1521.

FULLY perſuaded that they ſhould now receive an ample recompenſe for all their dangers and toils, the joy of the Spaniards on the reduction of Mexico was exceſſive. But this exultation was ſuddenly damped by the cruel diſappointment of thoſe ſanguine hopes, which had animated them during the ſiege, and which only could have enabled them to ſtruggle with ſo many hardſhips. Inſtead of that immenſe wealth of which they expected to become maſters, by the pillage of the temples, and the diſtribution of the treaſures of Montezuma, relative to which the moſt extravagant ideas had been formed, they could only collect an inconſiderable booty amid ruins and deſolation, and the royal treaſury was found empty. Guatimozin, aware of the impending fate of his capital, is ſaid to have ordered what remained of the riches of his anceſtors to be thrown into the lake, that they might not contribute to augment the triumph, or increaſe the power of the conqueror: and the Indian auxiliaries had carried off the greater part of the ſpoil, while the Spaniards were employed in completing the reduction of the city, and in taking meaſures for ſecuring their conqueſt.

In conſequence of this diſappointment, a ſpirit of diſcontent diffuſed itſelf among the ſoldiers. Many of them diſdained to accept of the ſmall ſum that fell to their ſhare, and all murmured and exclaimed; ſome againſt Cortez and his confidants, whom they ſuſpected of having ſecretly appropriated to their own uſe a large portion of the riches which ſhould have been brought into the common ſtock; others againſt Guatimozin, whom they accuſed of obſtinacy, in refuſing to diſcover the place where he had hid his treaſure; and ſeveral went ſo far as to threaten to write to the king, and complain, that, after ſo many dangers and fatigues, they were defrauded of their reward. Arguments, entreaties, and promiſes were employed in vain to appeaſe their murmurs; ſo that Cortez, fearing a general mutiny, at laſt gave way to an action which ſtains the glory of one of the moſt illuſtrious conqueſts in the hiſtory of mankind.

Julian de Alderete, a name which deſerves to be remembered with everlaſting infamy, at once encouraged the malcontents in their clamours, and demanded as the king's treaſurer in New Spain, by the appointment of the council of the Indies, that Guatimozin and his chief favourite ſhould be put to the rack, in order to extort from them a diſcovery of the royal treaſures; and Cortez, without regarding the former dignity of that prince, the exalted virtues which he had diſplayed, or his own promiſe of good uſage ſolemnly pledged to him, conſented to the atrocious deed. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict upon him without betraying the ſmalleſt change of countenance, or ſo much as intimating, that he had no treaſures to diſcover; but his fellow-ſufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguiſh, turned a dejected eye

BOOK I.
A. D. 1521.

towards his maſter, and ſeemed to implore his permiſſion to reveal all that he knew. Darting on his ſubject a look of command mingled with contempt, that high ſpirited prince, checked his weakneſs by ſaying, "Am I reclining on a bed of roſes?"—Overawed by the heroic reproach, the unhappy favourite perſevered in dutiful ſilence, and ſtifling every groan, expired in an act of obedience to his ſovereign. Cortez now reſumed his authority, aſhamed of a ſcene ſo horrid, and in a tone of indignation ordered Guatimozin to be taken from the rack. Struck with the fortitude of the royal ſufferer, the victim of their avarice, even the ſoldiers melted into tears of compaſſion, and ſeemed to reproach thoſe, who in compliance with their clamours, had ſo egregiouſly violated the rights of humanity *.

The malcontents being thus appeaſed, at the expenſe of their own feelings, and their general's honour, Cortez diſmiſſed the auxiliary Indians, and endeavoured to reſtore peace and tranquillity to the new conqueſt. For this purpoſe he eſtabliſhed a form of civil government according to the Spaniſh conſtitution; appointing alcades, regidores, and other magiſtrates. His next care was to tranſmit an account of his ſucceſſes to court, beſeeching his majeſty to continue and confirm theſe magiſtrates in their reſpective employments, and to make grants of lands and Indians, according to the practice in the iſlands, to ſuch as had deſerved them by their ſervices.

But while Cortez was in this manner ſoliciting favours for others, he had not yet received a confirmation of his own authority; he therefore accompanied his diſpatches with a valuable preſent, in order to give the king a proper idea of the importance of the country which he had conquered. The new magiſtrates alſo wrote a letter to his Catholic majeſty, extolling the gallantry, and prudent conduct of their general, to whoſe wiſe meaſures and enterpriſing ſpirit they aſcribed all their good fortune; and Cortez himſelf ſent a minute detail of all his tranſactions, ſince his return to Mexico, requeſting that ſome perſon of integrity and abilities might be ſent out to ſurvey the rich and extenſive territory which had been ſubjected to the crown of Caſtile, together with a ſufficient number of prieſts, of different denominations, to take care of the intereſts of religion, and aſſiſt in the propagation of the goſpel among the natives of New Spain †.

The reduction of the capital, as had been foreſeen, decided the fate of the Mexican empire; the fame of that event, like the motion communicated to the waters of a ſtagnated pool, paſſing from the centre to the extremities in circles, which multiply as they advance. The provinces ſubmitted one after another to the conquerors. The very terror of their name was ſufficient to procure the ſubmiſſion of a great number of caziques of whoſe counties Cortez was entirely ignorant. Among theſe was the king of Mechoacan, into whoſe territories a Spaniſh ſoldier had been ſeduced by the Indians. He was there civilly treated, and diſmiſſed with ſuch preſents, as induced Cortez to ſend an embaſſy to that monarch, whoſe kingdom was reported to extend near three hundred leagues, in

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 1.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 5.

order

order to obtain ſome account of a country, which might prove a valuable acceſſion to his former conqueſts.

In conſequence of this embaſſy, the king of Mechoacan was induced to viſit Cortez in perſon at Cuyocan; where he acknowledged himſelf a vaſſal of the king of Spain; made preſents of great value; received ſome trinkets in return, and departed with the higheſt ſentiments of the generoſity, genius, and valour of the ſtrangers, whoſe arms and military exerciſes he had beheld with wonder. Olid, with a hundred foot and forty horſe, was ſent to take poſſeſſion of this new acquiſition, in the name of his Catholic majeſty, and to ſettle a colony there; after which he had inſtructions to penetrate into the province of Colima, and open a way to the South Sea. Great part of the coaſt of that ocean was ſoon diſcovered; and as Cortez imagined, according to the theory of Columbus, that it would yield a ſhort and eaſy paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, he ordered ſhipbuilders to repair to Zacatula, in order to equip a fleet deſtined for the Molucca iſlands, from the trade with which the Portugueſe at this time drew immenſe wealth, all which he hoped to ſecure to the crown of Caſtile *. A. D. 1522.

With a view to facilitate this ſcheme, by keeping open the communication between the North and South Seas, as the chief materials for building the veſſels muſt be brought from Villa Rica, Cortez diſpatched Sandoval with a body of troops, to reduce the inhabitants of the intermediate country. He did not know, that, during the progreſs of his victorious arms in Mexico, the very plan which he was attempting to execute, had been undertaken and accompliſhed by a perſon in the ſervice of his country. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portugueſe gentleman, who had ſerved ſeveral years in the Eaſt Indies, with diſtinguiſhed valour, under the famous Albuquerque, diſguſted with his general, and ſlighted by his ſovereign, renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful maſter, and fled to the court of Caſtile, in hopes that his merit would there be more juſtly eſtimated. He endeavoured to recommend himſelf by reviving Columbus's original and favourite project, of diſcovering a paſſage to India by a weſterly courſe, and without encroaching on that portion of the globe which was allotted to the Portugueſe by the line of demarcation. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the affairs of Spain, liſtened with a favourable ear to Magellan's propoſal; and as that miniſter was never deterred by the boldneſs of any deſign, or the expence of carrying it into execution, where he diſcerned a proſpect of advantage, he recommended it to his maſter Charles V. who entering into the meaſure with no leſs ardour, honoured Magellan with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain General, and furniſhed him with five ſhips, victualled for two years, in order to enable him to accompliſh his undertaking. A. D. 1517.

With this ſquadron Magellan ſailed from Seville on the 10th of Auguſt, 1519; and after touching at the Canaries, ſtood directly ſouth towards the equinoctial along the coaſt of America, but was ſo long retarded by tedious calms, and ſpent ſo much time in ſearching every bay and inlet for that communication with the

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. ii. c. 1.

South.

BOOK I.

South Sea which he wiſhed to diſcover, that he did not reach the river de la Plata, till the 12th of January 1520. Allured to enter by the ſpacious opening through which that vaſt body of water pours itſelf into the Atlantic, he ſailed up it for ſome days; but concluding at laſt from the ſhallowneſs of the ſtream, and the freſhneſs of the water, that the wiſhed for ſtrait was not ſituated there, he returned, and continued his courſe towards the ſouth. On the 31ſt of March he arrived in port St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees ſouth of the line, where he reſolved to winter, that ſeaſon coming on in thoſe latitudes. Here he loſt one of his ſhips, and the Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from the exceſſive rigour of the climate, that they inſiſted on relinquiſhing the viſionary project, and returning to Spain. But Magellan by ordering the principal mutineer to be aſſaſſinated, and another to be publicly executed, overawed the remainder of his followers, and continued his voyage ſtill towards the ſouth. In holding this courſe, he at length diſcovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a ſtrait, into which he entered, notwithſtanding the murmurs of his crew, and the remonſtrances of his officers. After ſailing twenty days in that winding dangerous paſſage, which ſtill bears his name, and where one of his ſhips deſerted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and inſpired him with new hopes, while he poured out his heart to Heaven in a tranſport of joy for the ſucceſs which had already attended his endeavours *.

Magellan, however, was ſtill at a greater diſtance than he imagined from the object of his wiſhes. Three months and twenty days did he ſail in an uniform direction towards the north-weſt without diſcovering land; during which voyage, the longeſt that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, his people ſuffered incredible diſtreſs from ſcarcity of proviſions, putrid water, and all their attendant maladies. One circumſtance, and one only, afforded them ſome conſolation: they enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of fair weather, with ſuch mild winds as induced Magellan to beſtow on that ocean the appellation of *Pacific*. At laſt they fell in with a cluſter of ſmall fertile iſlands, which afforded them refreſhments in ſuch abundance that their health was ſoon reſtored. From thoſe iſlands, which he called De los Ladrones, he continued his voyage, and ſoon made a diſcovery of the iſlands now known by the name of the *Philippines*. In Zebu, one of the Philippines, he got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of well-armed troops; and while he fought gallantly at the head of his men, he was ſlain, together with ſeveral of his officers, by thoſe fierce barbarians, on the 26th of April 1522 †.

On the death of Magellan, the expedition was proſecuted under Carvallo, who was choſen commodore, and afterwards under Eſpinoſa. They encountered many difficulties, in ranging through the ſmaller iſlands ſcattered through the eaſtern part of the Indian ocean, touched at the great iſland of Borneo, and at laſt landed at Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the aſtoniſhment of the Portugueſe, who could

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 3. lib. vii. c. 2. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a weſterly courſe, had arrived at that ſequeſtered ſeat of their moſt valuable commerce, which they themſelves had diſcovered by ſailing in an oppoſite direction. At this and the adjacent iſles they found a people acquainted with the benefits of extenſive trade, and willing to open an intercourſe with a new nation. They took in a cargo of ſpices, the diſtinguiſhed produce of thoſe iſlands, and with that, together with ſpecimens of the commodities yielded by the other rich countries they had viſited, the Victory, which of the two remaining ſhips was moſt fit for a long voyage, ſet ſail for Europe, under the command of Juan Sebaſtian del Cano, the firſt man who circumnavigated the globe. He followed the courſe of the Portugueſe by the Cape of Good Hope; and, after a variety of diſaſters, arrived at St. Lucar on the 6th of September, 1522 *.

The Spaniſh merchants engaged eagerly in that lucrative and alluring commerce, which was thus opened to them, while men of ſcience were employed in demonſtrating that the ſpice iſlands were ſo ſituated as to belong to the crown of Caſtile, in conſequence of the partition made by Alexander VI. But the Portugueſe, alarmed at the intruſion of ſuch formidable rivals, remonſtrated and negociated in Europe, at the ſame time that they obſtructed in Aſia the trade of the Spaniards, by force of arms; and Charles V. unwilling to add a war with Portugal to thoſe in which he was already engaged, made over to that crown his claim to the Moluccas for a ſum of money, in 1529 †.

Before that time, ſome of the veſſels fitted out by Cortez had arrived in the Eaſt, and viſited ſeveral of theſe iſlands; and though the trade with the Moluccas was then relinquiſhed, the voyage of Magellan was afterwards followed by commercial effects of very great importance to the Spaniards. The Philippine iſlands were reduced to ſubjection, and ſettlements there eſtabliſhed; between which and the kingdom of New Spain, a regular intercourſe is carried on, through the very channel marked out by the genius of Cortez. This obſervation brings us naturally back to the more immediate tranſactions of that great commander, at the ſame time that it forms an apology for ſo long a digreſſion.

While Cortez was employed in ſuch extenſive ſchemes for the preſent and future aggrandiſement of his country, it was his ſingular fate not only to be ſuperſeded in the government of that rich territory which he had acquired by ſuch incredible efforts of valour and perſeverance, but to be regarded as an undutiful ſubject, and ſubjected to a criminal proſecution. Soon after the reduction of Mexico, Chriſtoval de Tapia arrived at Villa Rica, with a commiſſion, obtained by the influence of the biſhop of Burgos, impowering him to ſtrip the conqueror of his authority, and aſſume the government of New Spain; to make a ſtrict ſcrutiny into his proceedings, and tranſmit the reſult of ſuch inquiries to the council of the Indies. But the biſhop had choſen a very improper inſtrument to wreak his vengeance on Cortez. Tapia had neither the reputation nor talents that ſuited the high command to which he was appointed. The magiſtrates of Villa

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

† Herrera, dec. III. lib. iv. c. 5.

BOOK I. A. D. 1522.

Rica publicly charged him with incapacity, and required him to depart the colony, otherwiſe they would ſend him priſoner into Spain. He accordingly returned to Hiſpaniola, where he was blamed by the Royal Audience for going to New Spain contrary to their advice; and as he had no force to ſupport his pretenſions, Cortez, after a variety of negociations, in which he expreſſed the moſt profound reſpect for the emperor's authority, prevailed on that weak man to abandon all thoughts of a ſtation of which he was unworthy *.

Happily ſoon after eluding this blow the general received a favourable anſwer to his former diſpatches. The juncture in which his deputies reached the court was favourable. The internal commotions, already mentioned, which had diſquieted the beginning of Charles's reign were appeaſed. The miniſters had leiſure to turn their attention towards foreign affairs. The account of Cortez's victories filled his countrymen with admiration. The extent and value of his conqueſts became the object of vaſt and intereſting hopes. Whatever ſtain he might have contracted by the irregularity of the ſteps which he took in order to attain power, was ſo fully effaced by the great actions which this had enabled him to perform, that every heart revolted at the thought of inflicting any cenſure on the man whoſe ſervices entitled him to the higheſt marks of diſtinction. The public voice declared warmly in his favour; and Charles, arriving in Spain about this time, adopted the ſentiments of his ſubjects with a youthful ardour. Judging that no perſon was ſo capable of maintaining the royal authority, or eſtabliſhing good order both among his Spaniſh and Indian ſubjects, as the commander whom the former would willingly obey, and whom the latter had long been accuſtomed to fear and reſpect, he appointed Cortez captain-general and governor of New Spain, notwithſtanding the claims of Velaſquez, and the partial repreſentations of the biſhop of Burgos †.

Oct. 22. A. D. 1524.

Even before his juriſdiction received this legal ſanction, Cortez ventured to exerciſe all the powers of a governor; and by various arrangements, ſome of which have been already noticed, endeavoured to render his conqueſt ſecure and beneficial to his country. He determined to eſtabliſh the ſeat of government in its ancient ſtation, and to raiſe Mexico from its ruins. In conſequence of this idea, he nominated the magiſtrates, and divided the ground among the conquerors, and began to build the capital on a plan which has gradually formed the moſt magnificent city in the New World. At the ſame time he employed ſkilful perſons to ſearch for mines in different parts of the country, and even opened ſome that were richer than any which the Spaniards had yet diſcovered in America. He diſpatched his principal officers to the remote provinces, and encouraged them to ſettle there, not only by beſtowing upon them large tracts of land, but by granting them the ſame dominion over the Indians, and the ſame right to their ſervice, which the Spaniards had aſſumed in the Weſt Indies ‡.

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. i. c. 3. † De Solis, lib. v. c. 8. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book v. ‡ Herrera, dec. III. lib. i. c. 3.

It

CHAP. VII.
A. D. 1524.

It was not, however, without ſome difficulty that the Mexican empire could be reduced to the form of a Spaniſh province. Though the greater part of the caziques, or principal vaſſals, ſubmitted ſoon after the fall of the capital, their ſubjection was rather nominal than real. Whenever they thought their rights invaded, they flew to arms; and the Spaniards, who conſidered every ſuch ſtruggle for independency, as the rebellion of ſubjects againſt their ſovereign, chaſtiſed them with a ſeverity, the very recital of which fills the ſoul with horror. After every inſurrection, they put the chiefs to death in the moſt ignominious, or the moſt excruciating form that inſolence or cruelty could ſuggeſt, while they reduced the common people to the moſt humiliating of all conditions, that of perſonal ſervitude. In the province of Panuco, ſixty caziques, and four hundred nobles of inferior condition, were burnt at one time; and to complete the dreadful ſcene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were aſſembled, and compelled to be ſpectators of their dying agonies *.

But ſuch inhuman policy ſeldom anſwers the deſired end. The Mexicans, rendered deſperate by oppreſſion, repeatedly roſe in defence of their liberties; and Guatimozin, rouſed by the ſufferings of his people, formed a ſcheme for throwing off the Spaniſh yoke, and re-aſcending the throne of his anceſtors, by murdering Cortez and his principal officers. The plot was diſcovered, and the Mexicans received a moſt mortifying proof of their own degradation, and of the ſmall regard in which the ancient dignity of their empire was held by their new maſters. Cortez ordered the captive monarch, together with the kings of Tezeuco and Tacuba, who had been concerned in the conſpiracy, to be tried by a court martial; and they were found guilty, condemned, and publicly hanged, like common felons, to the aſtoniſhment and horror of their countrymen, who had been accuſtomed to look up to them as beings of a ſuperior order †.

Nor was the oppoſition raiſed by the fierce ſpirits of the Mexicans the only obſtacle that Cortez had to ſtruggle with in completing his conqueſt. He met with equal obſtructions from the mutinous and refractory diſpoſition of his officers. Olid openly revolted; and while the general was enduring the moſt incredible hardſhips, in order to reduce him to obedience, advancing through a wild and inhoſpitable country, filled with rivers and marſhes from the lake of Mexico to the weſtern extremity of Honduras, a conſpiracy was forming againſt his authority in the very ſeat of his power. When Charles V. advanced Cortez to the government of New Spain, he at the ſame time appointed certain commiſſioners to receive and adminiſter the royal revenue, with independent juriſdicton. Theſe men, choſen from inferior ſtations of various departments of public buſineſs at Madrid, were ſo much elevated with their promotion, that they thought themſelves called to a poſt of the firſt conſequence: they therefore uniformly laboured to abridge the governor's authority, and to extend their own.

* Gomara, c. 155. † Herrera, dec. III. lib. ii. c. 5. It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that Robertſon ſhould affirm that Guatimozin was condemned on a ſlight ſuſpicion without the formality of a trial, and quote Herrera as his authority; whereas that author expreſsly affirms, that the unhappy monarch was "fully convicted, after a fair trial." Ut ſup. dec. III.

With

BOOK I. A. D. 1525.

With this view they pried narrowly into his conduct: they encouraged and gave ear to all malcontents and ſlanders; and having contracted the narrow ideas, ſuited to the ſphere in which they had hitherto moved, could not conceive that the high authority which Cortez aſſumed could be conſiſtent with the allegiance of a ſubject. They repreſented him, in their letters to the court, as an ambitious tyrant, who had uſurped a juriſdiction, ſuperior to law; who aſpired at independence; and who might accompliſh, if not prevented in time, thoſe ſchemes which he apparently meditated, by his extenſive influence and exorbitant wealth, having appropriated to his own uſe the treaſures of Montezuma *.

Theſe commiſſioners were intruſted with the civil government of Mexico during the general's abſence; and on a report ſpread of his death, they ordered his goods to be put up to public ſale, ſeized all his gold, and put his ſteward to the torture, in order to make him diſcover his maſter's treaſure, great part of which they ſuppoſed he had concealed †. Meanwhile their letters having reached Spain, made ſuch deep impreſſion upon the miniſters of Charles, that unmindful of Cortez's paſt ſervices, or what he was then enduring to ſupport the royal authority, by reducing the rebellious Olid to obedience, (a ſervice in which he was employed above two years, and which required more fortitude of mind, patient perſeverance, and perſonal courage, than all his conqueſts) they infuſed the ſame ſuſpicions into the mind of their maſter, and prevailed on him to order a ſolemn inqueſt to be made into the governor's conduct.

This commiſſion was intruſted to the licentiate Ponce de Leon, who arrived at Mexico amid the public rejoicings occaſioned by the return of Cortez, and his triumph over all his enemies, both Spaniards and Indians. At ſuch a ſeaſon, when the ſoul unbends itſelf, after a long courſe of mental and perſonal exertion, and enjoys with honeſt pride the luxury of well earned applauſe, the ſmalleſt mortification is keenly felt. But deeply wounded as the mind of Cortez was at this unexpected return for his important ſervices, he received the perſon appointed to enquire into his proceedings, and veſted with powers to ſeize his perſon, if neceſſary, not only with dignity but compoſure. Ponce de Leon died before he had well opened his commiſſion; but as the object of his appointment was fully known, that event did not afford much conſolation to Cortez. Every perſon in office, who had arrived in Spain ſince the conqueſt, was a ſpy upon his conduct, and with malicious ingenuity gave an unfavourable repreſentation of his actions. Among theſe was Nuno de Guzman, governor of the province of Panuco, whoſe enormous cruelties towards the Indians, and his infamous accuſations againſt Cortez, have rendered his very name deteſtable to every feeling heart and liberal mind.

July 2, A. D. 1527.

The apprehenſions of the emperor and his miniſters increaſed. A new commiſſion of inquiry was iſſued, and three judges, to whom the civil power was chiefly committed, were ſent out to New Spain, in order to examine into the conduct of the governor, and with powers to puniſh him, if he ſhould be found to have

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. ii. c. 4. † Id. ibid.

CHAP. VII.
A. D. 1518.

exceeded what was conſiſtent with the fidelity of a ſubject. Theſe judges, however, were ſupported by no force to enable them to execute their ſentence; and ſome of Cortez's indignant followers, urged him to aſſert his own rights againſt his ungrateful country, and to ſeize with a bold hand that power which the courtiers meanly accuſed him of coveting: but though he beheld the approaching criſis of his fortune with all the violent emotions natural to a haughty mind, conſcious of high deſert, and receiving unworthy treatment, he was actuated by ſuch ſentiments of loyalty, as to reject their dangerous counſels, at a time when he could ſurely have eſtabliſhed an independent ſovereignty. He choſe the only courſe in which he could ſecure his own dignity without departing from his duty: he reſolved not to expoſe himſelf to the ignominy of a trial, in a country which had been the ſcene of his triumphs; but, without waiting for his judges, to repair immediately to Spain, and commit himſelf and his cauſe to the juſtice and generoſity of his ſovereign *.

The arrival of Cortez at the Spaniſh court, where he appeared with a ſplendour worthy of the conqueror of Mexico, removed every ſuſpicion and fear that had been entertained in regard to his intentions. Having nothing now to apprehend from his deſigns, the emperor received him with the higheſt marks of reſpect; as a perſon whom the conſciouſneſs of his own innocence had brought into the preſence of his maſter, and whoſe eminent ſervices entitled him to the moſt diſtinguiſhed tokens of royal favour. Charles admitted him to the ſame familiar intercourſe with himſelf that was enjoyed by noblemen of the firſt rank; and as a perpetual memorial of his heroic actions, he beſtowed upon him the title of Marquis of the Vale of Guaxaca, and the grant of a vaſt territory in New Spain, with the towns and villages belonging to the ſame, their juriſdictions, rights, privileges, and immunities †.

In this viſit to his native country, Cortez was accompanied by ſeveral Mexicans and Tlaſcalans of diſtinction, as well as by ſome of the moſt conſiderable of his own officers, for whom he obtained a confirmation of all the grants of land which he had made to them. Nor was he unmindful of his Indian allies: the republic of Tlaſcala was declared free, in conſideration of its faithful ſervices ‡. But amid ſo many external proofs of regard, ſymptoms of remaining diſtruſt ſtill appeared; and Cortez ſollicited in vain to be reinſtated in the government of New Spain. Too ſagacious to commit ſuch an important charge to a man whom he had once ſuſpected, Charles peremptorily refuſed to inveſt him with powers which he might find it impoſſible to controul. He left in his hands the military department, with the title of Captain-general; but the ſupreme direction of civil affairs was placed in a board called *The Audience of New Spain* ‖. Cortez therefore, though dignified with titles, returned to Mexico with diminiſhed authority. A. D. 1530.

When the marquis of Guaxaca arrived in New Spain, the natives reſorted to him in crowds, not as their conqueror but their protector. The judges appointed

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. iv. c. 3. Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. b. v. † Id. ibid.
‡ Herrera, dec. III. lib. iv. c. 3. ‖ Id. ibid.

BOOK I. to inquire into his conduct, with Nuno de Guzman at their head, hungry and rapacious, and ſcarce conſidering the Indians as human creatures, had murdered and oppreſſed them without remorſe. The Board of Audience ſomewhat alleviated theſe evils; but the diviſion of the civil and military power proved the ſource of perpetual diſſentions, which embittered the life of Cortez, and thwarted all his meaſures. He never, however, loſt ſight of his allegiance, nor ſuffered private animoſity to prejudice the ſervice of his country. Having now no opportunity of diſplaying his active talents but in attempting diſcoveries, he formed various ſchemes for that purpoſe, all of which bear the marks of a ſuperior genius. Beſides penetrating into the moſt remote parts of the Mexican empire, he fitted out ſucceſſively ſeveral ſquadrons from the ports of New Spain on the South Sea, and at laſt diſcovered the large peninſula of California. But that not being an object ſufficient to ſatisfy his ſanguine expectations, and finding himſelf oppoſed, even in this unſucceſsful line, by Antonio de Mendoza, who, to his inexpreſſible mortification, had been appointed viceroy over that rich territory which he had added to the crown of Caſtile, he once more ſought redreſs in his native country; where, to the eternal diſgrace of an ungrateful court, he was alternately treated with inſolence and neglect. His claims were diſregarded; and the conqueror of Mexico, ſo long accuſtomed to high command, was doomed to waſte the remainder of his years in fruitleſs applications to miniſters and judges *.

A. D. 1530.

A. D. 1536.

A. D. 1540.

CHAP. VIII.

The Diſcovery of Peru *by* Pizarro, *and the Progreſs of the* Spaniſh *Arms to the Captivity and Death of the Inca,* Atahualpa.

BESIDES Mexico, there was another great empire in America, whoſe progreſs in arts and policy entitled it to be conſidered as a civilized ſtate, namely Peru. Towards this country, of whoſe opulence he had received ſeveral intimations, Balboa was preparing to ſail, when he was recalled, as already obſerved, by the cruel jealouſy of his father-in-law, Pedrarias Davila, governor of the Spaniſh ſettlement of Santa Maria in Darien, and condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment of a traitor. But Pedrarias wanted talents to execute himſelf that ſcheme which his ambition led him to obſtruct in another, by ſuch a violent act of injuſtice. Though the removal of the ſettlement to Panama, on the other ſide of the iſthmus, enabled the Spaniards to acquire a more perfect knowledge of the coaſts of the South Sea, the governor was ſo much diſcouraged with the unpromiſing aſpect of the country to the eaſt, that he turned his arms

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. v. c. 6. dec. IV. lib. vi. c. 4. lib. viii. c. 1. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. v.

towards

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towards another quarter, and made himſelf maſter of Nicaragua. Others, to whom he readily granted commiſſions to proſecute a project which he himſelf had abandoned, likewiſe relinquiſhed it, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts; and it became the general opinion, that the ſcheme of Balboa was either impracticable, or altogether viſionary *. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1524.

But what ſeems chimerical or impoſſible to perſons of ordinary capacity, often appears both facile and certain to men of ſuperior genius. Franciſco Pizarro, who had been the companion of Balboa, and was intimately acquainted with the foundation of his hopes, reſolved to revive the project of that great commander, at a time when it was univerſally conſidered as ideal. He had ſerved ſucceſsfully under Pedrarias, and did not doubt of obtaining his permiſſion; but as his own fortune was inconſiderable, after all the toils and dangers which he had encountered, he communicated his ſentiments on this ſubject to Diego de Almagro, an officer who had alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of Pedrarias, and who was more wealthy. Almagro readily embraced the propoſal, and the ſanction of the governor was obtained. But the united fortunes of theſe two ſoldiers being ſtill found inſufficient for ſuch an enterpriſe, they aſſociated with them Fernando de Luque, a mercenary prieſt, who had acquired immenſe wealth by all the means which ſuperſtition rendered eaſy to his profeſſion in that age †.

As the baſis of this aſſociation, it was agreed, that each of the confederates ſhould embark his whole fortune in the project; that the wealth accruing from it ſhould be equally ſhared; and that they ſhould reciprocally obſerve an inviolable fidelity. The parts which each of them were to take in this great undertaking, were diſtributed as the good of the common cauſe ſeemed to demand. Pizarro, as the perſon of the greateſt experience, and who had the moſt perfect knowledge of the object of the expedition, agreed to command in perſon the armament which was to go firſt upon diſcovery. Almagro offered to conduct the ſupplies of proviſions, military ſtores, and ſuch reinforcements of troops as Pizarro might require; while Luque was to remain at Panama to furniſh the neceſſary means, and ſuperintend whatever was carrying on for the general intereſt. In order to give more force to theſe engagements, religion, which, in that age, continually mingled itſelf with the ſpirit of adventure, was called in to ratify a confederacy formed by avarice and ambition. Luque ſaid maſs, and divided a conſecrated hoſt into three parts; one of which he ate himſelf, and gave the other two to his aſſociates; all three ſwearing by the blood of their god, that they would not ſpare the blood of man, in proſecuting their common advantage ‡.

The armament fitted out in conſequence of this confederacy, was ſuch as might have been expected from three private men in a remote and ſickly colony, but very little ſuited to the greatneſs of the object, which they had in view. In

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. iii. c. 1, 2. † Almagro was a foundling, and Pizarro the natural ſon of a gentleman of Eſtremadura, who had neglected his education to ſuch a degree that he could not even read. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 9. ‡ Herrera, dec. III. lib. iii. c. 1. Zarate, lib. i. c. 1.

order-

BOOK I. A. D. 1524. order to attempt the conqueſt of one of the moſt extenſive empires on the face of the earth, Pizarro ſailed from Panama with a ſingle ſhip, and an hundred and fourteen men; and ſo ignorant were the Spaniards of the climate of America,

Nov. 14. that he embarked at the very ſeaſon when the periodical winds ſet in, directly adverſe to the courſe which he propoſed to ſteer. After beating about for ſome time, he reached Port Pinas, and proceeded with a party up the river Biru; but finding the country thinly peopled, uncultivated, and uninviting, he returned to his veſſel, waſted with famine and fatigue, and continued his voyage along the coaſt. Scarcity of proviſions, however, obliged him ſoon to put into another port, where he found the country no leſs rugged and diſagreeable than that which he had laſt viſited; the low grounds being converted into ſwamps by the overflowing of rivers, the higher, covered with impervious woods, and the few inhabitants miſerable ſavages *.

From this place, which the Spaniards called *La Hambre*, the ſhip was diſpatched to the Pearl Iſlands for a ſupply of proviſions, Pizarro and his ſoldiers being expoſed in the meantime to all the horrors of want and diſeaſe. During this terrible interval, twenty-ſeven of them died; yet ſo great was the fortitude of the ſurvivors, encouraged by the chearful perſeverance of their general, that the ſhip no ſooner returned, than they agreed to proſecute the voyage. But Almagro, having heard of their diſtreſs, had ſailed from Panama with ſeventy men towards that part of the coaſt where he hoped to meet with them; and landing at a place where Pizarro had lately touched, imprudently attacked an Indian town; was repulſed, after a ſharp conflict, and loſt one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow. On reimbarking, he continued his courſe along the coaſt,

June 24, A. D. 1525. and advanced as far as the river St. Juan, in the province of Popayan, where both the country and the inhabitants appeared with a more promiſing aſpect than any the confederates had yet viſited. This intelligence he communicated to Pizarro, whom he found on his return at Chuchama; and that dawn of better fortune was ſufficient to animate theſe ſanguine projectors to perſevere in the proſecution of their ſcheme, notwithſtanding all the ſufferings they had endured †.

It was agreed that Almagro ſhould repair to Panama, in order to procure ſuccours; but Pedrarias being at that time preparing to march into Nicaragua againſt one of his officers, who had thrown off his authority, a ſmall number of men only were permitted to be levied for this ſervice. Almagro, however, procured a plentiful ſupply of proviſions, and with two ſhips and eighty recruits joined Pizarro at Chuchama. After a variety of diſaſters and diſappointments, ſimilar to thoſe which they had already experienced, they reached the bay of St.

A. D. 1526. Matthew on the coaſt of Quito, where they diſcovered a country and inhabitants very different from any they had yet beheld on the Southern Ocean; the lands being level and cultivated, the people decently cloathed, and adorned with ſeveral trinkets of gold and ſilver.

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. iii. c. 1. † Id. ibid.

But

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1525.

But ardent as the ſpirits of the confederates were, they durſt not attempt to invade a country ſo populous with an handful of men worn out with fatigue, and enfeebled by diſeaſes. Pizarro retired to the ſmall iſland of Gallo with the troops, while Almagro returned to Panama, in hopes of procuring ſuch a reinforcement as ſhould enable them to ſubdue that rich country whoſe exiſtence ſeemed now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. This aſſurance alone, it was expected, would have encouraged the requiſite number of adventurers to engage in the enterpriſe; and in an age when the ſlighteſt information ſerved to inſpire men with the greateſt confidence, and when avarice and glory were the prevailing paſſions, great effects might have been expected from ſo near an approach to perfect diſcovery. But ſome of the ſoldiers having ſecretly conveyed to their friends at Panama an account of their own miſeries, and the misfortunes of the armament, Almagro met with a very ungracious reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had ſucceeded Pedrarias in the government of that colony. Concluding that an expedition attended with ſo great waſte of men muſt be detrimental to an infant ſettlement, he not only prohibited the raiſing of new levies, but diſpatched a veſſel to bring home Pizarro and his followers from the iſland of Gallo *.

Deeply affected by a meaſure which they could not prevent, and durſt not oppoſe, Almagro and Luque found means to communicate their ſentiments privately to Pizarro, exhorting him rather to periſh than relinquiſh a ſcheme on which depended all their hopes of reputation and fortune. Pizarro needed no incentive to perſiſt in a ſcheme on which his mind was ſo ſtrongly bent. Inflexibly obſtinate in all his purpoſes, he poſitively refuſed to obey the governor's command, and uſed all his addreſs in order to perſuade his men to embrace the ſame reſolution. It grieved him, he ſaid, that they ſhould forego the reward of all their ſufferings when it was within their reach. But all his eloquence had no effect: the incredible calamities to which the ſoldiers had been expoſed were ſtill ſo recent in their memories, and the thoughts of reviſiting their families and friends after a long abſence, ruſhed with ſuch joy into their minds, that when the captain ſent to carry them off drew a line with his ſword upon the ſand, deſiring ſuch as wiſhed to return home to paſs over it, and permitting the reſt to ſtay with Pizarro, only thirteen daring veterans had reſolution to remain with their commander in that extremity of his fortune †.

With this ſmall but determined band Pizarro fixed his reſidence in the iſland of Gorgona, which being farther removed from the coaſt than Gallo, he conſidered as a more ſecure retreat. There he waited with patience for thoſe ſupplies which he truſted the activity of his aſſociates would be able to procure. Meanwhile Almagro and Luque were not inattentive to his ſafety. They exclaimed loudly againſt the infamy of expoſing brave men engaged in the public ſervice, and chargeable with no error but what flowed from an exceſs of zeal to periſh like the moſt odious criminals in a deſert iſland; and the governor, overcome by their repeated entreaties and expoſtulations, which were ſeconded by the voice of

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. iii. c. 3.

† Herrera, dec. II. lib. iii. c. 3.

BOOK I. A. D. 1525.

the whole colony, at laſt permitted a ſmall veſſel to be ſent to the relief of Pizarro and his companions: but in order to diſcourage them from proſecuting the enterprize, he would not permit one landman to embark on board.

This precaution, however, had not the effect intended. Though Pizarro and his few faithful aſſociates had by this time remained five months in an iſland infamous for the moſt unhealthy climate in that region of America, the veſſel no ſooner arrived from Panama than all their ſufferings were forgot, and they reſumed their ſcheme with freſh ardour. The captain of the ſhip being induced to join them by the promiſes of Pizarro, they proſecuted their voyage towards the ſouth eaſt, and on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona they diſcovered the coaſt of Peru. After touching at ſome leſs conſiderable places they landed at Tumbez, about three degrees ſouth of the line, diſtinguiſhed by its ſtately temple and a palace of the Incas or ſovereigns of the country. There the Spaniards firſt feaſted their eyes with a view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire; they beheld ſeveral ſtately ſtructures, fields cultivated with an appearance of regular induſtry, and a people ſo far ſurpaſſing the other inhabitants of the New World in improvement as to have tame animals to carry their burthens; but what more particularly attracted their notice was the profuſion of gold and ſilver, not only employed as ornaments for the perſon, or in the ſacred utenſils of the temples, but in ſeveral veſſels for common uſe, of ſuch a ſize as left them no room to doubt but the precious metals were found in that country in an abundance equal to their moſt ſanguine hopes and dreams of inexhauſtible treaſures *.

But Pizarro, with the ſlender force then under his command, could only view the rich territory of which he hoped hereafter to reap the ſpoils. He ranged, however, for ſome time along the coaſt, every where maintaining a peaceable intercourſe with the natives, whoſe poliſhed manners filled him with aſtoniſhment, while their inoffenſive diſpoſition encouraged him with the hope of ſubjecting them to the dominion of Spain. They came chearfully on board his veſſel, ſupplied him abundantly with proviſions, invited him on ſhore to their habitations, inſiſted on leaving hoſtages for his ſecurity, and made him ſeveral preſents of conſiderable value. With theſe and ſome of their Llamas or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Sheep, ſome ſpecimens of their works of ingenuity, and two youths, whom he propoſed to inſtruct in the Caſtilian language, that they might ſerve as interpreters in a future expedition, Pizarro arrived at Panama towards the cloſe of the year 1527, after having ſpent three years in a voyage, during which he had ſuffered hardſhips, or encountered dangers with a degree of patience and fortitude equal, if not ſuperior, to what is recorded of any of the conquerors of the New World †.

Pizarro was received with great joy at Panama by perſons of all ranks; but neither the incredible opulence of the country which he had diſcovered, nor his bitter complaints on account of that unſeaſonable recall of his forces, which had

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. iii. c. 3, 4.

† Id. ibid. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2.

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CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1525.

put it out of his power to attempt making any ſettlement, could move the governor to authoriſe an expedition which he foreſaw might prove the ruin of the province in which he preſided, by ſtimulating it to an effort beyond its ſtrength. This obſtruction, however, did not abate the ardor of the confederates: they reſolved to ſolicit their ſovereign for that permiſſion which they could not procure from his delegate. With this view they ſent Pizarro as their agent into Spain, after adjuſting among themſelves that he ſhould claim the ſtation of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of biſhop in the country which they purpoſed to conquer; though their fortunes were now ſo much exhauſted, and their credit ſo deeply mortgaged, that it was with difficulty they could borrow fifteen hundred peſos in order to defray the expence of his voyage *.

Pizarro arrived ſafe at Seville, and immediately waited on the emperor at Toledo with the unembarraſſed dignity of a man conſcious of eminent ſervices. His ſovereign received him graciouſly; and he conducted his negociations with a degree of addreſs and inſinuation that could not have been expected either from his education, or former courſe of life. The feeling deſcription of his own ſufferings, and the pompous account of the country which he had diſcovered, little expected from a rough ſoldier, confirmed by the ſpecimens of its productions which he exhibited, made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Charles and his miniſters: they not only approved of the intended expedition, but ſeemed intereſted in the ſucceſs of its projector. Preſuming on the favourable diſpoſitions of the court, Pizarro paid little attention to his contract with his aſſociates. He obtained for Luque the eccleſiaſtical dignity to which he aſpired, as it did not interfere with his own pretenſions; but for Almagro he requeſted only the command of the fortreſs which ſhould be erected at Tumbez, while he ſecured to himſelf whatever his boundleſs ambition could deſire. He obtained leave to carry on the diſcovery and conqueſt of Peru for the ſpace of two hundred leagues along that coaſt, with the title of governor, captain-general, and adelantado of all the country which he had diſcovered, and hoped to ſubdue. His juriſdiction was declared independent of the governor of Panama; to be ſupreme both in civil and military affairs; he had power to nominate all the officers who were to ſerve under him, and a right to all the privileges and emoluments uſually granted to adventurers in the New World †.

In return for theſe conceſſions, Pizarro engaged to raiſe two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ſhips, arms, and military ſtores neceſſary for ſubjecting to the crown of Spain that opulent country, over which he was appointed governor. But ſo low was his fortune and credit, that he was only able to compleat half the number. With this ſlender force, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, he landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched acroſs the iſthmus to Panama. His brothers were all in the prime of life, and

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. iv. c. 1.

† Herrera, dec. III. lib. v. c. 1.

men

BOOK I. A. D. 1525.

men of ſuch abilities and courage as enabled them to take a diſtinguiſhed part in his ſubſequent tranſactions.

On his arrival at Panama, Pizarro found himſelf involved in new troubles. Almagro, exaſperated at the manner in which the negociation had been conducted, not only refuſed to act any longer in concert with a man whoſe perfidy had excluded him from that power and honour to which he had a juſt claim, but laboured to form a new aſſociation, in order to thwart, or rival, the diſcoveries of his former confederate. A reconciliation, however, was brought about through the interpoſition of Luque, who was well ſatisfied with his own appointment, and the confederacy was renewed on its original terms; that the project ſhould be carried on at the common expence of the aſſociates, and the profits accruing from it equally divided among them; Pizarro promiſing to relinquiſh the office of adelantado, and to concur in ſoliciting that title with an independent government for Almagro *.

Even after this reconciliation, the confederates were only able, by the utmoſt efforts of their united intereſt, to fit out three ſmall veſſels, on board of which were an hundred and eighty-five ſoldiers, thirty-ſeven of whom were horſemen. Animated by the progreſs of his countrymen in America, and by the proſpect of the immenſe wealth which he hoped to acquire, Pizarro did not heſitate to ſail with this contemptible armament to invade a mighty empire; Almagro being left as formerly to follow him with what ſupplies he ſhould be able to procure. His intention was, not to touch at any port before he reached Tumbez; but meeting with adverſe winds and currents, he was obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew, an hundred leagues to the north of that deſtination. Here a council of war was held; in which it was reſolved, that the troops ſhould advance along the ſhore towards the ſouth, and the ſhips keep near the coaſt, in caſe of any diſaſter.

In this march the Spaniards encountered incredible hardſhips. The country was rough, barren, and deſolate, abounding with rivers and moraſſes; and as they had to paſs all the rivers near their mouth, where the body of water is greateſt, they were every day obliged to make floats, with infinite labour and fatigue. Pizarro himſelf was the chief guide as well as commander, and conducted every thing with equal prudence and vigour; animating his people alike by his exhortations and example, and bearing a principal ſhare in every hazardous and laborious taſk. So great was his patience, humility, and perſeverance, that he often aſſiſted in carrying the ſick upon his own ſhoulders!—But all this was not ſufficient to prevent the new levied ſoldiers from reproaching him with deceiving them, and every one muſt have become backward to the ſervice, if in theſe inhoſpitable regions, they had not met with ſome appearances of wealth and cultivation that ſeemed to juſtify the report of their leader, concerning the country towards which they were advancing. Having reached the province of Coaque, they plundered the principal town, and ſeized veſſels of gold and ſilver to the

April 14, A. D. 1531.

* Zarate, lib. i. c. 3.

value

value of twenty thouſand peſos, beſides many precious ſtones, and other rich booty *. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1531.

This ſpoil at once diſpelled the doubts of the ſoldiers, and animated them with the moſt ſanguine expectations; and Pizarro, whoſe provident attention never let ſlip any occaſion that could be turned to his advantage, inſtantly diſpatched one of his ſhips to Panama with a large remittance to Almagro, and another to Nicaragua, with a conſiderable ſum to ſome perſons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers into his ſervice by this early diſplay of the wealth of Peru. Meanwhile he continued his march along the coaſt, and met with little or no oppoſition till he attacked the iſland of Puna, in the bay of Guayquil. As that was a place of conſiderable importance, by reaſon of the ſalt works there eſtabliſhed, and better peopled than the country through which he had paſſed, he met with an obſtinate reſiſtance, and ſpent ſix months in reducing the inhabitants to ſubjection †.

From Puna Pizarro paſſed over to Tumbez, which he took and plundered. A. D. 1532. Here he was obliged to remain three months, by reaſon of the diſtempers that raged among his men. He had already experienced the advantage of his prudent policy in ſpreading the fame of his firſt ſucceſs. Two detachments had arrived from Nicaragua; and though neither exceeded thirty men, they were eſteemed a conſiderable reinforcement, being commanded by Sebaſtian Benalcazar and Hernando Soto, officers equal to any who had commanded in the New World. But theſe being ſtill judged inſufficient for the conqueſt which he had in view, he diſpatched the remaining veſſel to Panama, with all the treaſure found in Tumbez, to be laid out by Almagro in raiſing men, and procuring a ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores.

The next care of Pizarro was to found a colony in order to ſecure his footing in the country; and having diſcovered, in his excurſions from Tumbez, an advantageous ſtation near the mouth of the river Piura, he there eſtabliſhed the firſt Spaniſh ſettlement in Peru, to which he gave the name of St. Michael. During his ſtay at this place, to which he removed the greater part of his army, and where he was employed for ſeveral months in erecting ſuch buildings as were requiſite for defence or ſhelter, he made it his buſineſs to inquire into the character of the Peruvians, the power of their ſovereigns, and the ſtate of the empire at that time. Some knowledge of theſe particulars was neceſſary to enable him to conduct his operations with propriety, and an attention to the ſame objects is equally neceſſary to enable us to account for his future ſucceſs, or the feeble oppoſition which had hitherto been made to his arms.

The Peruvian empire, (of whoſe origin and laws a particular account ſhall be given in its proper place,) had ſubſiſted, according to tradition, about four hun-

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. v. c. 1. "The natives," ſays this author, with his uſually ſimplicity, (ſpeaking of the booty) "had time enough to have ſecured it; but as they had done no harm to thoſe men, they thought they would not hurt them, and that they ſhould all make merry together." Ut ſupra. What a reproach on the rapacity of his countrymen!

† Zarate, lib. ii. c. 3. Herrera, dec. III. lib. v. c. 1. Herrera, ut ſupra.

BOOK I. A. D. 1532.

dred years, and extended in length almoſt eighteen hundred miles along the coaſt of the South Sea. Its breadth was leſs conſiderable, in few places exceeding fifty miles, being uniformly bounded by the vaſt ridge of the Andes, which ſtretch from one end of South America to the other. This country was governed by a race of ſovereigns who took the name of *Incas*, and were ſuppoſed to be the offspring of the Sun, the chief object of worſhip among the Peruvians. In conſequence of this idea, which was propagated by Manco Capac, the founder of the monarchy, the Incas were not only obeyed as ſovereigns, but revered as divinities. Their authority was unlimited and abſolute, in the moſt extenſive meaning of the words: their blood was held to be ſacred, and never allowed to be contaminated by intermarriages with the people: and the royal family, thus ſeparated from the reſt of the nation, was farther diſtinguiſhed by peculiarities in dreſs and ornaments, unlawful for others to aſſume *. In no corner of Aſia was deſpotiſm ever more complete.

But the obedience required by the Incas was rather filial than ſlaviſh; and if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, they were leſs prompted to extend their dominion by the rage of conqueſt, than the deſire of diffuſing the bleſſings of civilization. This benevolent character is ſaid to have been uniformly preſerved during a ſucceſſion of twelve monarchs, the laſt of whom, named Huana Capac, was ſeated on the throne, when the Spaniards firſt viſited the coaſt of Peru. He is repreſented as a prince equally diſtinguiſhed by the pacific virtues peculiar to his race, and by his martial talents. Having ſubjected to his ſway the kingdom of Quito, a conqueſt of ſuch extent and importance as almoſt doubled the power of the Peruvian empire, he married the daughter of the vanquiſhed monarch, notwithſtanding the ancient and fundamental law of the conſtitution againſt polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance. This princeſs bore him a ſon named Atahualpa, whom, on his death, which ſeems to have happened in the year 1529, he appointed his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Quito, leaving the reſt of his dominions to Huaſcar, his eldeſt ſon, by a mother of the ſacred race.

A deſtination ſo repugnant to the eſtabliſhed maxims of the empire concerning the ſucceſſion was no ſooner known at Cuzco, the capital, than it excited general diſguſt, and encouraged Huaſcar to claim the whole dominions of his father, both hereditary and acquired. He accordingly commanded his brother to ſurrender the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his ſovereign; but Atahualpa being at the head of the flower of the Peruvian forces, who had followed his father into that province, and whom he had gained to his intereſt, firſt eluded the demand of Huaſcar, and next marched againſt him in an hoſtile form. Huaſcar did not decline the combat. The two armies met in the vale of Xauxa, where an obſtinate battle was fought, and victory declared for Atahualpa. Huaſcar again collected his ſhattered forces, was finally defeated, taken priſoner, and confined in the tower of Cuzco †.

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. ix. c. 1.

† Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 1.

In

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1532.

In conſequence of this civil war, which raged in all its fury when the Spaniards landed in the bay of St. Matthew, Pizarro was permitted to carry on his operations unmoleſted, and to advance to the heart of the empire, before one effort of its power had been exerted to ſtop his progreſs; for though the two competitors had received early accounts of the invaſion and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, they were ſo intent on ſupporting their reſpective claims, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, to whoſe career they imagined it would be eaſy to give a check after they ſhould be more at leiſure. The ſame miſtaken opinion influenced the conduct of Atahualpa, even after the defeat of his brother: he thought it of more importance to ſettle the affairs of his empire, than to go in queſt of an handful of ſtrangers, who might at any time be cruſhed†.

Meanwhile Pizarro, having received perfect information in regard to the ſtruggle between the two contending factions, and perceiving at once the advantage which might be derived from this divided ſtate of the empire, determined to puſh forward, without waiting for farther ſupplies, in hopes of being able to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow before the Peruvians could recover ſufficient union to oppoſe him with vigour. He accordingly ordered his troops to be muſtered; but as he was under the neceſſity of leaving a proper garriſon in St. Michael, which was equally important as a place of retreat, in caſe of any diſaſter, and as a port for receiving ſuch ſupplies as ſhould come from Panama, the number remaining to accompany him was very inconſiderable. Sixty-two horſemen, and an hundred and ſix foot ſoldiers, three of whom only were armed with muſkets*, formed the ſlender and ill accoutred train deſtined to overturn the empire of the Incas.

With this handful of men, Pizarro boldly advanced through an hoſtile country, altogether unknown to him, towards Caxamalca, where Atahualpa was encamped with a conſiderable army. Before he had proceeded half way, he was met by an officer from the Inca, with a valuable preſent ſent by that prince, accompanied with an offer of his alliance, and a promiſe of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, who was not inferior in policy to any of his countrymen who had ſerved in America, artfully replied, That he accepted of the preſent, as coming from ſo great a prince, and having heard that he was at war with a faction, which diſputed his title to the throne, he was willing to aſſiſt him with his followers; but that his principal motive for this viſit was to deliver an embaſſy from his maſter, the king of Spain, a mighty monarch, who was deſirous of enlightening the Peruvians with the knowledge of true religion ‡.

Without waiting for an anſwer, Pizarro continued his journey acroſs the ſandy deſart between St. Michael and Motupè, where the moſt feeble effort of an enemy, added to the diſtreſſes which he unavoidably ſuffered, muſt have proved fatal to his hopes. But the Peruvians, who like the Mexicans, were entirely at a loſs what idea to form of the character of their new gueſts, continued irreſolute, till they were caught in the net of their policy. Alarmed at the accounts which he had received of the terrible effects of the arms and horſes of the Spaniards at

† Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 1. * Id. ibid. ‡ Ut ſupra.

Puna

BOOK I. A. D. 1532.

Puna and Tumbez, Atahualpa wanted firmneſs to oppoſe them openly on their march. His firſt ambaſſador is ſuppoſed to have been ſent as a ſpy; but Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions had ſo much influence upon a credulous mind under the impreſſions of fear, that he was permitted to advance from Motupè towards the mountains which encompaſs the low country of Peru, and to paſs, without oppoſition, through a defile ſo narrow and difficult, that a few men might have defended it againſt a numerous army. Here Pizarro halted to refreſh his troops after their fatiguing march, and took quiet poſſeſſion of the fortreſs erected for the ſecurity of that important ſtation †.

While the Spaniards were reſting themſelves at this place, an embaſſy arrived from the Inca, in conſequence of the meſſage ſent by Pizarro, and as they approached nearer to Caxamalca, Atahualpa frequently repeated his profeſſions of friendſhip; to all which Pizarro returned the ſame ambiguous anſwer, relative to the greatneſs of the king his maſter, his benevolent and pacific intentions, accompanied with an offer of his aſſiſtance to humble the enemies of the Inca. In the mean time the Spaniards were divided in their ſentiments relative to the purpoſe of theſe embaſſies, which were all accompanied with magnificent preſents. Some aſcribed them wholly to the munificence, hoſpitality, and friendly intentions of the Inca; others regarded them as a cover to his hoſtile deſigns, while the more ſanguine ſpirits thought they could diſcover his fear under this extraordinary appearance of courteſy. All however agreed, that they could not obſerve too much caution in their march.

The Spaniards arrived at Caxamalca towards the evening, and took poſſeſſion of a large court, on one ſide of which was a royal palace, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall. As ſoon as Pizarro had poſted his troops in this advantageous ſtation, he deliberated with his officers, whether it was not requiſite that he ſhould ſend a formal embaſſy to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league diſtant from the town, to acknowledge the civilities received, to confirm the repeated declarations of his pacific diſpoſition, and to deſire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the object of his commiſſion. The propoſal was agreed to, and Ferdinand Pizarro, the general's brother, and Hernando Soto were diſpatched to wait upon Atahualpa, with inſtructions to the foregoing effect *.

Notice having been given of the arrival of the Spaniſh deputies, they found the Peruvian army drawn up to receive them. As they paſſed the ranks, the Peruvians gazed with aſtoniſhment on the horſes; and Soto leaping over a ditch, plunging, rearing, and curveting with his courſer, greatly delighted the ſimple ſpectators, who could ſcarcely ſeparate in imagination the rider from the horſe, taking both for one animal. Pizarro remained behind with the guard, while Soto and his attendants were conducted into the Inca's preſence, by an officer appointed for that purpoſe. The amazement on both ſides was nearly equal at this interview. The Spaniards admired the riches, grandeur, and ſtate of the

† Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 2.

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 3.

Inca,

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CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1532.

Inca, while that monarch and his ſubjects were ſurpriſed at the dreſs, arms, manners, and perſonal appearance of their viſitors. Some minutes paſſed in profound ſilence; at length the Spaniards recovering themſelves, approached the throne of gold on which Atahualpa was ſeated, making the moſt ſubmiſſive obeiſances as they advanced. When Soto came within a proper diſtance, the Inca roſe up, embraced him cordially, and bid him welcome to his dominions. An elegant entertainment was immediately ſerved up by ſix girls and as many boys, handſomely dreſſed. At the ſame time two beautiful virgins of the royal blood advanced, holding in their hands ſmall cups of gold, filled with the liquor commonly uſed by the Incas; of which they gave one to Atahualpa, and another to Soto, who drank peace and friendſhip to each other, according to the cuſtom of Peru. Theſe ceremonies being over, and Ferdinand Pizarro come up, on perceiving that all was pacific, the deputies delivered their commiſſion, and Atahualpa promiſed to viſit the Spaniſh general next day in his quarters *.

The cordiality of this reception was ſufficient to have baniſhed all ſuſpicion of hoſtile intentions from the mind of Pizarro. But he perceived the weakneſs of the prince he had to deal with, and did not wiſh to ſuppoſe him innocent. Atahualpa had told the deputies, that he hoped it would give no umbrage, if he came to Caxamalca attended by his army, as was cuſtomary when the Incas travelled. They aſſured him it would not; but Pizarro, whoſe inſight into human nature was as deep and penetrating as his temper was unfeeling and cruel, determined to make this circumſtance a pretext for carrying into execution a ſcheme which he had already formed. Senſible, from his long acquaintance with American manners, of what importance it was to have the ſovereign in his power, he had invited Atahualpa to an interview, with a reſolution to ſeize his perſon; and he now determined to avail himſelf of the unſuſpicious ſimplicity with which that monarch relied on his profeſſions for the accompliſhment of this deſign, no leſs perfidious than daring. While the minds of his ſoldiers were yet warm with admiration and deſire of the wealth of the Peruvian camp, of which the moſt exaggerated accounts had been given by thoſe who beheld it, he unfolded to them his deſign, under pretence of counteracting the Inca's treachery. After animating them by the powerful motives of avarice, glory, and ſelf-preſervation, he divided his cavalry into four ſmall ſquadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, Benalcazar, and Chriſtopher de Mena: the muſketeers were placed in a tower of the palace, whence they might fire to advantage upon the defenceleſs multitude: fifteen choſen men with ſpears were appointed to keep near his own perſon, in order to aſſiſt him in the dangerous ſervice which he had reſerved for himſelf: the artillery, conſiſting of two field pieces, and the croſs-bowmen, were placed oppoſite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach: the reſt of the infantry were formed in one body, under their reſpective officers; all

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 3. The Spaniſh writers are highly inconſiſtent, and even contradictory in their accounts of this interview, and all that relates to Atahualpa, whoſe memory they have attempted to ſtain with perfidy, in order to apologize for the cruelty of their countrymen.

BOOK I. A. D. 1532.

being commanded to keep within the ſquare, and not to move till the ſignal for action was given *.

Nov. 16.

As ſoon as day appeared, the Peruvian camp was perceived to be in motion: but as Atahualpa was deſirous of appearing with the greateſt ſplendour and magnificence in his firſt interview with the ſtrangers, the preparations for that purpoſe were ſo tedious, that the morning was far ſpent before he began his march; and even then, the proceſſion was ſo ſolemn and ſlow, that the Spaniards began to be uneaſy, leſt ſome ſuſpicion of their treachery might be the cauſe of this uncommon delay. Theſe apprehenſions were increaſed by the dread of loſing their booty, their avarice being whetted by the glittering appearance which the Peruvians made at a diſtance. This impatience made Pizarro ſend a meſſenger to the Inca, with freſh aſſurances of his friendly diſpoſition, and notice that he waited his arrival. At length Atahualpa approached, preceded by four hundred men in an uniform dreſs, adorned with plates of gold and ſilver, and great abundance of precious ſtones. The Inca, ſitting on a throne of burniſhed gold, adorned with plumes of various colours, was carried on the ſhoulders of his principal attendants. Behind came ſome great officers of his court, alſo carried in ſtate. Several bands of ſingers and dancers completed the cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, to the amount of thirty thouſand men.

By way of prelude to the horrid ſcene that was to follow, as ſoon as the Inca entered the ſquare in which the Spaniards had taken up their quarters, and where they had poſted their troops, father Vincenti Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long diſcourſe explained to him the doctrine of creation, the fall of man, the incarnation, the ſufferings, and reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt; the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth; the tranſmiſſion of his apoſtolic power by ſucceſſion to the popes, and the donation made to the king of Caſtile by pope Alexander VI. of all the lands in the New World: in conſequence of which he required Atahualpa to ſubmit to Charles V. as his lawful ſovereign, promiſing, if he would inſtantly comply with that requiſition, embrace the Chriſtian faith, and acknowledge the juriſdiction of the pope, that the Catholic king would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exerciſe of his royal authority; but if he ſhould impiouſly refuſe to obey this ſummons, he denounced war againſt him in his maſter's name, and threatened him with the moſt dreadful effects of his vengeance †.

A demand ſo bold, after the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of friendſhip, filled Atahualpa with aſtoniſhment and indignation, while the account of its origin excited his contempt. He replied, however, with temper. "I ſhould be glad," ſaid he, "to be a friend to the Spaniſh monarch, who has ſufficiently diſplayed his power by ſending armies into ſuch diſtant countries, but I diſdain to be his

* Xerez, p. 194. Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 4. Orb. lib. iii. c 3. Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book vi.

† Benzoni, Hiſt. Nov,

vaſſal: I owe no tribute to any mortal prince, and know none ſuperior to myſelf. A foreign prieſt can have no right to diſpoſe of my dominions. As to changing my religion," added he, "it would be equally fooliſh and impious in me, to abjure the worſhip received by my anceſtors, until you have convinced me it is falſe, and that yours, which you would have me adopt in its ſtead, is true. You believe in a God that died upon a tree: I adore the Sun, who never dies." In regard to the creation, the fall of man, and other particulars in the harangue of the fanatical monk, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now underſtand them, he deſired to know where his inſtructor had learned things ſo extraordinary. "In this book," replied Valverde, in an arrogant tone, preſenting his breviary to him. The Inca ſeized it eagerly, examined it on all ſides, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear:—"This," ſaid he, "tells me nothing;"—and threw it on the ground with a diſdainful ſmile. The enraged monk inſtantly ran towards his countrymen, crying out with great vehemence, "Vengeance, my friends, vengeance!—Chriſtians, do you not ſee how the goſpel is inſulted?—Kill thoſe impious dogs, who trample under foot the law of God*!"

Pizarro, who had with difficulty reſtrained ſo long the fury of his ſoldiers, eager to ſeize the ſpoils and ſhed the blood of the Infidels, now gave the ſignal for executing the orders he had iſſued. At once the cannon and muſkets fired, to the amazement and confuſion of the Peruvians, who believed themſelves in perfect ſafety; the drums beat, the trumpets ſounded, and the cavalry, ſallying out by three ſeveral ways, fell with impetuoſity upon the unreſiſting multitude, who thought of nothing but flight; while the infantry ruſhed on with their ſwords and ſpears, making terrible ſlaughter of the fugitives. Meantime the general, at the head of his choſen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and after maſſacring the body of nobles, who ſurrounded the perſon of their ſovereign, and who preſſed forward with the moſt heroic loyalty to protect him from the ſharpneſs of the Spaniſh weapons, at the expence of their own lives, Pizarro penetrated to the royal ſeat, ſeized Atahualpa by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him priſoner to his quarters.

The conſternation of the Peruvians on this event was inexpreſſible. Having no longer any object to attract their attention, or excite their zeal, they fled with precipitation towards every quarter; while the Spaniards, with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity, continued to purſue and ſlaughter the wretched remains of a body of men, who had never once attempted any reſiſtance. The carnage did not ceaſe till the cloſe of day, and was accompanied with circumſtances of peculiar atrocity. Father Valverde during the whole maſſacre mingled with the ſoldiers, animating them in the bloody buſineſs, and calling to them to ſtrike the infidels, "not with the edges, but with the points of their ſwords†:" Above four thouſand Peruvians were ſlain, without a ſingle Spaniard being ſo much as wounded; except Pizarro himſelf, who received a ſlight hurt in the hand from

* Benzoni, Hiſt. Nov. Orb. lib. iii. c. 3. † Id. ibid.

one

BOOK I. A. D. 1532.

one of his own ſoldiers, while ſtruggling to ſeize the Inca. The booty collected, by the plunder of the field, was rich beyond any idea which an European of that age could form of the wealth of the greateſt monarch; and the Spaniards were ſo much tranſported with the value of the acquiſition, and the greatneſs of their ſucceſs, that, forgetting the ſentiments natural to men who have unjuſtly, and unprovoked by any injury, ſhed the blood of their ſpecies, they ſpent the night in the moſt extravagant tranſports of joy, accompanied with dancing, drunkenneſs, and debauchery *.

The Peruvians were at firſt inconſolable, imagining their ſovereign had been ſlain; but underſtanding that he was only a priſoner, above five thouſand perſons of diſtinction repaired to Caxamalca, to attend him in his confinement, and bear a part in his affliction. Nothing could be more moving than the fidelity and attachment with which they attended the captive monarch, endeavouring to break the poignancy of his grief, and pour comfort into his wounded boſom. But all their conſolations were ineffectual. Atahualpa felt the miſery of his condition, and ſunk into a dejection proportioned to the height of grandeur whence he had fallen, and the ſuddenneſs of the tranſition, which for ſome time he could ſcarcely believe to be real. Afraid of loſing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the poſſeſſion of the Inca's perſon, Pizarro laboured to conſole him with profeſſions of friendſhip, and a reſpect that correſponded ill with his actions. In the courſe of theſe interviews Atahualpa diſcovered the ruling paſſion of the Spaniards, and attempted to avail himſelf of it, in order to procure his liberty. He took occaſion to treat of his ranſom, and offered ſuch a quantity of treaſure as aſtoniſhed the Spaniards, even after all they had ſeen of the wealth of Peru. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length, and ſixteen in breadth: he undertook to fill it with veſſels of gold, as high as he could reach. Pizarro cloſed eagerly with this tempting propoſal; and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, in order to mark the ſtipulated height to which the treaſure was to riſe †.

Tranſported with having obtained ſome proſpect of liberty, Atahualpa inſtantly took meaſures for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by ſending officers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places where gold had been amaſſed in the greateſt quantities, to bring what was neceſſary for completing his ranſom immediately to Caxamalca. Every mandate iſſued by the Inca, though in the hands of his enemies, was executed with the greateſt alacrity. Soothed with the hopes of obtaining their ſovereign's liberty, and afraid of endangering his life, the Peruvians ſaw the palaces of their princes and the temples of their gods robbed of their moſt valuable ornaments without murmuring, or once attempting to take vengeance upon the authors of ſo many evils. The Spaniards remained unmoleſted at Caxamalca, while ſmall detachments of their number marched into the moſt remote provinces, and entered the principal cities in the empire, without meeting with the ſmalleſt oppoſition. On the contrary, they were every where

* Benzoni, lib. iii. c. 3.

† Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. b. vi.

received

received with marks of the moſt ſubmiſſive reſpect by the natives, who not only honoured the Inca's paſſport and commands, but conſidered the Spaniards as the meſſengers and miniſters of ſome powerful divinity that, for certain purpoſes, brought affliction upon their ſovereign *. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1532.

While the Spaniards were thus employed in collecting the Inca's ranſom, intelligence was received, that Almagro was landed at St. Michael with a reinforcement of an hundred and fifty men. The arrival of this long expected ſuccour, which enabled Pizarro to ſend out more conſiderable detachments than would otherwiſe have been conſiſtent with his ſafety, was no leſs alarming to Atahualpa than agreeable to his oppreſſor. In proportion as the number of his enemies increaſed, he concluded they would riſe in their demands, and conſequently that he would find more difficulty in obtaining his liberty. To augment theſe diſquieting apprehenſions he was informed that the Spaniards ſent to Cuzco had viſited his brother Huaſcar in his confinement, and that the captive prince had repreſented his wrongs to them in the ſtrongeſt light, and as an inducement to embrace his cauſe, had promiſed them a quantity of treaſure vaſtly ſuperior to what he had engaged to pay for his freedom. Seeing his deſtruction inevitable, if the Spaniards ſhould liſten to this propoſal, he determined to ſacrifice his brother's life, in order to ſave his own. But he durſt not venture on ſuch a meaſure, before he had ſounded the ſentiments of Pizarro relative to it: he therefore took occaſion to tell him, that his officers had unadviſedly killed Huaſcar, a circumſtance which gave him much uneaſineſs. Pizarro anſwered very unconcernedly, that it was the fortune of war for ſome to be killed, and others to be taken, and treated at the will of the conquerors. Satisfied with this reply, as far as it regarded his brother, Atahualpa ordered him to be inſtantly diſpatched; and that, like his other commands, was executed with ſcrupulous punctuality †. A. D. 1533.

Having eſcaped this danger, Atahualpa fondly expected to be ſoon reſtored to his liberty, as great part of the treaſure ſtipulated for his ranſom was now amaſſed, and his ſubjects were daily bringing it in from different parts of his dominions. Pizarro was ſenſible that the whole would be collected in a ſhort time; but either in compliance with the impatience of his ſoldiers, whoſe avarice was inflamed by ſeeing ſuch heaps of gold continually expoſed before their eyes, or in order that he might ſtill have ſome pretext for retaining the Inca in cuſtody, he ordered all that was already received to be melted down, except ſome pieces of curious workmanſhip, reſerved as a preſent for the emperor Charles. The next thing that occupied the general's attention was the diviſion of the booty, and in regard to that he was a good deal embarraſſed. The ſoldiers who had come with Almagro demanded an equal ſhare in the Inca's ranſom, alledging that their arrival had forwarded the payment, and ſtruck terror into the Peruvians, who otherwiſe might not have obeyed Atahualpa's commands. This requeſt was conſidered as unreaſonable; but, in order to appeaſe them, Pizarro declared that an hundred thouſand peſos ſhould be ſet aſide for their benefit. After deducting this ſum, and the fifth

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. † Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 5.

BOOK I. A. D. 1533.

due to the crown, there remained one million, five hundred and twenty-eight thouſand five hundred peſos, to Pizarro and his followers *.

The feſtival of St. James, the patron ſaint of Spain, was the day choſen for the diviſion of this vaſt ſum; and the manner of conducting it ſtrongly marks that ſtrange alliance of religion and avarice, which forms ſo ſtriking a feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Pizarro began the diſtribution of the ſpoils of an innocent people, procured by a violation of the moſt ſacred promiſes, and at the expenſe of a torrent of blood, with ſolemnly imploring the divine aſſiſtance to enable him to do juſtice to every man †. The ſpirit of fanaticiſm only can occaſion ſuch inconſiſtencies in human conduct. In this diſtribution ſome regard was had to the merit of the ſoldiers; but all received a greater ſum than ever fell to the ſhare of private men engaged in military ſervice. The dividends of Pizarro and his officers were made according to the dignity of their rank.

This exceſs of wealth was productive of numberleſs diſorders, and threatened the conquerors with total ruin. Having now received a recompence for their ſervices far beyond their moſt ſanguine hopes, many of the ſoldiers were ſo impatient to retire from fatigue and danger, in order to ſpend the remainder of their days in their native country, in eaſe and opulence, that they demanded their diſcharge with clamorous importunity. This diſpoſition ill ſuited the ambitious views of the commanders, and Almagro was for proceeding in the uſual way to enforce obedience by the ſeverity of military diſcipline, but Pizarro oppoſed him:—"Let them go," ſaid he, "they cannot more effectually ſerve us. From ſuch followers we could expect neither enterpriſe in action nor fortitude in ſuffering: if not mutinous and cowardly, we ſhould at beſt have indifferent ſoldiers here: at home, and in the colonies, they will act for us as recruiting officers; for when it ſhall be ſeen that private ſoldiers of ſo little merit as they, have made ſuch large fortunes, we ſhall not long want better men to ſupply their places." He accordingly granted leave to ſuch ſoldiers as choſe it to depart, and permitted above ſixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he ſent to Spain with an account of his ſucceſs, and the emperor's ſhare of the treaſure ‡.

The Spaniards having thus divided among them the treaſure collected for the Inca's ranſom, that unfortunate prince urged them to fulfil their promiſe of ſetting him at liberty: but nothing was farther from the thoughts of Pizarro, who had only amuſed his captive with the proſpect of freedom, in order to induce him to lend his authority towards collecting the wealth of his dominions ‖. This was his ſole view in his compact with Atahualpa; and having now accompliſhed his aim, he no longer regarded his plighted faith. In vain did the Inca offer to lay himſelf under the ſtricteſt obligations to act in nothing contrary to the intereſt of the Spaniards; to acknowledge himſelf the vaſſal of the emperor Charles V. to pay a regular tribute, and to receive baptiſm, as ſoon as his underſtanding ſhould be convinced: Pizarro was ſecretly forging a pretext for depriving him of his life, at the very time he hoped to be replaced on his throne.

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 6. † Id. ibid. ‡ Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 6. Garcilaſſo, lib. i. c. 38. ‖ Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 6.

Many

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1533.

Many circumſtances conſpired in prompting Pizarro to this action, one of the moſt criminal and atrocious that ſtains the Spaniſh name, amid all the deeds of violence committed in the conqueſt of the New World. The ſtrict attention with which it was neceſſary to guard a priſoner of ſuch importance, greatly increaſed the fatigue of military duty, and occaſioned murmurs among the ſoldiers: the utility of keeping him longer appeared inconſiderable, and the inconveniences great: the breach of promiſe muſt excite univerſal indignation in the Peruvians, who would aſſuredly attempt their ſovereign's releaſe: the captive monarch himſelf would encourage his people in their hoſtile deſigns, when he found more gentle methods to fail: his death, which would throw all things into confuſion, ſeemed eſſential to fix the Dominion of Spain over ſuch an extent of country *. As a further motive, Almagro's ſoldiers were ſtill diſſatisfied at not receiving an equal ſhare in the treaſure, and refuſed to be led to the reduction of the provinces. They were apprehenſive, that as long as Atahualpa remained a priſoner, Pizarro's ſoldiers would apply whatever treaſure ſhould be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the ſtipulated quantity for the Inca's ranſome, and under that pretext exclude them from that proportional part of it to which they would be entitled by their ſervices: they therefore inſiſted that the Inca ſhould be put to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thenceforth be on an equal footing; and on this they inſiſted as the condition of their obedience †.

Meanwhile the generals of Atahualpa, incenſed at finding their prince ſtill detained in cuſtody, under frivolous pretences, propoſed to ſet him at liberty by force of arms. To this propoſition he very prudently refuſed his conſent; admoniſhing them in the ſtrongeſt terms not to have recourſe to violence, which would endanger his life, and might occaſion the total ſubverſion of the monarchy. In obedience to him, they laid aſide their deſigns; but the diſcontent which appeared in their countenances, excited ſuſpicions in the breaſts of the Spaniards, and Pizarro either was, or pretended to be alarmed, at ſome rumours of forces being aſſembling in the diſtant provinces of the empire. Theſe fears and ſuſpicions were artfully increaſed by Philipillo, one of the Peruvians whom Pizarro had carrried to Spain, and who was now employed as interpreter. Having fixed his affections on one of Atahualpa's concubines, and ſeeing no proſpect of gratifying his paſſion during the life of that prince, he artfully endeavoured to fill the ears of the Spaniards with accounts of his ſecret deſigns and preparations ‡.

The reaſons furniſhed by all theſe different motives and machinations were ſurely ſufficient to induce a perſon of ſo little principle as Pizarro to carry his deſign againſt the Inca's life into execution; but hiſtorians have mentioned a trivial circumſtance, which is ſuppoſed to have haſtened the fate of that unfortunate monarch. Atahualpa, during his confinement, had attached himſelf with particular affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto, who being perſons of better education, and more poliſhed manners than the rough and illiterate adventurers

* Id. ibid. † Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Garcilaſ. lib. i. c. 7. ‡ Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 6.

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1533.

with whom they ſerved, treated him with that reſpectful attention to which he was entitled by the high ſtation from which he had fallen. Flattered by this voluntary homage from perſons of ſuch eminence, he delighted in their ſociety, and held frequent and familiar converſations with them; but in the preſence of the general, who was of an auſtere temper, he was uneaſy and overawed. The mind naturally deſires to relieve itſelf from its painful feelings: Atahualpa's dread was ſoon mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, he admired none ſo much as the power of conveying ideas by writing; and he had long deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this point, he deſired one of the ſoldiers who guarded him to write the name of God, which he had often heard mentioned, upon the nail of his thumb; then calling another ſoldier, he deſired to know what theſe characters meant, and was anſwered "God." He called a third ſoldier, and to his aſtoniſhment, received the ſame anſwer: at length Pizarro entered; and on putting the queſtion to him, he bluſhed, and with ſome confuſion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment Atahualpa, whoſe mind eagerly laid hold of this circumſtance to emerge from that abaſement in which it had been ſunk, conſidered the general as a mean perſon, leſs enlightened than his own ſoldiers. The ſame feelings which led him to ſeize upon this circumſtance, deprived him of the caution neceſſary to conceal the ſentiments with which the diſcovery inſpired him. Mortified to be the object of a barbarian's ſcorn, Pizarro determined ſuddenly to remove the cauſe of his uneaſineſs, by a ſacrifice which policy and reſentment now equally conſpired to demand *.

In order, however, to give ſome colour of juſtice to the violent action which he intended to commit, and that he might not ſtand ſingly reſponſible for it, Pizarro reſolved to try the Inca with all the formalities obſerved in the criminal courts of Spain. The general himſelf, and Almagro, with two aſſiſtants were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or condemn: an attorney-general was ſelected to carry on the proſecution in the name of his Catholic majeſty: counſellors were choſen to aſſiſt the priſoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this ſtrange tribunal, a charge ſtill more extraordinary was exhibited. It conſiſted of various articles, many of which are truly abſurd and ludicrous: that Atahualpa, though a baſtard, had diſpoſſeſſed the rightful owner of the throne, and uſurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful ſovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and that he not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human ſacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that ſince his impriſonment he had levied taxes and tributes, and waſted the royal treaſures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; and, laſtly, that he had endeavoured to ſtir up factions and rebellions againſt the Spaniards, traitorouſly inciting his ſubjects to take up arms for his releaſe.

* Garcilaſſo, lib. i. c. 38.

On

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1533.

On theſe heads of accuſation was the ſovereign of a great empire tried by a ſet of banditti who had invaded his dominions. With reſpect to each of the articles witneſſes were examined: but as they delivered their evidence in the Peruvian dialect, Philipillo had it in his power to give their words what turn beſt ſuited his malevolent intentions; and as the judges were predetermined in their opinion, the evidence was judged ſufficient. Atahualpa was pronounced guilty, and condemned to be burnt alive. In vain did the Inca object, that his judges could take no legal cognizance of the death of his brother; that the taxes which he had levied, and the wars which he had carried on, were nothing to the Spaniards; and that as to the conſpiracy mentioned in the impeachment, the accuſation was utterly falſe and groundleſs. He called heaven and earth to witneſs the integrity with which he had diſcharged his engagements, and the perfidy of his accuſers, and deſired that he might be ſent over to Spain to take his trial before the emperor; but little regard was paid to his remonſtrances: pity never touched the heart of Pizarro. The trial was laid for confirmation before Valverde, who "warranted it to be juſt," and Atahualpa was inſtantly led to execution. To complete this ſcene of iniquity, and add to the bitterneſs of the laſt moments of the unhappy ſufferer, the ſame perſon who had juſt ratified his doom, and was the chief inſtrument of all his misfortunes in one world, offered to open to him the gates of another, by converting him to the Chriſtian faith. The moſt powerful argument which Valverde uſed was a promiſe to mitigate the puniſhment: the dread of death extorted from the trembling victim a deſire of receiving baptiſm: the ceremony was performed by the accurſed hands of the exulting monk; and Atahualpa, inſtead of being burnt, was ſtrangled at the ſtake *!

CHAP. IX.

Continuation of the Progreſs of the Spaniſh *Arms in* Peru *and the neighbouring Countries, from the Execution of* Atahualpa *to the Murder of* Pizarro.

THE death of Atahualpa, as Pizarro had foreſeen, threw the Peruvian government into the utmoſt diſorder. Ambitious men in different parts of the empire aſpired to independent authority, and uſurped juriſdiction to which they had no right; while the people, in ſeveral provinces, as if ſet free from the reſtraints of law, broke out into the wildeſt exceſſes. The very frame of the conſtitution ſeemed to be diſſolved, and the Spaniards flattered themſelves, that they ſhould meet with no farther reſiſtance in eſtabliſhing their unjuſt dominion. But ſymptoms of returning union ſoon began to appear. The people of Cuzco,

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Garcilaſſo, lib. 1. c. 36, 37. Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 6.

BOOK I. A. D. 1533.

and the adjacent country, proclaimed as Inca, Manco Capac, the legitimate brother of their late ſovereign Huaſcar, and determined to ſupport him with the laſt drop of their blood againſt the machinations and violences of their invaders.

Pizarro ſaw the ſtorm that was gathering, and took the moſt effectual meaſure for diverting its force. He inveſted Toparpa, one of the ſons of Atahualpa, with the enſigns of royalty, and cauſed all public buſineſs to be tranſacted in his name. The next ſtep neceſſary to inſure his own ſucceſs, and counteract the deſigns of his enemies, was to gain poſſeſſion of the capital, and ſuppreſs the oppoſite faction, before it had gathered ſufficient ſtrength to maintain the reſolutions it had taken. He accordingly ſet out from Caxamalca, attended by the new Inca, after having ſpent ſeven months in that city; during which time he had received ſuch conſiderable reinforcements, that he could now venture to penetrate into the interior part of the country. The fame of Atahualpa's ranſom had operated as he foretold. No ſooner did the ſoldiers, to whom he had given their diſcharge, reach Panama, and diſplay their riches to the view of their aſtoniſhed countrymen, than adventurers crowded from that and all the neighbouring ſettlements to Peru; and Pizarro began his march towards Cuzco at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a conſiderable garriſon in St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar *.

The Peruvians had aſſembled large bodies of troops, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Spaniards; and when Pizarro approached near the valley of Xauxa, advice was brought that a party of the enemy had occupied the paſſes, and ſeemed reſolved to diſpute his march. Advancing a few miles farther, the plain was ſeen covered with the Peruvian army; a ſight rather formidable to the Spaniards, who conſiſted either of freſh levied troops, or men who had for many months been ſunk in voluptuous tranquillity, and were now fatigued with their journey, and the prodigious rains which had lately fallen. Almagro led the van: he approached ſo near as to hear the enemy's revilings; when giving way to his indignation, he attacked them with great impetuoſity, after having paſſed a rapid river, in defiance of all oppoſition. Nothing could withſtand the Spaniſh cavalry: the Peruvians were confounded, broken, and defeated, before the rear could come to ſupport the main body. They loſt great numbers in the flight, and left behind a conſiderable quantity of gold and other booty †. In this valley, which he found to be large, fertile, and populous, Pizarro attempted to found a colony, which, notwithſtanding all thoſe advantages, was not permanent.

While the general was thus employed, Soto was detached with ſixty horſe, to make the beſt of his way to Cuzco; to clear the road for the remainder of the army, and diſcover the motions of the Peruvians. This officer, however, was ſoon convinced of the danger of the ſervice to which he was appointed. Having received intelligence that a large body of the enemy had fortified themſelves at

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. viii. c. 6.

† Herrera, dec. III. lib. ix. c. 4.

Curabayo,

CHAP. IX.
A. D. 1533.

Curabayo, with a reſolution to defend that paſs, he became diffident of his own ſtrength, and ſent notice of his ſituation to Pizarro, deſiring that the Inca might join him, as the preſence of that prince might poſſibly ſecure the purpoſe of victory without the hazard: but Toparpa fell ſick about this time, and died; a circumſtance which very much troubled Pizarro, as it deprived him of all hope of ſubjecting the Peruvians to the crown of Spain, under colour of ſupporting the lawful ſovereign *.

Soto was now obliged to place his dependence entirely on his own conduct and the valour of his troops. The Peruvians had cut down a bridge over an exceeding rapid river, that divided them from the Spaniards: to ford it in the face of the enemy ſeemed impracticable; but Soto, without regarding the violence of the ſtream, plunged in with his body of cavalry, and gained the oppoſite bank in ſpite of every obſtruction. The Peruvians betook themſelves to a precipitant flight, and Soto continued the purſuit, notwithſtanding his orders to advance ſlowly; ſaying, it would be folly and cowardice to adhere ſo literally to order, as to neglect ſeizing an important advantage which could not be foreſeen when the orders were iſſued. He accordingly purſued his march along the great road of Chinahayſo to the mountain of Beleacongo, ſeven leagues from Cuzco. Here that body of the enemy which he had formerly engaged, reſolved to make a laſt effort; having fortified a difficult paſs, and taken every meaſure that ſeemed neceſſary to obſtruct the progreſs of the Spaniards, or cut them off. It was ſhameful, they ſaid, to ſuffer themſelves to be driven like a herd of deer, before ſixty ſtrangers, whoſe hopes of ſucceſs were chiefly founded on the puſillanimity of their antagoniſts. The preſent opportunity was favourable: they ought to ſtrike the blow, while the Spaniſh horſe were unable to act on account of the ruggedneſs of the country.

Soto could at this time have no reliance on receiving aſſiſtance from Pizarro, who was employed in reducing the Yuanas and Yoyas; he therefore repoſed his hopes ſolely in the vigour and celerity of his motions, deeming it not impoſſible to repulſe the enemy, by attacking them before they had completed their works, or were joined by freſh troops. His reſolution, however, was ſtaggered as he advanced. The whole face of the mountain ſeemed covered with armed men, and unexpected difficulties occurred with regard to the nature of the paſs. As a farther diſcouragement, the Peruvians began to pour in their darts and arrows upon the Spaniards with more regularity than uſual. This produced murmurs and diſcontents among the ſoldiers. But Soto, at once to quiet theſe, told them, That it was now neceſſary to conquer or die: the numbers of the enemy cut off all poſſibility of retreating, without being expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, accompanied with diſgrace; and if they heſitated a moment, the ſame difficulty would attend their advancing, new levies being continually joining the Peruvian army. One victory more, he ſaid, would remove every obſtacle; and the ſame valour which had hitherto proved invincible would now alſo inſure ſucceſs, if they would exert it as became true Caſtilians. This ſpeech infuſed new life and

* Id. ibid.

ſpirit

BOOK I. A. D. 1534.

ſpirit into the troops: they advanced up the hill with undaunted reſolution, amid ſhowers of the enemy's weapons; cut their way through the narrow paſs; and at laſt reached the ſummit of the mountain, in ſpite of all oppoſition. Five ſoldiers and two horſes were killed in the attack, and eleven men and fourteen horſes wounded *.

This loſs was conſiderable, out of ſo ſmall a body of men, yet would it have been a cheap price for victory, had it been complete. But the Peruvians ſtill maintained their ground; and Soto muſt have been under the neceſſity of renewing the combat next morning, had not Almagro ſeaſonably arrived with a reinforcement. Dejected at ſeeing the number of their enemies augmented at a time when they were preparing for ſignal vengeance, and hoped to deſtroy them to a man, the Peruvians made but a feeble reſiſtance againſt the united forces of the two commanders. Pizarro ſoon after joined them, and the whole Spaniſh army marched without further oppoſition to Cuzco, of which they took quiet poſſeſſion. The booty found in that capital, after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, exceeded in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ranſom. But as the Spaniards were now more accuſtomed to the wealth of the country, it did not excite the ſame ſurpriſe. It was not, however, collected with leſs avidity. The Spaniſh ſoldiers immediately ſet to work in ſtripping the gold and ſilver from the walls of the temples, in digging up the veſſels of the ſame precious metals concealed in the graves, or buried with the dead, and in plundering the ſhrines of the idols †.

Pizarro no ſooner found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the capital of Peru, than he prudently invited the people to return to their dwellings. Many accepted of the invitation; and even the Inca, Manco Capac, reſolved to viſit Pizarro in perſon, and acknowledge the ſovereignty of his Catholic majeſty, on condition that neither he nor his ſubjects ſhould, for the future, be moleſted in their perſons or properties. Againſt this meaſure his council ſtrongly remonſtrated, admoniſhing him not to confide in the treacherous Spaniards, who had cruelly put his brother to death, in breach of the moſt ſolemn engagements. They could not, however, divert him from his purpoſe, as he underſtood Pizarro had declared him the rightful heir of the monarchy. "Can we imagine," ſaid he, "that the Spaniards will diveſt us of our lawful inheritance, who never did them any injury; who, inſtead of oppoſing their entrance, actually reſigned every thing upon their ſummons?—Let us go in a peaceable manner; for if we are armed, they will ſuſpect our intentions are hoſtile, and will make that a pretext for refuſing our juſt demand. Avarice lays hold of the ſlighteſt occaſion to gratify its rapacity. Inſtead of our arms, let us carry ſuch preſents with us, as may ſerve to win the affections of covetous men, and pacify the diſpleaſure of offended gods: let us collect all the gold, and ſilver, and precious ſtones in our power, and by this offering of our wealth take away the temptation to injuſtice and oppreſſion.

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. ix. c. 4.

† Gomara, c. 123.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1534.

"It is true, the ancient power of our kings is fallen, but ſtill let us maintain their integrity, honour, and prudence; and if this ſhall not prevail with the Spaniards to reſtore to us our empire, we may then abſolutely conclude, that the prophecy of the Inca, our father and predeceſſor, is accompliſhed; that our monarchy is to be tranſlated to ſtrangers, our political government deſtroyed, and our reign aboliſhed. If the Pachacama has ordered theſe things, what have we to do but to ſubmit?—Let the Spaniards act as they pleaſe, it becomes us to purſue the maxims of reaſon and juſtice *."

This ſpeech was pronounced with great pathos and energy, and drew tears from the whole aſſembly. The Peruvian nobles lamented the approaching deſtruction of the empire, but prepared to obey their prince, by providing every thing neceſſary for his journey. When all things were in readineſs, he ſet out for Cuzco, attended by a great number of vaſſals, officers of his army, great lords of his houſhold, and other dependents. His courtiers adviſed that he might be carried in the ſtate-chair, which was made of pure gold, and wear on his temples the coloured wreath, peculiar to the Incas; but he replied, that theſe badges of royalty ill became a petitioner, and therefore deſired to be carried on a common litter. He was met by the Spaniards, who had information of his deſign, at ſome diſtance from the city. Pizarro received him with the ſtrongeſt marks of reſpect and reverence, and cauſed him to be crowned, and inveſted with the imperial enſigns, in the Caſſona or royal palace, with all the ſolemnity and ceremonies obſerved by the Peruvians on the inauguration of their ſovereigns. A treaty favourable to both parties was concluded, the articles of which need not here be ſpecified, as it was ſoon broken and diſregarded.

Theſe pacific meaſures were purſued, becauſe it was known, that forces were aſſembling both in the ſouthern and northern provinces, under the generals Yrruminavi and Quizquiz; and alſo, becauſe Pizarro had formed a plan of ſettling colonies and founding cities upon the coaſt, which he could not execute until the public commotions were ſubſided. The latter of theſe generals, incenſed at the conceſſions made by the Inca, and the power aſſumed by a few hundreds of ſtrangers in the centre of the empire, and in the very heart of the capital, collected a great army, in hopes of expelling them from Peru, and of recovering the ancient dignity and independency of the monarchy. He harangued his people with great vehemence; laid before them the ſhameful uſurpation of the Spaniards; the diſgraceful timidity of the Inca; the danger that threatened their religion, laws, lives and properties; the dreadful carnage already made by the Spaniards; their inſatiable avarice and rapacity, with every other circumſtance that could rouſe, inflame, or animate men in ſuch a ſituation. When he found he had excited a ſpirit of revenge among his followers, he advanced with a reſolution to attack Cuzco. Pizarro and Almagro, having information of his deſigns, marched out to meet him at the head of a ſelect body of horſe and foot. They came up with the enemy at the bridge of Aparima; and by the vigour of their

* Garcilaſſo, lib. ii.

BOOK I. A. D. 1534.

first charge put the Peruvians in confusion: they were never after able to rally, but were slaughtered in heaps, almost without resistance. Soto continued the pursuit as far as Prileus, while Pizarro returned triumphant to Cuzco, in full expectation that the enemy would not venture a second time to dispute the capital with the Spaniards, without the authority of the Inca. But in that he was mistaken. Quizquiz was disconcerted, but not discouraged by his defeat: he suddenly assembled a new army, and again advanced towards Cuzco, in hopes of surprising the Spaniards; but Pizarro having intelligence of his approach, entirely disconcerted his measures. He drew out his troops into the neighbouring plain, where the cavalry might have room to act in conjunction with the foot. Another battle was fought with the same fortune. Quizquiz desisted from his purpose, and Pizarro had leisure to pursue his design of founding colonies on the sea coast *.

While these things were transacting in Cuzco and its neighbourhood, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael was not idle. Having received from Panama and Nicaragua a considerable body of recruits, allured by the fame of the immense wealth of Peru, and being naturally of a warlike and enterprising temper, he resolved to profit by his strength; to enlarge his stock of riches by fresh acquisitions; to rival the glory of other commanders; and by striking some blow, equally important and unexpected, to have his name distinguished among the conquerors of the New World. The reduction of Quito, where, according to the report of the natives, Atahualpa had left the greater part of his treasure, was the enterprise on which Benalcazar had set his heart; and he contrived matters with so much address, that the council of St. Michael proposed, that he should undertake the expedition. He was not long in complying with the inclinations of the magistrates. Leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant settlement, he placed himself at the head of an hundred and forty horse and foot, well armed, and marched towards Carrachabamba, one of the interior provinces. Before he reached Zeropalta, he suffered incredible hardships. The news of his progress soon reached Quito; on which it is supposed that the inhabitants took measures to conceal their wealth, in order to disappoint the Spaniards, whose avarice they detested. They also assembled forces to oppose their progress, under Yrrumiñavi, one of the imperial generals, who represented in the strongest light the danger that threatened them.

The first step taken by this commander was to dispatch a body of troops to watch the motions of the Spaniards, in the neighbourhood of Zeropalta. Without knowing any thing of this matter Benalcazar was advancing with thirty horse towards Tombebamba, when he met the Peruvian detachment on the road, and obliged it to retire with precipitation to the main body. Benalcazar resided eight days at Tombebamba, in the course of which he received ambassadors from the people of the provinces called Canaries, desiring an alliance with the Spaniards, in order to revenge the cruelties committed by the friends of Atahualpa, in their

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. i. c. 3, 4.

country,

country, during the late civil commotions. Their requeſt was readily granted, and Benalcazar exhorted them to raiſe forces immediately, in order to aſſiſt in the deſigns formed againſt Quito. Advice of theſe particulars was ſoon carried to that city; where, after conſulting their oracles, offering ſacrifices, and praying to be delivered from perpetual ſlavery and deſtruction, it was agreed in council, by the commanders and prieſts, to raiſe an army of fifty thouſand men, and vigorouſly to oppoſe the enemy.

Meanwhile Benalcazar was no leſs diligent and active. He detached Ruyz de Diaz with a party of horſe to gain information of the country, and reconnoitre the enemy's diſpoſition. This party was ſoon attacked, and ſurrounded by a body of the enemy placed in ambuſh by Yrruminavi. The Spaniards fought with great reſolution, and made dreadful carnage; but they muſt at laſt have ſunk under the weight of ſuperior numbers, had not one of the ſoldiers, by an extraordinary effort, broke through the Peruvians, and carried advice to Benalcazar of the danger of Diaz and his detachment. Leaving a ſmall body for the defence of his quarters, Benalcazar haſtened to the aſſiſtance of this brave officer, whom he found gallantly fighting amid heaps of ſlaughtered Peruvians. But the enemy were neither diſcouraged by their loſs, nor by the arrival of Benalcazar: on the contrary, their fury was exalted; they redoubled their exertions, and appeared determined to periſh or to conquer. Fatigue and the approach of evening, however, obliged the combatants at laſt to ſeparate, as if by mutual conſent; the Peruvians all the while denouncing vengeance, and boaſting that the Spaniards would find a different kind of reſiſtance in their approaches to Quito, from what they had met with at Caxamalca.

Benalcazar, who, in this battle, had acted the part of an able commander as well as of a brave ſoldier, ſpent part of the night in refreſhing his troops, while the enemy were employed in making ſuch fortifications as they thought would be ſufficient to enable them to reſiſt the power of the Spaniards. Of this Benalcazar had notice; and as the obſtinate courage which the Peruvians had ſhewn in the late engagement left him little hope that he ſhould be able to force their entrenchments, he reſolved to try the effects of policy, and while the darkneſs of night concealed his motions, to take the route of Chima and Turbas. An Indian offered to be his guide, and to conduct him by a ſafe road, through which he ſhould entirely elude the enemy; but ſcarce had he marched a league, when he was overtaken, and attacked in the rear by the whole body of the Peruvian army. At the ſame time Yrruminavi had detached a body of men to occupy the paſſes, and dig pits, which he ordered to be covered with graſs, as traps for the cavalry. The action was ſuſtained in the rear by thirty horſe, while Benalcazar, with the reſt of the troops, ſtruggled hard to gain a neighbouring eminence. This he accompliſhed after much difficulty, and then ſent aſſiſtance to the cavalry in the rear. There the battle raged for ſome time; but at length the enemy, concluding that the pits ordered to be dug were finiſhed, drew off, and wheeled with great velocity to the front. The conſequences of this ſtratagem muſt have proved very fatal to the Spaniards, had it not been diſcovered by a deſerter to Benalcazar,

BOOK I. A. D. 1534.

ealzar, who immediately reſolved to quit the direct road, and purſue his march over the top of ſome ſteep hills.

When the Peruvians obſerved this movement, they were much diſpirited and diſconcerted, not doubting but the Spaniards were protected by ſome divinity, who revealed all the ſtratagems contrived againſt them. They inſiſted that their general ſhould make immediate propoſals of peace; but Yrruminavi laboured to convince them, that it was better to periſh, like brave men, with their ſwords in their hands, than to become the ſlaviſh dependents, on an inſolent, cruel, and rapacious enemy, who paid no regard to the moſt ſolemn engagements, but wantonly violated the rights of religion, the faith of treaties, and the ties of humanity. Their reſentment was again rouſed by his eloquence, and they marched in purſuit of the Spaniards; but Benalcazar arrived ſafe at the ſtately palace of Riobamba, before the enemy came up with him. Thence he ſallied out with thirty horſe, and obliged the Peruvians to fly for ſhelter to the mountains. They again, however, came down at the perſuaſion of their general, and ſeemed determined to diſpute every inch of the road to Quito.

After reſting twelve days at Riobamba, Benalcazar reſumed his march, and was joined in a ſhort time by a body of his new allies the Canaries, who congratulated him very cordially on his late victories, and aſſured him of their endeavours to render the iſſue of the expedition as fortunate as the beginning. They were averſe to all pacific overtures; but the Spaniſh general, that he might have nothing to reproach himſelf with, in caſe of any untoward accident, made very equitable propoſals to the Peruvians. They were rejected, however, with ſcorn, by Yrruminavi, who now occupied the banks of a river over which the Spaniards had to paſs. From that poſt he was driven with great ſlaughter. But the Spaniards, though always ſucceſsful, were exhauſted with continual fighting: Benalcazar, therefore, ſent an Indian with a croſs in his hand to endeavour to procure a ceſſation of hoſtilities. Many of the Peruvians were ready to embrace the overture, when Yrruminavi again interpoſed, and by his inflammatory eloquence revived the dying ſparks of reſentment and vengeance. They all reſolved to die rather than ſubmit to the Spaniards: they honoured their leader with the title of Atundapo, or great lord; and in the firſt tranſports of their fury, they murdered the meſſenger, and broke in pieces the croſs *.

The Peruvians to a man were now bent on oppoſing the advances of the Spaniards to Quito. They made perpetual attacks, and kept Benalcazar in alarm night and day, though they were not able to obſtruct his progreſs till he came to a paſs near that city, which they had fortified with all the ſkill they poſſeſſed in the military art. Several deep trenches had there been dug, and divers little baſtions filled with archers, were erected; but the hope of poſſeſſing the immenſe riches, ſaid to be contained in the capital of the province, ſo inflamed the minds of the Spaniards, that they puſhed the attack with more than human valour; carried all the works at the firſt aſſault, and obliged the enemy

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. x. c. 5.

to

to take ſhelter in Quito. Convinced that he could not maintain his ground in that city, Yrruminavi uſed his utmoſt influence with the inhabitants to retire to the mountains, and there watch the firſt favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy, when lulled in ſecurity and intoxicated with proſperity. They in general obeyed his advice: three hundred families, however, having reſolved to rely on the humanity of the conquerors, ſo great was his deteſtation of the Spaniards, and his dread that his countrymen might be induced to ſubmit to their yoke, that he ordered all thoſe innocent people to be maſſacred, and their houſes levelled with the ground!—In conſequence of this retreat, Benalcazar was permitted to enter Quito without oppoſition, with his victorious army. But there, to the inexpreſſible grief and diſappointment of the ſoldiers, after all the dangers and fatigues they had undergone, none of the vaſt treaſure of which fame had ſpoke ſo loudly was to be found; and on the ſtricteſt inquiry among the natives, no other anſwer could be obtained, but that Yrruminavi had concealed it in ſome place unknown to them, and that great riches were carried off by the families who had fled to the mountains *.

But Benalcazar's expedition was by no means void of advantage, though he was diſappointed in regard to its principal object. It broke the power of the Peruvians in a quarter where it was moſt formidable, and eſtabliſhed the juriſdiction of Pizarro over a province where it would otherwiſe have been diſputed by a dangerous invader, alſo allured by the fame of the treaſures of Quito. Pedro de Alvarado, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently in the conqueſt of Mexico, and who had obtained the government of Guatimala as a reward for his ſervices, was induced by the report of the inexhauſtible wealth of Peru to equip an armament for invading that empire, contrary to the expreſs privileges granted to Pizarro and Almagro. He had with regret beheld himſelf ſecond to Cortez in the former expedition; but he hoped to render himſelf equal, if not ſuperior to Pizarro in the ſecond: and to his own experience in the art of war he joined the aſſiſtance of ſome of the beſt officers and moſt approved ſoldiers of the age. The purpoſe of the expedition, and the high reputation of the commander, made volunteers reſort to his ſtandard from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom upwards of two hundred were of ſuch diſtinction as to ſerve on horſeback, and after ſailing thirty days, arrived off Cape St. Francis, when perceiving his ſoldiers ſickly, and the horſes afflicted with ſuch diſeaſes as would render them unfit for ſervice, he landed in the bay of Caraques, harangued his troops, nominated his officers, and ſent the proviſions by ſea to Puerto Viejo, while the army marched thither by land; the pilot being ordered, at the ſame time, to ſail along the coaſt of Peru, to the extremity of Pizarro's government, to make the neceſſary charts, obſerve the ſoundings and harbours, and ſet up marks of taking formal poſſeſſion of the country †.

From this circumſtance it ſhould ſeem, that Alvarado had no direct purpoſe of invading the juriſdiction of Pizarro; but the exaggerated accounts which he re-

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. i. c. 3. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 9. † Herrera, dec. IV. lib. i. c. 1.

BOOK I.

A. D. 1533. received at Puerto Viejo of the incredible wealth of Quito ſo much inflamed the avarice of his troops, that he was obliged to undertake an expedition againſt that city, in order to gratify them. He accordingly attempted to march immediately thither by following the courſe of the river Quayquil, and croſſing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this tedious and perilous route, one of the moſt impracticable in all America, his troops ſuffered ſo much from famine and fatigue, that great part of them periſhed, before he reached the plain of Quito; and there to his aſtoniſhment, he met a body, not of Indians but of Spaniards, drawn up in hoſtile array againſt him.

Pizarro having received intelligence of Alvarado's armament, and its deſtination, had detached Almagro with a conſiderable force to oppoſe this formidable invader of his juriſdiction. Almagro was joined by Benalcazar and his victorious party, before the arrival of Alvarado; who, diſcouraged by the hardſhips he had already ſuſtained, and ſenſible of the danger to which he was expoſed, in the preſent exhauſted ſtate of his troops, was perſuaded to liſten to terms of ac-

A. D. 1534. commodation. It was accordingly ſtipulated, at an interview with Almagro in Riobamba, that Alvarado ſhould leave ſuch of his men as choſe to remain in Peru, and return to his own government, on receiving an hundred thouſand peſoes to defray the expence of his armament *. The greater part of his troops entered into the ſervice of Pizarro; who was thus ſtrengthened, by an invaſion which threatened his ruin.

Soon after this fortunate event, advice was received of the ſafe arrival, and ſucceſsful negociation of Ferdinand Pizarro, in Spain. The immenſe quantity of treaſure which he imported, filled not only that kingdom, but all Europe with aſtoniſhment. He was received by the emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a preſent ſo rich as to exceed any idea that the Spaniſh court had yet formed concerning the wealth of the New World. His brother Francis was created Marquis of Atabilos; his authority, as governor of Peru, was confirmed, with new powers and privileges, and the addition of ſeventy leagues, extending along the coaſt to the ſouthward of the territory granted in his former patent. On Almagro was beſtowed the title of Adelantado, with juriſdiction over two hundred leagues of country, under the name of New Toledo, ſtretching beyond the ſouthern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, then called New Caſtile. Ferdinand himſelf was admitted into the military order of St. Jago; was univerſally careſſed; and many perſons of diſtinction prepared to accompany him to Peru, inſtead of engaging in the wars of Italy, where nothing was to be earned but honours †.

On receiving intelligence that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, Almagro attempted to make himſelf maſter of Cuzco from a perſuaſion that it lay within his boundaries. Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro prepared to oppoſe him: both parties were ſupported by powerful adherents, and

* Id. ibid. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 10. † Herrera, dec. IV. lib. i. c. 5. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3.

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CHAP. IX.

A. D. 1534.

the diſpute was on the point of being terminated by the ſword, when the general himſelf arrived in the capital. This fortunate circumſtance prevented, at that time, an open rupture. By a judicious mixture of firmneſs and flexibility, which he manifeſted in his remonſtrances with Almagro and his partizans, Pizarro made ſuch an impreſſion on their minds as brought about a freſh reconciliation. All the articles in their original contract were confirmed with the ſame ſacred ſolemnities as formerly; and it was agreed that Almagro ſhould attempt the conqueſt of Chili, which aſſuredly lay within his grant, and was ſuppoſed to be a country no leſs rich than Peru.

As ſoon as this diſpute was ſettled Pizarro marched back to the countries on the ſea coaſt, and as every thing was now in tranquillity, he applied himſelf with that perſevering ardour which diſtinguiſhes his character, to introduce a form of regular government into the extenſive provinces ſubject to his juriſdiction. He diſtributed the country into various diſtricts: he appointed proper magiſtrates to preſide in each; and ill qualified as he may ſeem by his education or habits of life for ſuch a taſk, he eſtabliſhed many judicious regulations concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians. He alſo founded the city of Lima, which he de- A. D. 1535. ſtined to be the capital of his government, on the banks of a ſmall river, that runs through a valley of the ſame name with the ſettlement, ſix miles diſtant from Calloa, the moſt commodious harbour in the South Sea; and under his inſpection, the buildings advanced with ſuch rapidity, that Lima ſoon aſſumed the form of a city, and gave even in its infancy ſome preſages of its future grandeur †.

While Pizarro was thus employed, Almagro was proſecuting his expedition to Chili. Before he ſet out, he deſired the Inca to appoint two Peruvians of diſtinction to accompany him, in order to diſpoſe the minds of the natives for the reception of the Spaniſh forces. In conſequence of this requeſt, Manco Capac ordered his brother Topa, and the high prieſt Vilehoma to execute that commiſſion; perſons whoſe exalted dignity would not only give them conſequence with the Indians, but whoſe abſence from Cuzco would remove all grounds of jealouſy from the Spaniards, the high prieſt being of an intriguing and turbulent diſpoſition. Almagro, whoſe courage and liberality endeared him to the ſoldiers, was attended in this expedition by five hundred and ſeventy Spaniards, and a great number of Indians, both for burden and war. That all his followers might be properly furniſhed with neceſſaries, he lent them what money they required, taking only their notes for the repayment of it out of the booty which ſhould be acquired by the enterpriſe. During a tedious march of two hundred leagues, he was well accommodated by the natives, who paid the greateſt regard to the Inca's command, and ſupplied the ſoldiers with abundance of proviſions; but on reaching the barren country of Charcas, fatigue and hunger produced diſcontents among the troops, which determined Almagro to proceed immediately to Chili. The auxiliary Indians in his army remonſtrated on the danger and dif-

† Herrera, dec. IV. lib. ii. c. 1. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. vi.

ficulty

BOOK I.
A. D. 1535.

ficulty of the deſign; acquainting him, that the journey muſt be purſued either over the high mountains of the Andes, which at that ſeaſon were covered with ſnow, and ſo intenſely cold that no Indian could ſupport the rigour of the climate, or through a ſandy deſert along the coaſt, where the exceſſive heat of the ſun beams, reflected from the ſand, and the want of water would hazard the entire deſtruction of the army. Theſe difficulties, however, were not ſufficient to check the ardour of Almagro, inflamed by the exaggerated accounts of the riches of the country he was preparing to invade. He choſe to climb the Andes, as a ſhorter route, and more agreeable to the conſtitution of his Spaniſh troops; but he was ſoon convinced of the raſhneſs of the attempt. The cold was ſo intenſe, that the greater part of the Indians, and one hundred and fifty Spaniards periſhed in thoſe dreadful mountains, and many of the ſurvivors loſt the uſe of their fingers and toes. At laſt the adelantado with the remainder of his army, having conquered every difficulty which cold, fatigue, and famine could throw in their way, reached the fertile plains of Chili, where they were hoſpitably entertained by the benevolent natives, and forgot their paſt miſeries in the hopes of pillaging their benefactors.

During his ſtay in this terreſtrial paradiſe, Almagro received ſo many rich preſents as induced him to cancel the notes of his ſoldiers, and confirmed all the accounts he had received of the wealth of the country. He congratulated himſelf on the valuable grant made to him by the court, and determined immediately to ſubdue the provinces of Purrumanca, Antielli, Pinca, Conqui, and other interior countries, which did not acknowledge the authority of the Inca. With this view, he recommended to prince Topa, to aſſemble as many Indians as poſſible, in order to ſupport the Spaniards, and with the united forces he advanced towards the ſouthern extremity of Chili. In his march, he had ſeveral ſharp encounters with the natives, whom he found very different from the people of Peru, both in their ſpirit and bodily conſtitution. Intrepid, hardy, and independent, they diſputed every inch of ground with obſtinacy, and advanced to the attack with more determined fierceneſs, than the Spaniards had hitherto diſcovered in any American nation. Almagro, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and had ſubdued ſeveral provinces, when his thoughts were ſuddenly turned towards another quarter.

Ferdinand Pizarro was by this time returned to Peru, and an officer who arrived with a reinforcement to Almagro, brought him the emperor's commiſſion
A. D. 1536. appointing him governor of New Toledo, and defining the limits of his juriſdiction. By that commiſſion it appeared inconteſtible, that Cuzco lay within the limits of the adelantado's government. On this diſcovery, ſo propitious to his wiſhes, and which confirmed the juſtice of his former claim, Almagro reſolved, by the advice of his officers, to return immediately to Peru, and wreſt the ſeat of his power out of the hands of the Pizarros, hoping that the ſouthern provinces would ſubmit when once he ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the capital. As the ſoldiers had not yet forgot their ſufferings, from cold and famine, on the ſummits of the Andes, he now determined to march through the ſandy plains along the coaſt, where he

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1536.

hardly ſuffered leſs from heat and drought, calamities of a different kind, notwithſtanding all his attention to provide a ſupply of water, by ordering it to be carried in leather bottles on the backs of the Indians. No ſooner had he paſſed the deſart, than he received intelligence which made him haſten his march, and convinced him of the propriety of the meaſure he had taken: he was informed that the Peruvians were in arms, from one end of the empire to the other, and that they were on the point of recovering poſſeſſion of Cuzco, which the Inca had long beſieged, at the head of a large body of his beſt troops *.

A variety of cauſes contributed to rouſe the Peruvians to an attempt to free themſelves from the yoke of their oppreſſors. The chief of theſe was the dilatorineſs of Pizarro to execute the articles of agreement with the Inca, to reinſtate him in his throne and authority. On this head Manco Capac made frequent remonſtrances, but was always amuſed with freſh excuſes and pretexts. He had ſufficient penetration to dive into the bottom of ſuch conduct; and perceiving that the Spaniards not only evaded the performance of their engagements, but that he would be detained a priſoner, in caſe he refuſed ſubmiſſion to whatever Pizarro thought fit to propoſe, he diſſembled his reſentment, and waited patiently for an opportunity to make his eſcape, and rouſe his ſubjects to arms. After ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts for this purpoſe, the avarice of the Spaniards enabled him to complete his deſign.

Ferdinand Pizarro, during his negociation in Spain, had promiſed the emperor a large remittance from Peru, beſides all the treaſure he had carried, in return for the honours and grants conferred upon his family. The general, however, was of opinion, that he had already ſufficiently paid for all the imperial favours, and that he and his ſoldiers were juſtly entitled to the remaining wealth, as the reward of their toils and ſufferings: he therefore told his brother, when informed of his promiſe to the emperor, that he had conqured Peru at his own expence, without any aſſiſtance from the court; that he had already remitted a vaſt ſum of money; that Peru was now drained of its ſuperfluous treaſure, the remainder being employed in building cities, planting colonies, and other eſtabliſhments to ſecure the conqueſt; all which would redound in time to the honour of the crown, and the intereſt of the government, but that it was ſufficient, at preſent, for the infant ſettlements to maintain themſelves. Theſe he knew to be the ſentiments of his people in general, and was not willing to diſpleaſe them by an unſeaſonable contribution; but as his brother Ferdinand continued to urge him on the ſubject, he imprudently conferred on him the government of Cuzco, in order to get free from his importunities, without laying him under any reſtrictions in regard to the raiſing of money.

Ferdinand immedrately took poſſeſſion of his government, with a full reſolution to make good his engagements to the court, whatever might be the conſequence. As a firſt expedient, he offered to reſtore the Inca to his dignity, provided a preſent of ſufficient value was made to the king of Spain, whoſe

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. ii. c. 1. lib. iii. c. 1. lib. iv. c. 1. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 1.

BOOK I. A. D. 1536

neceſſities made ſuch a ſtipulation neceſſary; and the better to convince him of the ſincerity of his intentions, he removed that unfortunate prince to the royal palace, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours due to the ſovereign of Peru. The deceit took: the Inca, perſuaded that he ſhould regain his loſt authority, diſpatched expreſſes to every corner of his dominions, requeſting the Curacas to bring the uſual tribute of gold and ſilver, as the only means of delivering him out of the hands of the Spaniards. The tribute arrived, and a very rich preſent was made by the Inca to the governor. But Ferdinand, inſtead of performing his promiſe, repeated his aſſurances; a behaviour which awakened Manco Capac to a perfect ſenſe of his own danger, and the little dependance to be placed in the engagements of a perfidious nation that ſacrificed every other conſideration to the thirſt of gold. He beheld with contempt the honours that were paid him, while all the gates of the palace were ſecured by Spaniſh ſoldiers; and conjectured very naturally, that he might be doomed to ſhare the fate of Atahualpa, when his treaſures being drained, he ſhould be unable to purchaſe the longer duration of his exiſtence. His fears ſet his imagination at work, how to eſcape out of confinement, and his knowledge of the character of the Spaniards, directed him to a ſtratagem which anſwered his purpoſe. He told Ferdinand Pizarro, that in the valley of Yucaya, where the Incas were interred, there were ſeveral rich tombs, and in one of them a ſtatue of gold of an ancient Inca, as large as the life, which he was perſuaded he could find, if he were allowed to go in ſearch of it with his uſual guard of Spaniards. The propoſal was eagerly embraced, and the Inca was diſpatched to rake up the duſt of his anceſtors. He had informed ſome of his officers of his intention, and an army was aſſembled in the neighbouring mountains, in order to attempt his reſcue; but he ſaved his troops that danger, by artfully making his eſcape and joining them *.

No ſooner did Manco Capac find himſelf at liberty, than he concerted the deſtruction of thoſe perfidious ſtrangers, who had not only uſurped his authority, kept his perſon in bondage, tyrannized over his ſubjects, and drained his kingdom of its wealth, but violated every obligation, divine and human, from an inſatiable thirſt of gold, and an ungovernable luſt of dominion. He ſummoned an aſſembly of all the great officers of ſtate, of his generals, and pricipal nobility, and laid before them what they knew too well, his own wretched condition, and that of his ſubjects, together with the cruelty and rapacity of the Spaniards. He had early ſuſpicion, he ſaid, of the treachery and ambition of thoſe ſtrangers, by their dividing the lands of Peru among themſelves, enſlaving thoſe who were born free, and putting the natives to the torture, in order to extort a confeſſion where the treaſures of the great were depoſited. He apologized for ſitting a tame ſpectator of theſe enormities, by alledging, that he only waited an opportunity of making his eſcape, in order to revenge the injuries he had ſuffered, and aſſert the rights of his crown and country. He could no longer, he added, regard thoſe Spaniards as the deſcendants of Virachoca, but as vile impoſtors, who committed

* Gomara, c. 135. Zarate lib. iii. c. 3. Herrera, dec. IV. lib. ii. c. 3.

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CHAP. IX.
A. D. 1536.

the moſt horrid crimes under the maſk of religion, and had impiouſly taken upon themſelves the ſacred character of meſſengers of the great Pachacama, while they were perpetrating every villainy: he was therefore now determined to puniſh their wickedneſs, and vindicate the liberties of his people by force of arms. For this purpoſe, he called upon every man, in whoſe breaſt the leaſt ſpark of patriotiſm exiſted, that the war might be vigorouſly carried on againſt the ungrateful ſtrangers, whoſe expulſion was equally neceſſary to their ſecurity as inviduals and as a people, and eſſential to the enjoyment of their religion and laws.

Manco Capac uſed many other arguments to rouſe his ſubjects to arms, and delivered himſelf with ſo much ſpirit and energy, that all preſent were wound up to a kind of madneſs, and called out for vengeance in the moſt tumultuous tranſports of fury. As ſoon as order could be reſtored, the aſſembly deliberated on the means of conducting a war, in regard to the propriety of which all were unanimous. It was reſolved to diſpatch meſſengers to the chief men in every part of the empire, requeſting them to raiſe all the troops in their power with the greateſt ſecrecy; to unite at a time and place appointed, and at one blow too verwhelm the Spaniards in their quarters. Agreeable to this reſolution it was concerted, that three armies ſhould be formed: one to fall upon Almagro, another to attack Lima, and a third, under the command of the Inca in perſon, to ſurpriſe, or if that attempt failed, to inveſt Cuzco, and wreſt the capital out of the hands of the invaders.

All theſe reſolutions were executed with the moſt aſtoniſhing celerity; and the Spaniards in Cuzco ſaw themſelves ſurrounded by an incredible multitude of enemies, before they had any ſuſpicion of the revolt. The attack began in the night, accompanied with the ſhouts of the Peruvians, and the hoarſe ſound of their warlike inſtruments; and ſuch was the fury of the aſſailants, that they ſhot fired arrows, and ſet the city in flames in different places, being determined to deſtroy the Spaniards, at the expence of reducing the capital of the empire to aſhes. Their reverence for the temple of the Sun, the convent of ſacred virgins, and a few other religious houſes, made them abſtain, however, from firing the ſtreets in that neighbourhood, in conſequence of which the Spaniards were left in poſſeſſion of the great ſquare, and as much of the city as could be defended by a ſmall garriſon of an hundred and ſeventy men. Theſe behaved with the moſt heroic gallantry; but all their efforts muſt have proved ineffectual, had they not found means to engage the Peruvian ſlaves in their intereſt by a promiſe of freedom. By this acceſſion of ſtrength, they were enabled to ſuſtain a ſiege of upwards of nine months; and at laſt they recovered entire poſſeſſion of the capital, though not without the loſs of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, among whom was Juan Pizarro, the beſt beloved of all the brothers *.

Meanwhile the marquis, Francis Pizarro, remained at Lima. The firſt ſuſpicion which he had of the general inſurrection aroſe from the interruption in his correſpondence with the capital. Soon after he received ſuch information as con-

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. ii. c. 3.

BOOK I. A. D. 1536.

firmed his fears; and not doubting but all the Spaniards in Cuzco had already periſhed, he applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to provide for the ſafety of Lima, and the other ſettlements. For this purpoſe he ſent expreſſes to Panama, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Hiſpaniola, to ſolicit reinforcements, in order to prevent the entire loſs of Peru, the moſt valuable of all the Spaniſh conqueſts in America. He recalled all the detachments ſent into different provinces; and commanded a body of an hundred horſe and foot to march with all poſſible expedition towards Cuzco, in order to ſuccour the garriſon, if ſtill exiſting, and at all events to procure more exact information of the ſtate of affairs in that quarter The army deſtined for the attack of Lima had notice of theſe proceedings, and determined to cut off the detachment ſent to Cuzco, the reduction of the capital being the main object of the deſigns of Manco Capac. With this view they took poſt in all the narrow paſſes and difficult defiles, through which the detachment was to march; and when they found their opportunity, at a paſs in the mountains of Parcos, they fell upon the Spaniards with the utmoſt fury; tumbled down great ſtones and pieces of rock from the higher grounds, and plied them ſo hard with their darts and arrows, that not a man of the whole party eſcaped. In a manner nearly ſimilar they cut off ſeveral other detachments that were on their way to Lima, in conſequence of the orders of the marquis. Gonzalo de Topia, with ſixty horſe and ſeventy foot, periſhed; Morgovego de Quinnanes, with an equal number of men, met a like fate; and Alonſo de Galeata, at the head of forty horſe and ſixty foot, ſhared in the general deſtruction. On the whole, above four hundred Spaniards, marching to ſuccour Lima, were ſlaughtered in the field, and nearly an equal number were killed in the mines in different provinces, where they imagined themſelves in perfect ſecurity *.

The Spaniſh writers exclaim loudly againſt the barbarities exerciſed by the Peruvians on theſe occaſions; but, from their own accounts, nothing appears, beſides the juſt retribution of an highly injured and enraged enemy. Great numbers of rapacious adventurers had flocked from the different Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent of America, as well as from thoſe in the neighbouring iſlands, in hopes of ſharing in the ſpoils of Peru; and as they were ſtrangers to regular induſtry, they diffuſed themſelves careleſly in queſt of mines or pillage, little imagining that the natives, who had ſubmitted tamely to the uſurpation of Pizarro, when ſupported only by an handful of men, would now venture to throw off the yoke, when every province was filled with Spaniards, and the Inca in their power. This ſecurity proved their ruin, and had almoſt occaſioned the entire loſs of the rich country which they came to rob.

Eluſhed with ſucceſs, the Peruvian army advanced towards Lima, in full confidence that they could not fail in the reduction of a ſlender garriſon, diſpirited by diſappointment, and not yet recovered from the conſternation produced by an inſurrection ſo general and unexpected. But they did not find an enemy unprepared. When they approached within eight leagues of the city, they were met

* Garcilaſſo, lib. ii. Zarate, lib. iii.

by

CHAP. IX.
A. D. 1536.

by a body of Spaniſh horſe under Pedro de Lerma, and attacked with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were ſuddenly broken, and obliged to take ſhelter in the mountains. Thence they alarmed the whole country with the ſound of their warlike muſic; and with their number increaſed to forty thouſand, deſcended like a torrent to the plain, ſwept all before them, and drove the Spaniſh cavalry back to Lima, with the loſs of twenty men. Animated by this advantage, the Peruvian army inveſted the city; and notwithſtanding the valour and experience of Pizarro, the ſettlement muſt have fallen into the hands of the enmy, had not an accidental circumſtance perſuaded the ſuperſtitious aſſailants, that the Spaniards were certainly protected by ſome inviſible power. In conſequence of a heavy fall of rain, the river which runs by the city overflowed its banks, deluged the neighbouring country, drowned great numbers of the enemy, prevented them from renewing their attacks with the ſame facility, and opened a path for the garriſon to introduce ſupplies. The Spaniards and Peruvians equally agreed in aſcribing this flood, which was attended with ſuch extraordinary conſequences, to a miracle: the latter grew diſpirited, thinking it in vain to ſtrive againſt the gods, and the former were animated with a double portion of courage, from a belief that Heaven had viſibly interpoſed in their favour. The Peruvians were now held together merely by the authority of their commanders, while the Spaniards triumphed in every ſally, harraſſed, fatigued, and kept in perpetual alarm a deſponding multitude, which at laſt withdrew, leaving Pizarro to purſue what meaſures he thought proper *.

In the mean time we muſt return to Almagro, whoſe arrival at Cuzco induced the Inca to relinquiſh the ſiege, from a perſuaſion that the Adelantado's deſign was to ſuccour his countrymen. A principal of honour, and the magnanimity of the ſentiments of Manco Capac proved his ruin. Almagro made propoſals to him of an alliance againſt Pizarro, which he rejected with diſdain, ſaying, That he had taken up arms to vindicate his own rights and the liberties of his people, not to aſſiſt in the baſe deſigns of one uſurper againſt another; and when his officers urged him to accept of the offer, alledging, that in promoting the diſcord of the Spaniards conſiſted his greateſt ſecurity, as by weakening both parties he might at laſt recover his dominions, and totally expel the uſurpers, he replied, That it became not the character of an Inca to diſſemble, or fail in his engagements; and that he would rather forfeit his empire and live in perpetual exile and obſcurity, than maintain his dignity by falſehood and treachery. In conſequence of this way of thinking, that generous monarch, diſappointed in his deſigns upon Cuzco, and worſted in an attack upon the forces of Almagro, deſpairing of ſucceſs in the attempt to recover his dominions, and deſirous that his ſubjects might ſuffer as little as poſſible on account of their loyalty, requeſted them to diſperſe and return to their dwellings, and appeaſe by ſubmiſſion the indignation of the conquerors, while he himſelf would watch over their ſafety in a ſecure retreat, in order to ſeize the firſt opportunity of recovering their rights, and puniſhing the inſolent and rapacious uſurpers of their liberty and property. "I propoſe," ſaid he, "retiring

* Id. ibid.

BOOK I.

to the mountains of the Andes, where it ſhall be my greateſt comfort to hear that you enjoy ſecurity and happineſs under your new governors, beyond my expectation. Revolving ſchemes for your welfare, ſhall be the only buſineſs of my melancholy ſolitude. Meantime, I conjure you, to ſerve and obey the Spaniards to the utmoſt of your power, that you may be well treated by them; and now and then heave a ſigh and drop a tear to the memory of your prince, who ever loved and cheriſhed his people *."

The diſperſion of the Peruvian army left the Spaniards at full liberty to diſplay their animoſity, and purſue their reſentment againſt each other. Almagro
A. D. 1537. advancing to the walls of Cuzco, ſummoned Ferdinand Pizarro to ſurrender the city into his hands, as being within the grant made to him by his Catholic majeſty. Ferdinand replied, that he held the city in virtue of a commiſſion from his brother Francis, and could not deliver up his charge to any man, without his inſtructions: beſides, he affirmed, that Almagro had no kind of right to it, as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government. Different ſchemes of accommodation were propoſed without ſucceſs, each endeavouring to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers. Meanwhile the generous, open temper of Almagro, gained many of the garriſon, who were diſguſted with the harſh and domineering manners of the Pizarros. Encouraged by this defection, he aſſaulted the city by night; ſurpriſed the centinels, or was admitted by them; and inveſting the houſe where Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro reſided, compelled them to ſurrender at diſcretion. Almoſt all the garriſon cheerfully entered into the ſervice of Almagro; his claim to the juriſdiction of Cuzco was univerſally acknowledged, and a form of adminiſtration was eſtabliſhed in his name †.

Francis Pizarro being ſtill ignorant of theſe tranſactions, and having received ſome conſiderable reinforcements from Hiſpaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonſo de Alvarado, to march with all expedition to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garriſon were not already cut off by the Peruvians, and at all adventures to attempt the recovery of the capital. This general began his march with ſo much celerity, and ſo little prudence, that, being unacquainted with the woods, and ill provided with guides, his army ſuffered much by fatigue and famine. At laſt he reached the river Abancay, where to his aſtoniſhment, he beheld his countrymen poſted on the oppoſite banks, ready to oppoſe his paſſage. Almagro, however, wiſhed to avoid hoſtilities: he ſent meſſengers to Alvarado, requiring him to acknowledge his authority, and inviting him to embrace his party. Theſe Alvarado put in irons: a behaviour which ſo much incenſed Almagro, that he immediately advanced in perſon againſt him; and as that officer's military talents were not equal to his fidelity, his camp was ſurpriſed, his troops broken, and himſelf taken priſoner, almoſt without reſiſtance ‡.

* Garcilaſſo, lib. ii. c. 29. † Zarate, lib. ii. c. 4. Herrera, dec. IV. lib. iv. c. 1. ‡ Herrera, dec. IV. lib. iv. c. 2.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1537.

As all Alvarado's ſoldiers, with Pedro de Lerma, who commanded under him, joined Almagro, it was now in his power finally to have decided the conteſt with his rival. But, like many great commanders, he was leſs able to improve, than to gain a victory. In a council of war which was held, in order to deliberate what ſtep was next to be taken, Rodrigo Orgognez, an officer of great abilities, who acted as lieutenant-general, and who having ſerved in the wars of Italy was accuſtomed to bold and deciſive councils, adviſed Almagro inſtantly to iſſue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, Alvarado, and ſome other perſons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious army to Lima; to ſecure the governor, before he had time to prepare for his defence, and thence eſtabliſh an intercourſe with the other Spaniſh ſettlements in different parts of America. But Almagro on this occaſion, ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by ſentiments very unlike thoſe which might be expected to influence the conduct of a man whoſe whole life, now far advanced, had been ſpent in acts of violence and rapacity, and by ſcruples little ſuited to the leader of a faction who had drawn his ſword in civil war. Feelings of humanity reſtrained him from ſhedding the blood of his adverſaries, and the dread of being deemed a rebel deterred him from entering a province which the king had allotted to another. He therefore marched quietly back to Cuzco; though the expediency of opening an intercourſe with the ſea was ſo univerſally urged, that he afterwards began his march at the head of five hundred Spaniſh horſe and foot, and a large body of Indian auxiliaries, taking with him Ferdinand Pizarro, and leaving Gonzalo and Alvarado priſoners in the capital *.

Meanwhile Francis Pizarro, anxious to know the ſituation of his brothers, and the fate of Cuzco, having yet received no advices either from them or Alvarado, reſolved to march in perſon towards that city. A ſeaſonable reinforcement enabled him to ſet out on this expedition at the head of ſeven hundred horſe and foot. He ſoon got intelligence of the raiſing of the ſiege of Cuzco, and the diſperſion of the Peruvian army; but that good fortune was embittered with the death of his brother Juan: the day following he received the account of the proceedings of Almagro, and the impriſonment of his other two brothers; and on advancing a little farther, he was informed of the defeat of Alvarado, and the defection of his army. Such a tide of misfortunes had almoſt overwhelmed that ſpirit, which had continued firm and erect under the rudeſt ſhocks of adverſity. Revenge ſometimes occupied his whole mind: he thought of nothing but puniſhing the perfidious Almagro. That idea, however, was ſoon laid aſide for more cautious meaſures, ſuggeſted by the ſtate of his army.

When Pizarro began his march, he thought only of combating Indians; and his troops were accordingly armed in the manner beſt calculated for that purpoſe: but now, when he had a ſkilful and powerful enemy to encounter, it was neceſſary to provide himſelf in a very different manner, and alſo to wait the arrival of ſome troops, which he hourly expected from Panama. Theſe conſiderations induced

* Id. ibid.

him

BOOK I. A. D. 1537.

him to return to Lima, where he had notice of the approach of Almagro. This was new cauſe of uneaſineſs; but being perfectly acquainted with the character of his rival, his ſagacity enabled him to elude the blow that threatened to cruſh him. He had recourſe to arts which he had formerly practiſed with ſucceſs: in order to gain time, he ſet on foot a negociation; and Almagro was again weak enough to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed with a proſpect of terminating their differences by an amicable compromiſe.

As the adelantado was leſs formidable in the cabinet than the field, Pizarro, by varying his overtures, and ſhifting his ground, ſometimes yielding all that his rival could deſire, and then retracting all that he had granted, dexterouſly protracted the negociation to ſuch a length, that, though every hour was precious to Almagro, ſeveral months elapſed without any real progreſs being made towards an accommodation. During this interval, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado had found means to corrupt the ſoldiers to whoſe cuſtody they were committed, and not only made their eſcape themſelves, but perſuaded ſixty of the garriſon of Cuzco to accompany their flight. Orgognez ſeized this opportunity to preſs Almagro to put Ferdinand Pizarro to death, and break off all pacific meaſures with ſuch a perfidious ſet of men. But neither the remonſtrances of Orgognez, nor the diſcovery of a ſtratagem to cut him off at an interview, could make the adelantado renounce the plan of negociation; and as fortune had now delivered one of his brothers, the governor did not ſcruple at one act of perfidy more to procure the releaſe of the other. He propoſed, That every point of controverſy between Almagro and himſelf ſhould be ſubmitted to the deciſion of the emperor Charles; that until the award of their ſovereign was known, each ſhould keep poſſeſſion of that part of the country which he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro ſhould be ſet at liberty, and return inſtantly to Spain, together with the officers to be ſent by Almagro, in order to repreſent the juſtice of his pretenſions *.

Obvious as the deſign of Pizarro was, in making ſuch propoſitions, and familiar as his artifice might now have been to his adverſary, Almagro, always ſincere himſelf, and ſtill deſirous of avoiding the farther effuſion of blood, and other fatal conſequences of civil war, relied on the ſincerity of a man who had ſo often deceived him, and concluded an agreement on theſe terms. Orgognez was no ſooner informed of this treaty, which had been negociated without his knowledge, than laying hold of his beard with his left hand, while with his right he made a motion towards his throat, "Orgognez! Orgognez!" cried he, "this head will fall a ſacrifice to your friendſhip for Almagro †." His officers in general were ſenſible, that this meaſure would prove the ruin of their party: but Almagro perſevered in his reſolution, and ſet Ferdinand Pizarro at liberty according to his agreement.

All the objects of the governor's policy being now accompliſhed, he immediately threw off every diſguiſe, as ſoon as he was joined by his brother; and

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. iv. c. 2. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 9. † Herrera, dec. IV. lib. iv. c. 2.

having

CHAP. IX.
A. D. 1538.

having received ſome conſiderable reinforcements, beſides thoſe he expected, he made vigorous preparations for ſupporting his claim to the entire juriſdiction over Peru. A herald was diſpatched to Almagro, requiring him inſtantly to ſurrender Cuzco; and this meſſage the governor endeavoured to enforce with a detachment of ſeven hundred Spaniſh troops, ſent towards the capital, under the conduct of his brothers, Ferdinand and Gonzalo, in whom he could perfectly confide for the execution of his moſt violent ſchemes, while he himſelf marched with another army to Chinca, where Almagro had founded a little colony, near which he was then encamped. Advice of theſe movements induced the adelantado to march with all poſſible celerity back to Cuzco, in direct oppoſition to the ſentiments of Orgognez, who adviſed him to attack Lima, during the diviſion of the governor's forces; affirming that the reduction of that place would ſecure in his intereſt not only the ſhipping, but all the recruits which were daily flocking from other parts of the continent. Almagro rejected this advice from the ſame ſcruples which had led him to negociate: he was ſtill unwilling to be guilty of a direct violation of the rights granted by the government to his adverſary; and that punctilio, joined to another inſtance of miſconduct, proved his ruin.

As Almagro's ſoldiers were more ſeaſoned to the climate than thoſe under the Pizarros, he got before their detachment; and received intelligence on his march, that the enemy were obliged to halt, in a very ſickly condition in the mountains. All his officers urged him to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of terminating the conteſt, by attacking his adverſaries, when they were unable to defend themſelves, and might all be cut off to a man; but Almagro, either diſcrediting the information, or depending on his ſuperiority in cavalry, which could only act to advantage in an open country, permitted the Pizarros to advance without any obſtruction, except what aroſe from the deſart and horrid regions through which they marched, while he proceeded to Cuzco. His purpoſe ſeems to have been to ſhut himſelf up in that city, the cauſe of all the contention, and reſt his fate upon the iſſue of a ſiege. Such a reſolution was perfectly conſonant to the ideas of an infirm old man, who placed more confidence in the juſtice of his cauſe than the force of his arms: he was obliged, however, to yield to the impetuoſity of his troops, who were eager to bring the long protracted conteſt to a more ſpeedy concluſion, and inſiſted on giving their antagoniſts battle in the open plain. The Pizarros did not decline the combat.

Unfortunately for Almagro, at this criſis of his fate, he was ſo much worn out with the fatigue of a tedious and difficult march, to which his advanced age was unequal, that he could not exert his wonted activity. He was even confined to his bed; but roufed, by the clamours of his ſoldiers, he ordered himſelf to be carried at the head of his troops on a litter, and marched out of Cuzco to meet the enemy, leaving to Orgognez the diſpoſition for battle. Orgognez's arrangement was very good; and had he paid a little more regard to the nature of the ground, and avoided engaging himſelf perſonally ſo deeply in the engagement as prevented him from giving the proper attention to the execution of his

BOOK I. A. D. 1538.

orders, or from ſeizing thoſe opportunities which riſe and vaniſh in a moment, it would probably have been attended with ſucceſs. The infantry was reduced to one battalion formed in a kind of column in the centre; each ſide being ſupported by harquebuſiers, and a ſquadron of horſe, in which, as already obſerved, Almagro was ſuperior to the enemy. The artillery was diſpoſed on the right wing, while the front was ſecured by a rivulet and ſome marſhy ground, that rendered all acceſs difficult and hazardous. Ferdinand Pizarro drew up his army in a manner nearly ſimilar, but with more regard to the ground; for he took care to place his cavalry on the firm plain, where they could bear down upon his opponent's infantry, while the cavalry of Almagro were entangled in the Salinas, or ſalt-pits, whence the battle took its name. This was the chief overſight in the diſpoſition made by Orgognez; who, though poſſeſſed of great military talents, had not the ſame aſcendant either over the ſpirit or affections of the ſoldiers, as the leader whom they had long been accuſtomed to follow and revere.

Orgognez was likewiſe deceived in the opinion which he entertained of the enemy's ſtrength. Pizarro's deficiency in cavalry was more than counterbalanced by his ſuperiority in numbers, and by two companies of well diſciplined muſketeers, which, on account of the inſurrection of the Indians, the emperor had ſent from Spain; and as the uſe of fire arms was not common or perfect among the adventurers in America, haſtily equipped for ſervice at their own expence, this ſmall band of ſoldiers regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Pizarro began the action, by croſſing the rivulet with his horſe; but his temerity had almoſt proved his ruin. Orgognez played his artillery vigorouſly, ſwept off the entire firſt rank of the enemy, and ſtaggered their whole body of cavalry. But his impetuoſity deſtroyed the fruits of that advantage. He ruſhed at the head of his horſe againſt Pizarro; engaged him hand to hand; diſmounted him; and bid fair for a complete victory, when the two companies of muſketeers advanced, and galled his cavalry with ſuch a heavy and well-ſuſtained fire, that they were unabled to keep their ground. Orgognez himſelf received a ſhot in the forehead while endeavouring to rally and animate his troops. By this time the targeteers, of which the infantry chiefly conſiſted, were come to blows, and the battle raged, in all quarters, with great fury; when a report being ſuddenly ſpread that Orgognez was killed, the cavalry betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, and the rout became general.

The barbarity of the conquerors ſtained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil diſcord hurried on ſome to ſlaughter their countrymen with indiſcriminate cruelty, while the meanneſs of private revenge inſtigated others to ſingle out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez, Pedro de Lerma, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction, were maſſacred in cold blood. Almagro himſelf was taken priſoner, and committed to cloſe cuſtody. Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who entered with the fugitives,

fugitives, and collected the wealth of their antagoniſts with the ſame avidity that they had ſhed their blood *.

But the booty found in that capital, though very conſiderable, was ſo far from ſatisfying the ſoldiers of Pizarro, that they were ready to break out in open mutiny. They expected a new diſtribution of lands; a meaſure on which Ferdinand did not think it adviſable to enter, before the arrival of the marquis. In the meantime he had recourſe to the ſame expedient which his brother had employed on a like occaſion: in order at once to divert their chagrin, and find occupation for ſuch turbulent ſpirits, he encouraged his moſt active and enterpriſing officers to attempt the diſcovery and reduction of various provinces that had not yet ſubmitted to the crown of Spain; and as every leader, who undertook any of theſe new expeditions, endeavoured to repreſent it in a light equally inviting to avarice and ambition, volunteers reſorted with ardour to every ſtandard, in hopes of being conducted to ſome rich country, whoſe treaſures were yet unrifled. Several of Almagro's ſoldiers engaged in the ſame ſervice; ſo that Pizarro was at once freed from the importunity of his diſcontented friends, and the preſence of his lately avowed enemies †.

This favourable ſtate of their affairs finally determined the two brothers in regard to the fate of Almagro, who had now remained ſome months in priſon, under all the anguiſh of ſuſpenſe. They ordered an impeachment of high treaſon to be drawn up againſt him, in which he was charged with having ſeized upon Cuzco by force of arms; with occaſioning the effuſion of much Spaniſh blood; with entering upon a clandeſtine correſpondence and ſecret treaty with the Inca, Manco Capac; with infringing on the terms of the emperor's grant, and encroaching on the limits of Francis Pizarro's juriſdiction; with breach of all the articles of ſeveral contracts with the marquis; and with fighting two battles againſt his countrymen, contrary to the peace of his ſovereign lord the king, one at Abancay and another at Salinas. Theſe charges, and diverſe other crimes and miſdemeanours of leſs moment were proved according to certain forms of law, and he was condemned to ſuffer death. The ſentence aſtoniſhed, and even appalled him: though he had often braved death in the field, its approach under this diſgraceful form appeared ſo terrible, that he ſought to deprecate it by ſupplications unworthy of his military character. He beſought the Pizarros to remember how much he had contributed to the ſucceſs and proſperity of their family, if they had entirely forgot the ancient friendſhip between their brother and him; he reminded them of the tenderneſs which he had ſhewn for their lives, when he had them entirely in his power, and of his conſtant refuſal to put to death any of the friends of the marquis, although they had expreſſed the bittereſt enmity againſt his perſon; he conjured them to pity an infirm old man, whoſe whole life almoſt had been ſpent in toil, hardſhip, or misfortune, and permit him to paſs the remainder of his days in making his peace with Heaven. But all his entreaties were to no purpoſe: the brothers remained inflexible; and Almagro, when he found his

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11, 12. Herrera, dec. IV. lib. iv. c. 3. † Id, ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1538.

fate to be inevitable, met it with the fortitude of a hero. He was privately ſtrangled in priſon, and publicly beheaded on a ſcaffold in the great ſquare of Cuzco; his body being ſtript naked by the executioner, and afterwards expoſed for the greater part of the day, without a friend to pay the laſt duty to his remains. Not that he wanted friends; but thoſe were reſtrained by a guard from approaching the place of execution, and his enemies were too much occupied with other paſſions to liſten to the dictates of humanity. At laſt the corpſe was carried off by an old ſlave that belonged to the adelantado, and who wrapt it in a coarſe cloth, and buried it in the moſt decent manner in his power, at the hazard of his own life *.

Almagro ſuffered in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and left one ſon by an Indian woman, whom, though at that time a priſoner in Lima, he named his ſucceſſor in his government, purſuant to a power which the emperor had granted him. He was a ſincere friend, a generous benefactor, a zealous ſubject, and an able commander. The Peruvians, who regarded him as their parent and protector againſt the rigour of the Pizarros, honoured his aſhes with unfeigned tears of ſorrowful affection. Francis Pizarro was chiefly blamed on account of his death, though his brothers were the immediate actors, it being well known that they durſt not have taken ſuch a bold ſtep without his authority; and Ferdinand often declared as much, in order to free himſelf from the imputation of perjury and inhumanity †.

The barbarious execution of Almagro was ſo far from producing the intended effect, of gaining the Pizarros an abſolute and indiſputed authority in Peru, that it only increaſed the number of their enemies, though ſelf-preſervation induced many of them for a time to ſuppreſs their reſentment. The Peruvians had again recourſe to arms, either to revenge the death of the adelantado, or to profit by the diviſions among the Spaniards, who now found themſelves more hardly preſſed, even when their numbers were greatly augmented, than when they firſt entered upon the conqueſt with an handful of men. The Peruvians were animated by the deſire of revenge; and they had beſides overcome the conſternation and terror which had ſeized them on the firſt ſight of the fire arms and horſes. What they formerly conceived to be the thunder of heaven, they were ſenſible was no more than the contrivance of human genius; and they had taken ſeveral horſes which they ventured to uſe againſt the Spaniards, demonſtrating by this and other improvements in the art of war, that they were extremely ingenious and imitative. They defeated their enemies in ſeveral engagements; fought them with their own weapons; and were not even afraid or ignorant of the uſe of muſkets, ſome of which they had taken in different rencounters.

This reſiſtance was chiefly experienced in the province of Charcas, where Gonzalo Pizarro commanded a conſiderable body of troops. In Chili the Spaniards did not meet with leſs oppoſition. Pedro de Valdivia, who had

* Garcilaſſo, lib. ii. c. 3. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. † Herrera, dec. IV. lib. iv. c. 3.

learned

CHAP. IX.

learned the rudiments of war in Italy, and was deemed one of the beſt Spaniſh officers in America, was ſent thither immediately after the battle of Salinas. The Chileſe diſputed every inch of ground; but they could not after all their efforts prevent him from penetrating as far as the valley of Guaſco, which he found to be incredibly fertile and populous. Here he founded the city of St. Jago, and built a caſtle for the defence of the new colony, and the ſecurity of the gold mines in the neighbourhood, in which he forced the natives to labour. Greatly exaſperated at this impoſition of ſervitude, the Chileſe flew to arms. Valdivia took the field againſt them, and defeated them in ſeveral obſtinate engagements; but, though he received a conſiderable reinforcement from Peru, his army was at laſt cut off, and himſelf taken priſoner. The conquerors, according to the cuſtom of America, condemned him to a cruel death; and many years elapſed, and much blood was ſhed, before the Spaniards could eſtabliſh their dominion in Chili *. A. D. 1540.

Gonzalo Pizarro was more fortunate in ſubduing the province of Charcas, the entire reduction of which he at laſt accompliſhed, and marched upon a ſtill more perilous expedition.—Rapid as the progreſs of the Spaniards had been in South America ſince their firſt landing, their avidity of dominion was not yet ſatisfied: they ſtill longed to diſcover new countries, undeterred by the diſaſters they had ſuffered in many wild attempts. Francis Pizarro, whoſe arrogance after the death of Almagro was altogether inſufferable, and who ſeems to have reſolved that no perſon ſhould poſſeſs any ſtation of diſtinguiſhed eminence or authority but thoſe of own family, deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to the government of it, after the reduction of Charcas. He at the ſame time inſtructed him to attempt the diſcovery and conqueſt of a country to the eaſt of the Andes, where according to the report of the natives, gold was found in great abundance, and which produced cinnamon and other valuable ſpices.

Gonzalo not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no leſs ambitious of acquiring diſtinction, eagerly engaged in that difficult ſervice. He ſet out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty ſoldiers, near one-half of whom were horſemen, with four thouſand Indians to carry their proviſions. The difficulties which they encountered in this expedition ſurpaſs deſcription. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, exceſs of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accuſtomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants; and the Spaniards, though more robuſt, and accuſtomed to a variety of climates, ſuffered ſo much, that many of them periſhed. When they deſcended into the low country, where they hoped to find relief, their miſeries increaſed. The vaſt plains on which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudeſt and leaſt induſtrious tribes in the New World, yielded little ſubſiſtence; and during two months it rained ſo inceſſantly that their cloaths were never dry. They were

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vii. c. 2, &c.

BOOK I. A. D. 1540.

obliged to cut their way through woods, or make it over marſhes. Such unremitted toil, and continual ſcarcity of food, ſeem ſufficient to have exhauſted the ſtrength and the ſpirits of any troops; but the fortitude and perſeverance of Gonzalo and his companions were inſuperable: allured by frequent but falſe accounts of the rich country before them, they perſiſted in ſtruggling on until they reached the banks of the Napo, one of the large ſtreams which pour into the Maragnon, or river of Amazons, and contribute to its grandeur. There they built a barque, which they expected would prove of great utility, both in conveying them over rivers, and in exploring the country. This veſſel was manned with fifty ſoldiers, under the command of Franciſco Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro; and the ſtream carried them down with ſuch rapidity, that they were ſoon out of ſight of their countrymen, who followed ſlowly, and with difficulty by land.

No ſooner did Orellana reach the Maragnon, than he formed the ſcheme of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a diſcoverer, by following the courſe of that vaſt river until it joined the ocean, and ſurveying the extenſive regions through which it flows. This ſcheme of Orellana's, which perfectly correſponded with the predominant paſſion of the age, was as bold as it was treacherous: his crime is in ſome meaſure palliated by the glory of its object: if he violated his duty to his commander, and abandoned his fellow ſoldiers in a pathleſs deſert, where all their hopes of ſafety or ſucceſs depended upon his barque, he ventured upon a navigation of near two thouſand leagues, through unknown nations, in a veſſel haſtily conſtructed, with green timber, and by very unſkilful hands, without compaſs or pilot. His courage and alacrity ſupplied every defect. Committing himſelf fearleſsly to the guidance of the ſtream, he continued his courſe towards the coaſt, making frequent deſcents on both ſides of the river; ſometimes ſeizing by force of arms the proviſions of the fierce ſavages ſeated on its banks, and ſometimes procuring a ſupply of food by a friendly intercourſe with more gentle tribes. After a long ſeries of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and diſtreſſes which he ſupported with no leſs magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils awaited him: theſe he alſo ſurmounted, and got ſafe to the iſland of Cubagua, whence he ſailed to Spain, and filled with extravagant fictions a voyage truly memorable; and which, independent of the extraordinary circumſtances that attended it, firſt led to any certain knowledge of thoſe vaſt regions which ſtretch from the Andes to the Atlantic ocean *.

The conſternation of Pizarro was inexpreſſible, when he arrived at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him, and did not there find the barque. He could not allow himſelf to ſuſpect, that a man whom he had entruſted with ſuch an important command, could be ſo baſe and unfeeling as to deſert him at ſuch a juncture. Imputing, therefore, his abſence from the place of rendezvous to ſome unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to ſee the barque appear with a ſupply of proviſions. At length he met with an

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vi. c. 3. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 4.

officer

officer whom Orellana had left to periſh in the deſert, becauſe he had remonſtrated againſt his perfidy, which was now made fully known to Pizarro and his followers. The ſpirit of the ſtouteſt veteran ſunk within him at the melancholy information. They were ſeparated from Quito by twelve hundred miles of a country rough, barren, and inhoſpitable; yet all deſired to be led inſtantly thither, as the only means of preſerving an exiſtence already almoſt ſpent by the hardſhips which they had undergone. Pizarro, though he aſſumed an air of tranquillity, did not oppoſe their inclination. They accordingly began their march; and in their return encountered greater hardſhips than they had endured in their progreſs, without the alluring hopes which then animated them. Hunger compelled them not only to eat all their horſes and dogs, but to devour the moſt loathſome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their ſaddles and ſword-belts. Four thouſand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, periſhed in this wild and diſaſterous expedition, which continued near two years: ſo that, of fifty men were on board the barque with Orellana, only fourſcore got back to Quito; and theſe were naked like ſavages, and ſo emaciated with fatigue, famine, and diſeaſe, that they had more the appearance of ſpectres than of human beings *.

CHAP. X. A. D. 1541.

The joy of theſe unfortunate men on meeting with their countrymen, was too ſtrong for words to expreſs: they poured out their hearts in tears and ecſtatic tranſports at finding themſelves once more within the pale of ſociety. But their leader, who had ſhared in all their calamities, on returning to his government, inſtead of being permitted to enjoy that repoſe which his condition required, was ſaluted with information that diſcompoſed him more than all the hardſhips he had ſuſtained. His brother Ferdinand had gone over to Spain, loaded with treaſure, in hopes of ſucceſsfully vindicating his conduct in regard to the death of Almagro. But accounts of that tranſaction having been carried to court, before his arrival, by ſome of the oppoſite faction, who repreſented it in the moſt atrocious light, Ferdinand was committed to priſon, where he languiſhed above twenty years, and Chriſtoval Vaca de Caſtro, a judge in the court of Royal Audience at Valladolid, was ſent out to examine into the ſtate of affairs in Peru, and report his opinion of the late diſorders †.

This intelligence was ſufficient to alarm Gonzalo; but events ſtill more fatal to his family had happened in Peru itſelf. His brother Francis, on the death of Almagro, conſidering himſelf as the unrivalled poſſeſſor of that vaſt empire, had parcelled out its territories among the conquerors with the illiberal ſpirit of a party leader. The adherents of Almagro, among whom were many of the original adventurers, were totally excluded from any portion in thoſe lands, towards the acquiſition of which they had contributed ſo largely. They murmured in ſecret, and vowed revenge; but ſome time elapſed before they were able to compaſs it. Meanwhile their condition was moſt deplorably wretched: deprived of their eſtates, and excluded from all offices and employments, they were condemned to wander about like vagabonds, in that rich country which had been ſubdued by

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vi. c. 2. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 5. † Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vi. c. 2.

their

BOOK I. A. D. 1541.

their valour; the moſt effectual means being taken to prevent them from returning to Europe, leſt their complaints might reach the emperor's ear. Many of them, in deſpair, reſorted to Lima, where young Almagro reſided in a kind of impriſonment. His houſe was always open to them; and the ſlender part of his father's fortune, or rather the penſion, which the marquis allowed him to enjoy was ſpent in affording them ſubſiſtence.

That warm attachment with which every perſon who had ſerved under the elder Almagro devoted himſelf to his intereſt, was quickly transferred to his ſon, who was now grown up to manhood, and poſſeſſed many of thoſe qualities which captivate the affections of ſoldiers. Though of a diminutive ſtature *, he was dexterous at all martial exerciſes, bold, open, generous, and every way accompliſhed as a gentleman. In him the Almagrians found what they wanted, a point of union; and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. This zeal for promoting the intereſts of young Almagro, and a deſire of revenging the death of his father, joined to their own injuries and diſtreſſes, determined them to take ſpeedy vengeance on Pizarro. Their neceſſities were indeed a ſufficient motive: many of them were deſtitute of bread to eat; and twelve gentlemen, who had been officers of diſtinction, lodged at Lima in the ſame houſe, and had but one cloak among them, which was worn alternately by him who had occaſion to appear in public, the other eleven being obliged to remain at home for want of a decent dreſs †.

Pizarro, being informed of the diſtreſs of theſe gentlemen, ſent them word, that he would aſſign lands for their maintenance; but as they had already formed their reſolution, and were thoroughly enraged by the injuries they had ſuffered, and the miſeries to which they had been expoſed, they indignantly replied, That they would rather periſh than be indebted to him for the means of preſerving their exiſtence. The marquis, ſenſible he had juſtly provoked the Almagrians, now kept cloſe in his palace, never ſtirring abroad without a ſtrong guard; and watched their motions with ſo ſtrict an eye, that they found it difficult to aſſemble in ſuch numbers as to give any probability of ſucceſs to their deſigns. The greateſt circumſpection was neceſſary: they entered the city in ſmall parties, and were lodged in the houſes of ſome perſons who approved of the intended revolution. When their number in Lima amounted to near three hundred men, they began to imagine their ſtrength ſufficient for the meditated revenge. Among them were many experienced officers and veteran ſoldiers, who had manifeſted their courage on the moſt trying occaſions. To theſe young Almagro reſigned his judgment, ſuffering them to conduct the conſpiracy in the manner they believed moſt adviſable. Their firſt ſcheme was to aſſaſſinate Pizarro on Midſummer-day, as he went to hear maſs in the cathedral church of Lima; but this deſign being either diſcovered or ſuſpected, the marquis confined himſelf under pretence of indiſpoſition, and aſſembled his friends to conſult on proper meaſures for his own ſafety, as well as for puniſhing his enemies.

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. viii. c. 3.

† Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vi. c. 2.

The

CHAP. IX.
A. D. 1541.

The diſappointed conſpirators now laid aſide their hoſtile intentions, reſolving to wait the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro; who was veſted, as already obſerved, with powers to examine into the conduct of the two factions, and either to redreſs grievances, or report them to the court of Spain. But this new reſolution was dropt, on advice being received, that Pizarro had obtained certain information of their deſigns, and was preparing for the moſt violent revenge. Fearing they might all be ſacrificed to his fury, they now reſumed their deſperate purpoſe. Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, and who took the lead in all their conſultations, alſo led the way in carrying them into execution. He ſallied out from the houſe of his pupil, at mid-day, at the head of eighteen of the moſt determined conſpirators, all in complete armour, with their ſwords drawn, calling aloud as they advanced towards the marquis's palace, "Long live the king! but let the tyrant die!"— Warned of their motions by a ſignal given, their aſſociates were in arms ready to ſupport them; but their aſſiſtance was unneceſſary. The people, ſuſpended in that inactive amazement, which the execution of a bold and ſudden enterpriſe generally inſpires, made no oppoſition; and though Pizarro was uſually ſurrounded by a numerous train of attendants, yet as he was juſt riſen from dinner, and moſt of his domeſtics had retired to their own apartments, the conſpirators paſſed the two outer courts of the palace unobſerved. They were at the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his maſter, who was converſing with ſome friends in a large hall. The marquis, whoſe ſteady mind no form of danger could appal, ſtarting up, called for arms, and ordered Francis de Cheves, to make faſt the door. But that officer, anxious about his own ſafety, without retaining ſufficient recollection to diſcern the proper means, in place of obeying ſo prudent a command, ran wildly to the top of the ſtair-caſe, ſaying, "What is the meaning of this, gentlemen?— Let me not ſhare in your hatred to the marquis, for I was always a friend." Inſtead of anſwering, or regarding his requeſt, they ſtabbed him to the heart, and burſt into the hall. Some of the perſons who were there threw themſelves over the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few followed their leader into an inner apartment. Animated with the hope of ſuddenly ſeizing the object of their vengeance, the conſpirators ruſhed forward, crying "Where is the tyrant?"— Pizarro, with no other arms than his ſword and buckler, gallantly defended the door, and ſupported by his half-brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, maintained the unequal conteſt with intrepidity worthy of his paſt exploits, and with vigour incredible at the advanced age of ſixty-three. "Courage!" cried he, "companions; we are yet enow to make thoſe traitors repent of their audacity." But the conſpirators were protected by their armour, while every thruſt they made took effect: Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; the other defenders of the marquis were mortally wounded; and he himſelf no longer able to parry the many weapons violently aimed at his life, received a furious thruſt in the throat, ſunk to the ground, and inſtantly expired *.

June 26.

* Herrara, dec. IV. lib. vii. c. 1. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 6—8.

CHAP. X.

State of Affairs in Peru *from the Death of* Pizarro, *to its final Settlement as a* Spaniſh *Province.*

BOOK I. A. D. 1541.

PIZARRO was no ſooner ſlain, than the conſpirators ran out into the ſtreets, and waving their bloody ſwords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Being joined by their aſſociates, to the number of two hundred and upwards, they conducted young Almagro in ſolemn proceſſion through the city; and aſſembling the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful ſucceſſor to his father in the government. The palace of Pizarro, the houſe of his ſecretary Picado, that of his brother, Alcantara, and a few others, were pillaged by the ſoldiers, who found there an immenſe booty; and had the ſatisfaction of at once being revenged on their enemies, and of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of thoſe who had excluded them from what they conſidered to be their due. The treaſure found in the palace of Pizarro alone amounted to a million of peſos *.

The boldneſs and ſucceſs of this conſpiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of the new leader, drew many followers to his ſtandard; and as all thoſe who were diſſatisfied with the rapacious government of Pizarro during his latter years, alſo declared in favour of Almagro, he was ſoon at the head of eight hundred gallant veterans. Theſe he committed to the command of Herrada, whoſe activity as a conſpirator, and ability as an officer, ſeemed equally to entitle him to the rank of general, as Almagro's youth and inexperience diſqualified him for acting in that capacity himſelf. But notwithſtanding this reſpectable force, and though many towns ſubmitted, the acquieſcence in the government of Almagro was by no means univerſal. The officers who commanded in ſome provinces refuſed to acknowledge his authority, until it was confirmed by the emperor: others reſolved to wait the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro before they declared themſelves; while thoſe to whom the memory of Pizarro was dear, erected the royal ſtandard, and made preparations to revenge the death of their ancient leader.

Cuzco at firſt ſubmitted to Almagro; but Gomez de Tortoya, a leading man in that capital, and the particular friend of Pizarro, diſpatched meſſengers ſecretly to all his partizans in the adjacent provinces, acquainting them with the late tragical event, and requiring them to aſſemble in arms the Spaniards in their neighbourhood, in order to oppoſe the uſurpation of the aſſaſſins. Nuno de Caſtro, Garcilaſſo de la Vega, and others, accordingly repaired to Cuzco, while Tortoya went in ſearch of Alvarez Holguin, who, with an hundred men had ſet out on an expedition to Callao, before the death of Pizarro. His application to this officer was ſucceſsful. Holguin declared himſelf the enemy of the new adminiſtration, and took upon him, at the requeſt of Tortoya, the

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vii. c. 1.

CHAP. X.
A. D. 1541.

dignity of captain-general of the league now forming againſt Almagro. He immediately erected his ſtandard; ſent manifeſtos to Charcas and Arequebas; augmented his forces to two hundred men; directed his march towards Cuzco; and ſo terrified the Almagrians with the news of his approach, that they quitted the city with the utmoſt precipitation. On his arrival the Pizarriſts augmented ſurpriſingly, and he was confirmed in his command by the ſuffrages of the party *.

War was now openly declared againſt the Almagrians, the citizens of Cuzco obliging themſelves to repay the king whatever ſums of money Holguin ſhould expend from the royal treaſury in proſecution of the hoſtile meaſures intended; and advice being received about this time that Alonſo de Alvarado had erected the royal ſtandard in the ſame cauſe at St. Juan de la Frontera, the confidence of the Pizarriſts was augmented to ſuch a degree that they were little alarmed at the intelligence of Almagro's advancing at the head of eight hundred men to give them battle, though it was reſolved in a council of war to march by the way of the mountains to join Alvarado. Meanwhile Almagro having received minute information of all that was tranſacting in Cuzco, determined by the advice of his officers to intercept Holguin; firſt endeavouring to ſecure his intereſt in Lima, and carrying off the children and friends of Pizarro, in order to prevent inſurrections during his abſence. One piece of barbarity acted upon this occaſion proved advantageous to the cauſe of his enemies: Almagro, out of perſonal pique, and in hopes of diſcovering the ſecret treaſures of Pizarro, ordered his ſecretary, Picado, to be tortured, and then put to death, becauſe he reſiſted the moſt cruel attempts to extort a confeſſion †. Like cruelties were committed in other places.

Such was the ſituation of the Spaniſh affairs in South America when Vaca de Caſtro arrived at Quito, with the king's commiſſion appointing him governor of Peru in caſe of the death of Pizarro, into whoſe conduct he was ſent to examine. He had intelligence of that event on his march; and his juriſdiction was acknowledged without heſitation by Benalcazar, adelantado, or lieutenant-general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the abſence of Gonzalo Pizarro had the command of the troops left in Quito. From that city he iſſued commiſſions to the different Spaniſh ſettlements in Peru, conſtituting ſuch magiſtrates as he thought proper, and in all reſpects exerciſing the prerogatives of a governor. His authority was generally acknowledged, and his own talents, aſſiſted by certain fortunate circumſtances, made it ſtill more reſpected. While he was exerting his influence and addreſs to aſſemble ſuch a body of troops as ſhould ſecure him from the inſults of the adverſe party, he received a letter from Holguin and Alonſo de Alvarado, who had now united their forces, aſſuring him of their obedience to the king's pleaſure, and requeſting him to repair to Truxillo to take charge of the army. He immediately began his march, with the dignity that became his character, and was joined on the road by crouds

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vii. c. 1. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 12. † Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vii. c. 1.

of

BOOK I. A. D. 1542.

of Spaniards and Indians, determined on implicit obedience to the royal mandate. On his arrival at Truxillo he found his army very conſiderable, and impreſſed with the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of duty and loyalty, all the officers binding themſelves by a ſealed inſtrument to obey his authority; and as the firſt proof of their ſincerity they reſigned their commiſſions into his hands, either to be renewed or revoked at his pleaſure. From Truxillo, de Caſtro marched to Lima, where, having prepared the minds of the people by his emiſſaries, he was received with the honours due to a viceroy of Peru, and joined by all the inhabitants able to carry arms *.

While every thing thus ſucceeded to the wiſh of the new governor, Almagro, diſappointed in his deſigns upon Holguin, directed his march towards Cuzco; took poſſeſſion of that capital, and replaced in the magiſtracy all thoſe who had abſented themſelves on the triumph of the oppoſite party. His next care was to provide a train of artillery; in which he found no difficulty, copper being plentiful at Cuzco, and his army provided with perſons ſkilful in caſting cannon. He was buſied in the moſt vigorous preparations, when certain appointments, which had taken place in conſequence of the death of Herrada, the ſkilful guide of his youth and of his meaſures, lighted up the flames of diſſention among his followers, to the great prejudice of his affairs. Chriſtopher de Sotelo and Garcia de Alvarado now became his chief counſellors. They had the direction of the army jointly, and each aſpired ſeparately at the command. Rivals in glory and in the favour of Almagro, their reſentment was ſoon roufed to the moſt rancorous animoſity, which terminated in the death of Sotelo, who was ſlain in the market-place. The friends of the deceaſed determined to revenge the injury; and every thing threatened the moſt violent convulſions, among a ſet of men who had the moſt powerful motives to unanimity, when Almagro interpoſed his authority, and effected a temporary reconciliation, diſſembling his ſentiments of the conduct of Alvarado till a more ſeaſonable opportunity. But it was not poſſible for Almagro to remain long in this moderate and politic diſpoſition: the violence of Alvarado's temper obliged him to come to extremities. That officer, dreading Almagro's juſt indignation, thought he could not render himſelf ſecure without ſhedding the blood of his leader and benefactor. For this purpoſe he con rived to invite him to an entertainment, where he propoſed to execute his atrocious deſign; but Almagro, having ſome intimation of the conſpiracy, excuſed himſelf from the viſit, by pretending indiſpoſition, and Alvarado calling to inquire after his health, was inſtantly put to death †.

Having by this ſevere, but ſeaſonable puniſhment, quieted the ſpirit of faction among his followers, Almagro drew out his forces, amounting to ſeven hundred Spaniards, and ſeveral thouſands of Indians, and began his march, with an intention either to give battle to the governor, or to procure advantageous terms by treaty for himſelf and his friends. As his troops were almoſt all

* Garcilaſſo, lib. iii. c. 16. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 18. † Id. ibid. Herrera, dec. IV. lib. viii. c. 2.

veterans,

veterans, who had ſerved under his father, and his train of artillery greatly ſuperior to that of the enemy, he made himſelf pretty confident of victory, ſhould it prove neceſſary to come to a hoſtile deciſion; but his wiſh was to accommodate matters amicably. He accordingly diſpatched meſſengers with pacific propoſals, when he advanced within a few leagues of the governor's camp. They were inſtructed to repreſent to Vaca de Caſtro, That Almagro's father had performed eminent ſervices for the court of Spain; that he had always proved himſelf loyal and faithful to his ſovereign; that he had been barbarouſly murdered by order of Francis Pizarro; that the revenge taken was juſt; and that his ſon now only demanded to be reſtored to the government of New Toledo, in which was included Cuzco, agreeable to the grant of the crown to his father. They alſo repreſented, That young Almagro was reſolved to obey his majeſty's commands implicitly, but hoped the governor would not abet the tyranny and oppreſſion of the Pizarros. The officers alſo writ a letter to the governor, complaining of his partiality in rejecting them, as if they had oppoſed their ſovereign, declaring themſelves loyal ſubjects, and praying that all things might be amicably adjuſted, in order to prevent the miſchiefs which muſt otherwiſe enſue *.

Concealing ambition and cruelty under the maſk of rigid juſtice, or perſuaded that the Spaniſh government in Peru could have no ſtability, while the head of a faction had an exiſtence, Vaca de Caſtro, relying on the ſuperiority of his force, rejected all pacific overtures. He knew of no terms, he ſaid, between the king and his ſubjects, except thoſe of abſolute authority and unconditional obedience; and as he was ſenſible that the oppoſite party would not throw themſelves on his mercy, he was impatient to terminate the conteſt by a battle. Nor did Almagro and his followers decline this mode of deciſion, as they had now no hopes of accommodation. They met at Chupas, about two hundred miles from Cuzco. Almagro's camp was ſeated on an eminence, which determined him to wait the attack of the enemy, who appeared eager to engage: as they advanced up the aſcent, he ordered his artillery, which was under the charge of Pedro de Candia, to pour grape-ſhot upon their ranks; but aſtoniſhed to obſerve, that ſeveral diſcharges produced no effect, he ſuſpected the fidelity of Candia, taxed him with treachery, and receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, ſlew him with his own hand. He then pointed a cannon ſo judiciouſly, that he cut off a whole troop of the enemy. But they ſoon came too cloſe to permit him to play his artillery. Both ſides had recourſe to their muſkets, croſs-bows, lances, and ſwords; and fought, for ſeveral hours, with all the fierce animoſity inſpired by the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerneſs of revenge, and the laſt efforts of deſpair. The conteſt remained doubtful till night came on; when young Almagro, who was in all parts, encouraging his men with wonderful reſolution, obſerving Alvarado's cavalry begin to flag, cried, "Victory! take, and do not kill;"—but Vaca de Caſtro, perceiving Alvarado's diſtreſs, came up with a body of reſerve, which decided the diſpute. Numbers began to prevail over va-

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. viii. c. 2.

BOOK I. A. D. 1542.

lour. The ſun was then ſet; and though Almagro and his followers did all that was in the power of men, fortune declared for Vaca de Caſtro. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants: out of fifteen hundred men, on both ſides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was ſtill greater. The governor was chiefly indebted for his ſucceſs to the military talents of Franciſco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under Gonſalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, in the wars of Italy, and who in this engagement laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru *.

The ſeverity of Vaca de Caſtro after the victory was equal to his inflexibility before it. He proceeded directly to try his priſoners as rebels: forty were condemned to ſuffer the death of traitors, others were baniſhed from Peru; and Almagro, who had made his eſcape, and intended to take ſhelter in the mountains with his ally Manco Capac, till a more favourable opportunity ſhould offer of trying his fortune in the field, being betrayed by the magiſtrates of Cuzco, where he went to ſecure his treaſure, was publicly beheaded in the market-place †. In him the name of Almagro, and the ſpirit of the party was entirely extinct.

But all theſe ſeverities were not ſufficient to deter Gonzalo Pizarro from entertaining thoughts of rekindling the flames of civil war. He deemed himſelf injured by Vaca de Caſtro in aſſuming the government, which he claimed for himſelf as the brother and ligitimate ſucceſſor of the marquis. He was flattered in his pretenſions by his friends; and a conſpiracy was forming againſt the governor's authority, when the ſagacity and vigilance of Vaca de Caſtro, penetrating into the deſigns of his enemies, furſtrated the effects of all their machinations, without bloodſhed, or any violent exertion of authority. He ſent privately for Pizarro, and without betraying any ſymptoms of indignation, or dropping the leaſt hint of the diſcovery he had made, ordered him to repair immediately to his eſtate in the province of Charcas, and to remain there till his farther pleaſure was known. Gonzalo, who was in no condition to diſpute the governor's commands, obeyed with ſeeming chearfulneſs, in order to remove thoſe ſuſpicions for which he was conſcious he had given occaſion, and which Vaca de Caſtro probably entertained; and as he underſtood that rich ſilver mines had lately been diſcovered in that quarter, he employed himſelf in working them, until a more favourable opportunity ſhould offer of purſuing the dictates of his ambition ‡. Such an opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf, and at a time when it was little to be expected.

Vaca de Caſtro no ſooner found himſelf fully eſtabliſhed in the government of Peru, than he applied himſelf with the greateſt diligence to the adminiſtration of civil affairs. He began with public inſtitutious, which equally regarded the welfare of the Spaniards and natives. Every one perceived the utility of his regulations; and the Peruvians paid the ſame reſpect to his edicts, as if they had proceeded from the lips of their adored Incas. Equitable diviſions of lands were

* Zarate, lib. iv. c. 19. Garcilaſſo, lib. iii. c. 18. Herrera, dec. IV. lib. viii. c. 2.
† Id. ibid. ‡ Herrera, dec. IV. lib. viii. c. 4.

made,

made, and colonies of Indians and Spaniards tranſplanted from barren ſpots to countries more fertile, but unpeopled. That his laws might be agreeable to the genius of the Peruvians, the governor informed himſelf concerning the inſtitutions of the Incas; their method of adminiſtering juſtice, and other particulars, to which he conformed himſelf as nearly as the deſign he had formed of eſtabliſhing a more regular polity, and the doctrines of Chriſtianity would permit. He erected ſchools in ſeveral towns, ordering the children of the principal Peruvians to be inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, as well as of rational morality. He reſtrained the Spaniards, by ſevere laws, from uſing the natives with their accuſtomed barbarity; and he reſtored their lands to many of the caziques, giving them at the ſame time a kind of limited civil juriſdiction. He impoſed reſtraints upon the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and diſpoſed their minds by proper encouragement to marriage, induſtry, and labour. Thoſe who appeared diſſatisfied with their condition, turbulent in their humour, or unfit to promote the ends of civil government, he ſent on expeditions into diſtant provinces that had not yet ſubmitted to the crown of Spain, in imitation of the policy purſued by the Pizarros. He inquired into the conduct of the king's officers, who amaſſed vaſt fortunes by rapine and oppreſſion; by which means he raiſed himſelf many enemies among the Spaniards, while he engaged the affections and confidence of the Indians. But his vigour and perſeverance enabled him to ſurmount all oppoſition, and to purſue with ſucceſs every meaſure that could render Peru great and flouriſhing in itſelf, or advantageous to his native country *.

While Vaca de Caſtro was eſtabliſhing ſuch ſalutary regulations for the welfare of the people under his government, father Bartholomew de las Caſas, whoſe humane temper had led him to commiſerate the ſufferings of the Indians in general, and to project ſcheines for their relief, had the ſatisfaction to find his plan adopted by the emperor Charles V. to whom he repreſented the wretched condition of the natives in all the Spaniſh colonies, on whom taſks were impoſed without any regard to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, and who pined away and periſhed ſo faſt that there was reaſon to apprehend his majeſty, inſtead of poſſeſſing countries peopled to ſuch a degree as to be ſuſceptible of progreſſive improvement, would ſoon remain proprietor only of a vaſt uninhabited deſert. Charles and his miniſters, alarmed at theſe repreſentations, called the good monk formally before them. Las Caſas eagerly ſeized this opportunity of reviving maxims which he had long unſucceſsfully urged relative to the treatment of the Indians; and with the moving eloquence natural to a man on whoſe mind the ſcenes he had beheld had made a deep impreſſion, he deſcribed the irreparable waſte of the human ſpecies in the New World, the Indian race almoſt totally ſwept away in the iſlands, in leſs than fifty years, and haſtening to extinction on the continent with the ſame rapid decay; all which he imputed to the cruelty and exactions of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could

* Id. ibid. Garcilaſſo, lib. iii. c. 19.

prevent

BOOK I.
A. D. 1542.

prevent the depopulation of America, but declaring its natives to be free men, and treating them as ſubjects, not as ſlaves. Nor did he confide for the ſucceſs of this propoſal in the powers of his oratory alone: in order to enforce them, he compoſed his famous treatiſe concerning the deſtruction of America; in which he relates, with many horrid circumſtances, the devaſtation of every province that had been viſited by the Spaniards.

Afflicted by the recital of ſo many actions ſhocking to humanity, the emperor determined at once to reſcue the Indians from oppreſſion, and to circumſcribe the power and uſurpations of his own ſubjects in the New World, which ſeemed no leſs neceſſary to render it a valuable acquiſition. With this view, he ordered a body of laws to be framed, containing many ſalutary appointments with reſpect to the conſtitution and powers of the Supreme Council of the Indies; concerning the ſtation and juriſdiction of the Royal Audiences in different parts of America; the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the order of government both eccleſiaſtical and civil. Theſe were approved of by perſons of all ranks; but other regulations were iſſued at the ſame time, among which were the following, that excited univerſal alarm, and occaſioned the moſt violent convulſions:—"That as the *Repartimientos*, or ſhares of lands ſeized by ſeveral people appeared to be exceſſive, the Royal Audiences are impowered to reduce them to a moderate extent; that upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him ſhall not deſcend to his widow or children, but return to the crown; that the Indians ſhall henceforth be exempted from perſonal ſervice, and ſhall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labour in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fiſheries; that the ſtated tribute due by them to their ſuperior ſhall be aſcertained, and they ſhall be paid as ſervants for any work they voluntarily perform; that all perſons who are or have been in public offices, eccleſiaſtics of every denomination, hoſpitals, and monaſteries, ſhall be deprived of the lands, and Indians allotted to them, and theſe to be annexed to the crown; that every perſon in Peru, who had any criminal concern in the conteſts between Pizarro and Almagro, ſhould forfeit his lands and Indians *."

All the Spaniſh miniſters who had hitherto been entruſted with the direction of American affairs, and who were beſt acquainted with the ſtate of the country, remonſtrated againſt thoſe regulations, as pernicious to their infant colonies. They repreſented, That the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New Wold was ſo extremely ſmall, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs for improving the vaſt regions over which they were ſcattered; that the ſucceſs of every ſcheme for this purpoſe muſt depend upon the ſervice of the Indians, whoſe native indolence and averſion to labour, no proſpect of benefit or promiſe of reward could ſurmount; that the moment the right of impoſing a taſk, and exacting the performance of it, was taken from their maſters, every work of induſtry muſt ceaſe, and all the ſources from which wealth began to pour in upon Spain be ſtopt for ever: but Charles, tenacious at all times of his

* Garcilaſſo, lib. iii. c. 20. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. vi.

opinions, perſiſted in his reſolution of publiſhing the laws; and that they might be carried into execution with greater vigour and authority in the country of which we are treating, he reſolved to nominate a new governor, to whoſe conduct they could have no retroſpect, and who therefore would be more ready to enforce them. He accordingly appointed Blaſco Nugnez Vela, ſurveyor of the ports of Caſtile, to ſuperſede Vaca de Caſtro in the government of Peru, with the title of Viceroy; and in order to ſtrengthen his adminiſtration, he eſtabliſhed a court of royal audience in Lima, in which four lawyers of eminence were to preſide as judges *. CHAP. X. A. D. 1543.

In the ſame fleet with Blaſco Nugnez Vela ſailed Franciſco Tello de Sandoval, whom the emperor authoriſed to repair to Mexico as *viſitador*, or ſuperintendant of that country, in order to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, in enforcing the new laws; and as the unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America, the entry of Sandoval into Mexico was regarded as the prelude to general ruin. But the colony of New Spain had now been ſo long accuſtomed to regular government, that how much ſoever the ſpirit of the ſtatutes was deteſted and dreaded, no attempt was made to oppoſe the royal pleaſure by any act of violence unbecoming ſubjects. The magiſtrates and principal inhabitants contented themſelves with remonſtrating againſt the fatal conſequences of enforcing ſuch regulations. The governor and ſuperintendant adopted the ſame ſentiments; and Charles, ſwayed by the opinion of men whoſe abilities and integrity entitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately under their own view, granted ſuch a relaxation of the rigour of the new laws as compoſed the minds of the Spaniards ſettled in Mexico †.

In Peru, where the people were leſs habituated to the reſtraints of law, and where the new ſtatutes fell with more ſeverity, the alarm was ſtill greater, when intelligence arrived of the commiſſion with which the viceroy was intruſted. The minds of the conquerors revolted with indignation at the idea of complying with laws, by which they were to be ſtripped at once of all they had earned ſo hardly during many years of ſervice and ſuffering. As the information ſpread through the different ſettlements, the inhabitants ran together; the women in tears, and the men exclaiming againſt the injuſtice and ingratitude of their ſovereign in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their poſſeſſions. "Is this," cried they, "the recompenſe due to perſons, who, without public aid, at their own expenſe, and by their own valour, have ſubjected to the crown of Caſtile territories of ſuch vaſt extent and opulence? Are theſe the rewards beſtowed for having endured unparalleled diſtreſs; for having encountered every ſpecies of danger in the ſervice of their country? Who is poſſeſſed of ſuch merit, who of a conduct ſo irreproachable, that he may not be condemned by ſome penal clauſe in regulations, conceived in terms as looſe and comprehenſive, as if it had been intended that all ſhould be entangled in their ſnare?—Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held ſome public office; and all, without diſtinc-

* Id. ibid.

† Torquemad. Monad. Ind. lib. v. c. 13.

BOOK I. A. D. 1543.

tion have been obliged to take an active part in the conteſt between the two rival chiefs: were the former to be robbed of their property, becauſe they had done their duty? were the latter to be puniſhed for what they could not avoid?—Shall the conquerors of this great empire, inſtead of receiving marks of diſtinction, be deprived of the natural conſolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for ſubſiſtence on the ſcanty ſupply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers?—We are not able now," continued they, "to explore unknown regions in queſt of more ſecure ſettlements: our conſtitutions, debilitated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active ſervice; but ſtill we poſſeſs vigour ſufficient to aſſert our juſt rights, and will not tamely ſuffer them to be wreſted from us *."

When the minds of men were in ſuch a ferment, ſome conceſſions, even on the ſide of government, were requiſite to ſoothe them into ſubmiſſion: but ſuch a plan could not be carried on without profound diſcernment, conciliating manners, unwearied patience, and flexibility of temper, none of which fell to the ſhare of the viceroy. Of all the qualities that fit men for eminent ſtations, Vela was endowed only with integrity and firmneſs; and reſting on theſe, which in his ſituation were rather defects than virtues, he began to fulfil his commiſſion, the moment he landed at Tumbez, without any regard to places, perſons, or circumſtances. In all the towns through which he paſſed, the natives were declared to be free; every perſon in public office was deprived of his lands and ſervants; and as an example of obedience to others, he ordered his baggage to be carried by mules in his march towards Lima; or if any Indians were employed, that they ſhould be men who voluntarily offered their ſervice for hire, which he took care to ſee duly paid them. Amazement and conſternation went before him as he approached; and ſo little ſolicitous was he to prevent them from augmenting, that he

A. D. 1544.

openly declared, on entering the capital, that he came to enforce obedience to the will of his ſovereign, not to relax the rigour of his laws. Arrogance of behaviour rendered ſtill more grievous this inſolence of authority. Every attempt to procure a ſuſpenſion or mitigation of the new laws, was checked by an imperious frown, and conſidered as proceeding from a ſpirit of diſaffection that tended to rebellion. Several perſons were confined, and others put to death without any form of trial †.

In order to apply a remedy to theſe evils, Vaca de Caſtro ſet out from Cuzco, attended by a numerous train of the citizens, and principal inhabitants, to wait on the viceroy. On his march he received a letter from Vela, acquainting him, that his authority ceaſed from that moment. De Caſtro obeyed, and reſiſted all temptations thrown in his way to diſturb the government, by becoming the head of a faction. He diſmiſſed the greater part of his attendants, and requeſted, that ſuch as remained might go unarmed, in order to avoid every appearance of hoſtilities. But notwithſtanding all this moderation and humility, the viceroy or-

* Gomara, c. 152. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. lib. vi. † Zarate, lib. iv. c. 25. Garcilaſſo, lib. iv. c. 5.

dered

CHAP. X.
A. D. 1544.

dered him to be arreſted at their firſt interview, on account of an accidental tumult, in which he had no concern; to be loaded with chains, and committed to the common jail. Incenſed at this act of tyranny, the inhabitants of Lima went in a body to Vela, and remonſtrated with great boldneſs againſt ſuch an inſult on a perſon of De Caſtro's rank; deſiring that he might be removed to the town-houſe, and offering to bail his appearance to the amount of an hundred thouſand peſos. The viceroy complied with their requeſt, from fear of a general inſurrection: perſiſted in his rigorous meaſures, and the people continued to plot and to cabal *.

Theſe diſturbances were not confined to Lima, they extended over all the towns in Peru, inhabited by Spaniards. This was a fit opportunity for Gonzalo Pizarro to reſume his ambitious projects; and he did not neglect it. He received letters and addreſſes from all quarters, imploring him to avert the ruin which threatened the colony. Many of his old friends joined him, as did ſeveral ſoldiers that were diſperſed about the country, offering to ſupport him with the laſt drop of their blood. Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, he repaired to Cuzco, where he was received with tranſports of joy by the inhabitants, who conſidered him as their common deliverer. In the fervour of their zeal, they elected him Procurator General of the Spaniſh nation in Peru, to ſolicit the repeal of the late regulations. They authoriſed him to lay their remonſtrances before the royal audience at Lima; and upon pretext of danger from Manco Capac, who was then at the head of an army of obſervation, they impowered him to aſſemble a body of troops, and march thither in arms †.

Under ſanction of this nomination, Pizarro took poſſeſſion of the royal treaſure, appointed officers, levied ſoldiers, ſeized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Caſtro had depoſited in Guamagna, and ſet out for Lima, as if he had been advancing againſt a public enemy. The Inca's death was in ſome meaſure the cauſe of theſe open hoſtilities, as Pizarro could no longer pretend any danger from the Indians, who immediately diſperſed. As he advanced, he was joined by Pedro de Puelles, and a conſiderable body of troops, whom the viceroy had ſent to oppoſe him. A party of horſe, diſpatched to intercept Puelles, on information being received of his defection, alſo deſerted to the malcontents. Rebellion had now aſſumed a regular form, and many perſons of note reſorted to the ſtandard of Pizarro: among others, Franciſco de Carvajal, whom he conſtituted his major-general, and proceeded towards the capital with an apparent intention of throwing off all dependence on Spain, and rendering himſelf abſolute ſovereign of Peru ‡; a ſcheme by no means difficult in the execution at that juncture, had he made the proper uſe of the univerſal diſlike to the new regulations, and convinced the people that he ſought their good more than the gratification of his own ambition.

Before Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had happened very favourable to his deſigns. The judges of the Royal Audience were no leſs diſſatisfied with the

* Herrera, dec. V. lib. i. c. 1. † Id. ibid. ‡ Ut ſupra.

viceroy's

BOOK I. A. D. 1544.

viceroy's conduct than the people whom he was ſent to govern: they joined with the citizens in ſoliciting a ſuſpenſion of the new ordinances: Vela reſolved to have recourſe to arms, in order to enforce them; and both parties were ſo much exaſperated by frequent conteſts, ariſing from interference of juriſdiction and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual diſguſt ſoon grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every meaſure; ſet at liberty priſoners whom he had confined; juſtified the malcontents, and applauded their remonſtrances. The citizens roſe in open rebellion in favour of the judges; and the viceroy, become univerſally odious, and abandoned even by his guards, was ſeized in his own palace, and put on board the fleet, which alſo renounced his authority, to be there confined, till ſuch time as he could be ſent to Spain *.

Having thus aſſumed the ſupreme direction of affairs into their own hands, the judges iſſued a proclamation ſuſpending the execution of the obnoxious laws; and ſent, at the ſame time, a meſſage to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could requeſt, to diſmiſs his troops, and repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants, in order to concert meaſures for ſettling the government. This requiſition, which was probably made with no other intention than to throw a decent veil over their own conduct, was treated by Pizarro with the contempt it deſerved. The ſupreme authority was now within his reach, and he did not want courage to ſeize it. Inſtead of the inferior function of procurator general for the Spaniſh ſettlements, he demanded, by way of anſwer to the meſſage of the judges, to be conſtituted governor, and captain-general of the whole province by the court of audience; threatening, if they refuſed to grant him a commiſſion to that effect, that Lima ſhould be deſtroyed with fire and ſword. In order to give weight to his demand, he proceeded on his march, and encamped in the neighbourhood of the city. A freſh ſummons was ſent to the judges; who, either from unwillingneſs to relinquiſh power, or from a deſire of preſerving ſome attention to appearances, heſitated, or ſeemed to heſitate, about complying: Gonzalo therefore began to erect batteries, with an intention of laying ſiege to the place. This produced the deſired effect: the inhabitants declared againſt the judges, and deſerted in great numbers to the camp; and Gonzalo's army being now augmented to the number of twelve hundred men, he diſpatched Carvajal with a ſummons, declaring if any farther delay was made, the town muſt ſuffer all the conſequences of his vengeance, and the judges aſcribe to their own obſtinacy, the ſlaughter of their fellow citizens. Even this menace could not move them; till Carvajal, impatient of delay, marched into the city by night, ſeized ſeveral officers of diſtinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience iſſued a commiſſion in the emperor's name, appointing Gonzalo Pizarro governor of Peru, with full power, civil as well as military; and he entered the town that day in triumph, to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, while Lima blazed with bonfires, and rung with public rejoicings †.

* Herrera, dec. V. lib. i. c. 1, 2, 3.

† Zarate, lib. v. c. 10. Garcilaſſo, lib. iv. c. 19.

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CHAP. X.

A. D. 1544.

This flow of proſperity was interrupted by ſome events which gave great uneaſineſs to Pizarro. Juan Alvarez, one of the judges, to whoſe cuſtody the viceroy had been committed on board a veſſel, in order to be carried into Spain, was no ſooner out at ſea, than touched with remorſe, or moved by fear, he fell at the feet of his priſoner, declaring him from that moment to be free, and proteſting that he himſelf, and every perſon in the ſhip, would obey him as the legal repreſentative of their ſovereign. Vela deſired him to ſteer to Tumbez; and landing there, erected the royal enſign, and reſumed his authority as viceroy. He was joined by ſeveral perſons of eminence, not yet infected with the contagious ſpirit of rebellion; and the violence of Pizarro's government ſoon augmented the number of his adherents, as it forced ſome leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. He took courage from the miſconduct of his adverſary; and entertaining hopes that Gonzalo's inſolence would ſoon turn the ſtream of popular affection, he diſpatched his ſon in-law into Spain, to acquaint his imperial majeſty with the ſtate of affairs in Peru, and requeſt that ſpeedy ſuccours might be ſent againſt the rebels. Meanwhile his ſtrength increaſed daily, and he had the ſatisfaction to learn, that Diego Centeno, a bold active officer, incenſed by the cruelty and oppreſſion of Pizzaro's lieutenant governor in the province of Charcas, had formed a conſpiracy againſt his life, cut him off, and ſet up the royal ſtandard *.

Though alarmed at theſe hoſtile appearances in the oppoſite extremes of the empire, Gonzalo was not diſconcerted; but prepared to aſſert the authority which he had aſſumed, with the ſpirit and conduct of an officer habituated to command. He marched directly with all his forces againſt the viceroy, as the neareſt as well as the moſt formidable enemy. Vela, unable to face the malcontents, retreated towards Quito: Pizarro followed him; and in that long march, through a wild and mountainous country, both ſuffered hardſhips and encountered difficulties, which no troops but thoſe accuſtomed to ſerve in America, could have endured. The armies were frequently in ſight of each other, and the royaliſts were forced to keep conſtantly in arms, during a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues, in the courſe of which they were chiefly nouriſhed by herbs, roots, and other vegetables.

A. D. 1545.

The approach of the rebels to Quito, obliged the viceroy to abandon that city, which he found incapable of defence, and to retreat forty leagues beyond it; hoping that Pizarro would ſtop the purſuit, in order to refreſh his men in a place abounding with proviſions. But he found himſelf miſtaken: the rebels ſcarce halted at Quito, and puſhed on with ſo much vigour and perſeverance as drove Vela to deſpair. When he ſaw a party of the enemy deſcending a hill near his camp, he lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and exclaimed, "Shall it be credited in future ages, that Spaniards could purſue the ſtandard of their king with ſuch obſtinacy, as to endure every poſſible hardſhip for the ſpace of four hundred leagues?" meaning from Lima to the place where he was then encamped on the farther extremity of Peru. Still, however, he purſued his retreat, with

* Zarate, lib. v. c. 18. Herrera, dec. V. lib. i. c. 3.

BOOK I.

A. D. 1545.

all the rapidity of a flight, into the province of Popayan; which determined Pizarro to return to Quito, whence he diſpatched Carvajal to oppoſe Centeno, who was growing formidable in the ſouthern provinces of the empire, while he himſelf remained in that city, in order to watch the motions of the viceroy *.

Having thus eſcaped the rage of his enemies, Vela was ſuffered to reſt quiet in Popayan; where, by his own activity, and the aſſiſtance of Benalcazar, he ſoon aſſembled four hundred men; and as he retained, amid all his diſaſters the ſame elevation of mind, and the ſame high ſenſe of his own dignity, he not only rejected with diſdain the advice of ſome of his followers, who urged him to make overtures of accommodation to Pizarro, but determined to attack the rebels, now weakened by the detachment ſent againſt Centeno, and decide the conteſt by the ſword. With this view he marched back to Quito, where he hoped to find ſome friends; having eluded the vigilance of Pizarro, who had taken poſſeſſion of a ſtrong poſt, in order to diſpute his paſſage: but to his aſtoniſhment, he found the place entirely abandoned by the inhabitants, on which he exclaimed, "Great God! is not this your cauſe, and not one good man left to defend it †?"—Pizarro was no leſs ſurpriſed and diſappointed on learning that the viceroy had changed his route, and purſued him with great rapidity as ſoon as informed of his courſe.

Jan. 18, A. D. 1546.

He found the royal army drawn up in battalia before the city; and relying on the ſuperiority of numbers, but ſtill more on the diſcipline and valour of his troops, advanced reſolutely to the charge. The cavalry firſt engaged, and fought with great courage and obſtinacy; but at length the impetuoſity and ſtubborn valour of Pizarro's veterans turned the ſcale, and made room for the foot to join in cloſe engagement; for ſuch was the extraordinary diſpoſition of both armies, that the horſe occupied almoſt the entire front. The royal infantry in the rear were ſomewhat diſconcerted by the precipitate tumultuous retreat of the vanquiſhed cavalry; but they ſoon rallied, and ſuſtained the attack of the enemy with firmneſs and intrepidity. The viceroy fought like a private ſoldier, at the ſame time that he diſplayed all the qualities of an excellent general; animating, exhorting, ſoothing, and menacing his troops to do their duty. Victory was held for a while in ſuſpence by his exertions; but being at laſt laid dead by the ſtroke of a battle-axe, his troops already broken by the fire of Pizarro's muſketry, were ſeized with a panic, and routed with great ſlaughter. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet of Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph ‡.

In conſequence of this deciſive victory, Pizarro came into immediate poſſeſſion of the whole authority. He diſpoſed of every thing at his pleaſure, puniſhed his enemies, and rewarded his friends without controul; and whatever his inſolence might have been on former occaſions, he certainly acted at preſent with prudence and diſcretion. Aſſembling the priſoners, he repreſented to them the power which Heaven had put into his hands; his intentions to ſupport and protect public liberty; the fatal conſequences which muſt have reſulted from the

* Herrera, dec. V. lib. i. c. 3. † Id. ibid. ‡ Zarate, lib. v. c. 32. Garcilaſſo, lib. ii. c. 34.

eſtabliſhment

eſtabliſhment of the new regulations, and the crimes committed by thoſe who abetted Vela's tyranny; after which he diſmiſſed them with a general pardon, except a few of the ringleaders, whom he baniſhed to Chili and the diſtant provinces.

Meanwhile Carvajal having purſued Centeno over mountains and wilds, without being able to bring him to a general action, though every day was productive of bloody ſkirmiſhes, at length ſeized upon a paſs, where he thought the enemy muſt neceſſarily be ſurrounded, and obliged to lay down their arms; but Centeno's vigilance and activity extricated him out of this difficulty likewiſe, and obliged Carvajal to confeſs, that in the courſe of forty campaigns made in Italy and other countries, he had never beheld ſo extraordinary a retreat as that performed by Centeno, over a deſert country, two hundred leagues in extent, in the face of a ſuperior enemy. It was impoſſible, however, he could long maintain himſelf in ſuch circumſtances. He directed his march to Arequeba, where he determined to embark his troops, and proceed to Chili, if ſhipping could be procured. For this purpoſe he ſent an officer before him, and a veſſel bound to Chili was hired; but juſt as he was ready to embark, Carvajal appeared. On this unexpected event, Centeno called his men together, and told them that they muſt now diſperſe in ſmall bodies, and ſhift for themſelves, till affairs wore a more favourable aſpect; after which he took an affectionate leave of them, and retired to the mountains, leaving Carvajal undiſputed maſter of that part of the country *.

Every place in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to thoſe of Chili, ſubmitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojoſa, he had not only the unrivalled command of the South Sea, but had taken poſſeſſion of Panama; whence Ferdinando Mexia, another of his officers, had ſurpriſed and placed a garriſon in Nombre de Dios, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſthmus, which rendered him maſter of the uſual avenue of communication between Spain and the empire under his dominion. The criſis of his fate was arrived: he muſt now determine, whether he ſhould be conſidered as an independent prince, or a rebellious ſubject; whether he ſhould humble himſelf to deprecate the vengeance of that monarch, in violation of whoſe authority he had taken up arms, or boldly ſet him at defiance, and aſſume to himſelf the titles and honours of ſovereign of Peru. To the laſt reſolution he was adviſed by moſt of his officers and counſellors, but chiefly by Carvajal; who, in a letter written to him, on receiving an account of the victory at Quito, uſes every argument that can be ſuggeſted on the ſubject, and every motive that can enforce them. "You have uſurped," ſays he, "the ſupreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commiſſion to another. You have marched, in hoſtile array, againſt the royal ſtandard: you have attacked the repreſentative of your ſovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that any monarch will ever forgive ſuch inſults on his dignity, or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or ſincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favour of another: aſſume yourſelf the

* Id. ibid.

ſovereignty

BOOK I. A. D. 1546.

ſovereignty over a country, to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of diſcovery and conqueſt. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru inviolably to your intereſt by liberal preſents of lands and Indians, or by inſtituting ranks of nobility, and creating titles of honour ſimilar to thoſe which are courted with ſo much eagerneſs in Europe. By eſtabliſhing orders of knighthood, with privileges and diſtinctions reſembling thoſe in Spain, you may beſtow a gratification upon the officers in your ſervice ſuited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavour to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya, or daughter of the Sun next in ſucceſſion to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in ſupport of your authority. Thus, at the head of the principal inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new ſettlers there, you may ſet at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with eaſe any feeble force which it can ſend to ſuch a diſtance *."

Zepeda, the preſident of the court of audience, who had joined Pizarro, and was now become his confidential counſellor, warmly ſeconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he poſſeſſed in demonſtrating, That all the founders of great monarchies had been raiſed to ſupreme power, not by antiquity of deſcent, or the legality of their rights, but by their own valour and perſonal ſuperiority. Pizarro liſtened with attention to both; but happily for the tranquillity of the world, the mediocrity of his talents confined his ambition within more narrow limits. He contemplated with ſatisfaction, but with awe, the vaſt object offered to his eye; and apprehenſive of ſome ſudden turn of fortune, inſtead of aſpiring at independent power, he confined his views to obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority he now poſſeſſed. For that purpoſe he reſolved to diſpatch thither Laurence de Aldana, an officer of diſtinction, to repreſent all the late tranſactions in the moſt favourable light; to aſſure his imperial majeſty of the zeal and loyalty of Pizarro, who pretended only to juſtify his conduct by the extreme neceſſity of affairs; and to ſolicit the government for him, rather with a ſeeming view to promote the public intereſt, than to recompenſe his ſervices or gratify his ambition. Aldana was farther authoriſed to promiſe, in the name of all the towns and cities in Peru, the repayment of whatever had been expended of the royal treaſure, beſides a conſiderable free gift, provided a general pardon was granted for paſt offences, and Pizarro continued in his preſent ſtation †.

While Pizarro was deliberating what courſe he ſhould purſue, in order to preſerve his uſurped authority, conſultations were held in Spain, with no leſs ſolicitude, concerning the means of re-eſtabliſhing the emperor's dominion over Peru. Charles himſelf was then in Germany, employed in conducting the war againſt the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the moſt intereſting and arduous enterpriſes in his reign; the care of providing a remedy againſt the diſorders in Peru,

* Garcilaſſo, lib. iv. c. 40. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. vi. lib. ii. c. 2.

† Herrera, dec. V.

therefore, devolved upon his ſon Philip, and the counſellors whom he had employed to aſſiſt in the government of Spain during his abſence. The actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared ſo repugnant to the duty of ſubjects towards their ſovereign, that the greater part of the miniſtry, though unacquainted with the laſt exceſſes of outrage to which the malcontents had proceeded, inſiſted on declaring them inſtantly to be guilty of rebellion, and agreed to puniſh them with the moſt exemplary rigour. But the difficulty of raiſing and equipping a body of troops ſufficient for that purpoſe, and of tranſporting them to a country ſo diſtant as Peru, at a time when Spain was drained of men and money by a ſeries of wars, which ſtill continued to rage, and while Pizarro remained maſter of the South Sea, cauſed the ſcheme ſuggeſted by the ardour of loyalty to be laid aſide as impracticable. Nothing then remained, but to attempt by lenient meaſures, what could not be effected by force. Though Aldana's inſtructions were not yet known in Spain, it was evident from Pizarro's former diſpatches, that he ſtill retained ſentiments of veneration for his ſovereign, or found his ſituation ſo inſecure, that he judged the royal protection neceſſary to his ſafety. In either caſe, a proſpect equally favourable to government was opened: he might be reclaimed to his duty, by moderation and forbearance; or his followers be induced, by certain conceſſions, to withdraw their ſupport from his uſurped authority, and return to their allegiance.

Thus did the Spaniſh miniſtry reaſon. The meaſures to be purſued were now evident to every one, but another difficulty ſtill remained; the means of carrying them into execution. Who was equal to a negociation ſo delicate and important, the ſucceſs of which muſt reſt entirely on the abilities of the man to whom it was committed?—Several perſons were propoſed; and after weighing their comparative merit with much attention, the choice was unanimouſly fixed upon the licentiate Pedro de la Gaſca, then of the ſupreme council of the inquiſition at Valencia. He had been occaſionally employed by government in affairs of truſt and confidence, and had conducted them with no leſs ſkill than ſucceſs; diſplaying a gentle and inſinuating temper, accompanied with firmneſs, and a cautious circumſpection in concerting meaſures, followed by what is ſeldom its attendant, much vigour in executing them. Theſe qualities marked him out for the ſtation he was now deſtined to fill. The emperor, who was not unacquainted with the talents of Gaſca, warmly approved of the choice; and the licentiate, notwithſtanding his advanced age, and feeble conſtitution, did not heſitate a moment in complying with the will of his ſovereign. His commiſſion and inſtructions were accordingly drawn up. He would accept of no higher title than that of Preſident of the Court of Royal Audience in Peru; and to avoid giving alarm to the malcontents, he deſired that he might go, like a miniſter of peace, with his gown and breviary, and without any retinue but a few domeſtics *.

But, amid all this apparent moderation and humility, Gaſca demanded the moſt unlimited powers, which Charles granted to the full extent of his wiſh.

* Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6. Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book vi.

BOOK I. A. D. 1546.

His commiſſion authoriſed him "to pardon all crimes, even high-treaſon; to reward ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves in the king's ſervice, and to beſtow titles of honour on them; to appoint governors, and fill up other vacant employments, till ſuch time as the king ſhould order otherwiſe, he giving an account of the merits of ſuch perſons; to make ordinances with the advice of the inhabitants, conditionally, that they ſhould be confirmed by his majeſty; to execute all that had been given in charge to the viceroy, Blaſco Nugnez Vela, as far as might be for the ſervice of God and the king; to execute juſtice and try cauſes between and againſt all perſons whatſoever, without exception; to baniſh all turbulent churchmen, till ſuch time as a bull ſhould be obtained from the pope for puniſhing them corporally; to diſpoſe at pleaſure of the royal revenue for the reduction of the country, with the advice of any two of the royal judges, and the king's officers." All viceroys, governors, and other perſons, were commanded to ſupport and obey him, and the city of Panama was ordered to be ſubordinate to the court of Peru. In regard to his ſalary there was no limitation, the officers of the revenue being directed to furniſh him with whatever he had occaſion for *.

Highly ſatisfied with this freſh proof of his ſovereign's confidence, Gaſca haſtened his departure, and without either money or troops ſet out to quell a formidable rebellion. When he arrived at Nombre de Dios, he found Ferdinando Mexia poſted there, to oppoſe the landing of any hoſtile forces; but Gaſca appeared in ſuch a ſimple guiſe, with a train ſo little formidable, and a title which excited no terror, that he was received without jealouſy, and even with reſpect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama; and met with a ſimilar reception from Hinojoſa, whom Pizarro had entruſted with the government of that city, and the command of his fleet ſtationed there. In both places he held the ſame language, declaring that he was ſent by his ſovereign as a meſſenger of peace, not as a miniſter of vengeance; that he came to redreſs all their grievances; to revoke the laws that had excited alarm; to pardon paſt offences; and to eſtabliſh order and juſtice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the ſimplicity of his manners, the ſanctity of his profeſſion, and a winning appearance of candour, gained credit to his declarations; and Mexia, Hinojoſa, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, to each of whom he applied ſeparately, were gained over to his intereſt, and waited only for ſome decent occaſion of declaring openly in his favour. Hinojoſa in particular, whom he ſolicited to deliver up the fleet to him, only excuſed himſelf by ſaying, that he could not do it with honour, before he heard whether Pizarro and his aſſociates would obey the king's orders, becauſe it would be declaring them rebels, to enhance his own loyalty; but proteſted, in caſe they proved obſtinate, that he would not blemiſh the reputation of his anceſtors, who had always been true ſubjects, by ſtanding out againſt his ſovereign †.

Having thus far happily ſucceeded in his negociations, Gaſca determined to know how the news of his arrival were reliſhed in Peru. For this purpoſe he diſ-

* Herrera, dec. V. lib. ii. c. 2.

† Herrera, dec. V. lib. ii. c. 3.

patched

CHAP. X. A. D. 1546.

patched Pedro Hernandez Poniagua, a gentleman of great penetration and addreſs, to Lima, with a letter from the emperor, and another from himſelf to Pizarro. His majeſty condeſcended even to cajole the uſurper; acquainting him That, being informed of the diſturbances excited in Peru by the viceroy's too rigorous execution of the new regulations, and perſuaded that whatever Pizarro and his party had done was intended to promote the public benefit, and ſupport the honour and intereſt of the crown, he had diſpatched the licentiate Gaſca, in quality of preſident, with full powers to terminate all differences, redreſs all grievances, and do whatever might contribute to the improvement of this valuable conqueſt, and the welfare of his ſubjects there, whether Spaniards or natives. He required Pizarro to aſſiſt the preſident with his advice and influence; and concluded with aſſuring him, That the important ſervices performed by himſelf and his family ſhould ever be held in grateful remembrance. Nor was the preſident's letter leſs reſpectful. He blamed the ſeverity and inflexibility of the viceroy, and declared his belief, that his majeſty did not aſcribe the late civil commotions to diſobedience or diſloyalty, but to the neceſſity of circumſtances, which obliged Pizarro and his friends to act on a principle of ſelf-preſervation. He appeared not at all ſurpriſed at the oppoſition to the new laws, by reaſon of the rigour with which Vela had required their execution. "The moſt wholeſome nouriſhment," ſaid he, "may be converted into poiſon by being improperly adminiſtered. His majeſty hath now ſent me to quiet the minds of the people, by a revocation of thoſe laws, according to the prayer of your petition, with power to publiſh a general pardon for all crimes and miſdemeanors already committed. I am enjoined to conſult the people, and be guided by their opinion, with reſpect to the proper meaſures for promoting the intereſts of religion and the welfare of the colony." He exhorted Pizarro to take theſe matters into ſerious conſideration, and ſhew his gratitude to his ſovereign for reſtoring him to the enjoyment of all his eſtates and poſſeſſions, after actions which another prince would have thought deſerving of the ſevereſt puniſhment. "Your anceſtors," continued Gaſca, "have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſervices; they have rendered themſelves illuſtrious by their loyalty: it ought to be your ambition to imitate their example in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner, that you may not tarniſh their luſtre and lineage by your defection from their virtues. Next to the ſalvation of our ſouls, our greateſt care ought to be the preſervation of our honour; the ſmalleſt blemiſh on which is perceivable in lucid bodies moving in your exalted ſphere, and reflecting light on all things around them. The fouleſt ſpot, after diſobedience to the King of heaven, is treaſon againſt your country, and rebellion againſt your earthly ſovereign. He is God's vicegerent, and appointed by him to preſerve order and good government in ſociety. Let me adviſe you, therefore, to weigh thoſe things with impartiality and prudence, and to reflect upon the power of your king, whoſe forces you are very unable to withſtand: but leſt your unacquaintance with his court, and your ignorance of the ſtrength and number of his armies, ſhould betray you into an unjuſt eſtimate of your comparative force, figure to yourſelf the puiſſance of the Great Turk, who

marched

BOOK I. A. D. 1546.

marched in perſon at the head of three hundred thouſand fighting men againſt the imperial army; came within ſight of it, and retreated with precipitation, without daring to give battle *."

Meanwhile Pizarro being informed of Gaſca's arrival at Nombre de Dios, and of the nature of his commiſſion, haſtened the departure of Aldana for Europe with his diſpatches; directing him, by the way, to require the preſident to return into Spain, and to put him into the hands of Ferdinando Mexia, with ſecret inſtructions to murder him in the paſſage †. Theſe inſtructions Aldana communicated to Hinojoſa, on finding Gaſca at Panama. Amazed at Pizarro's precipitate reſolution of ſetting himſelf in oppoſition to the emperor's commiſſion, and diſdaining to be his inſtrument in executing the odious crime pointed out to Mexia, the admiral publickly recognized the preſident as his only lawful ſuperior. The officers under his command did the ſame. Mexia alſo declared, that he held Nombre de Dios for the crown; and ſuch was the contagious influence of example, that it even reached Aldana, and Gomez de Soliſ, who had been joined with him in commiſſion. Hinojoſa was continued in his rank of admiral, and Aldana appointed commodore; ſo that Pizarro, at the very time when he expected to hear of Gaſca's return, if not of his death, received an account of his being maſter of the fleet, Panama, and Nombre de Dios, aggravated by the defection of his deputies.

This intelligence reached Lima almoſt at the ſame time with the preſident's letter, and threw the malcontents into the utmoſt conſternation. A council was immediately ſummoned, and warm debates enſued. Carvajal, now ſenſible of Pizarro's unſteady temper, recommended to him a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion to his ſovereign, as the ſafeſt meaſure: and when Gaſca's letter was read, "By our Lady!"—exclaimed he, in that ſtile of buffoonery that was familiar to him,—"the prieſt iſſues gracious bulls. He gives them both good and cheap; let us not only accept of them, but wear them as reliques about our necks." Zepeda was of a direct contrary opinion: he alledged, that all the preſident's promiſes were inſidious, in order to prevail on them to lay down their arms, and then condemn them to ſuffer the puniſhment of rebels. Pizarro inclined to the ſame way of thinking, and not only denied Gaſca permiſſion to enter Peru, before he ſhould be confirmed in the government, but irritated almoſt to madneſs at the revolt of his fleet, and the other unexpected events with which it was accompanied, began the moſt vigorous preparations for war. In the ſpace of a few days he muſtered near a thouſand men in the city of Lima, all veterans, well armed, and provided with horſes and ſlaves for carrying the baggage; ſo that they were capable of marching with great celerity to whatever quarter they might be deſtined. Nor was
A. D. 1547. this his whole ſtrength. He ſent detachments to Cuzco, La Plata, and other places, commanding proclamation every where to be made, that the preſident had exceeded the king's orders, in ſeducing his forces, and attempting to embroil in

* Garcilaſſo, lib. v. c. 5. Gomara, c. 176. † Herrera, dec. V. lib. ii. c. 2.

civil

civil war a country which had juſt begun to taſte the bleſſings of peace and tranquility; that the royal commiſſion did not impower Gaſca to ſupplant him in his authority; it only conſtituted him preſident of the council, with inſtructions to purſue the moſt pacific meaſures; and as he had already exceeded his powers, Pizarro urged, that the people were concerned no leſs than himſelf to check a growing ambition; for if Gaſca ſucceeded in his deſigns, they muſt expect to be plundered and diſpoſſeſſed of all that wealth which they had acquired with ſo much toil and bloodſhed, and perhaps meet with impriſonment, tortures, and death, as the reward of their ſervices*.

CHAP. X. A. D. 1547.

In order to juſtify ſtill farther theſe hoſtile preparations, a formal indictment was drawn up by the advice of Zepeda, and a proceſs commenced againſt the preſident before the court of audience in Lima. A ſimilar proſecution was carried on againſt the admiral, Nonojoſa, for betraying the fleet, againſt the deputies, and all the other officers, who had deſerted from Pizarro. Evidences were accordingly examined, and the crimes of treachery, breach of the peace, and robbery were proved on oath againſt the officers: it was alſo proved, that Gaſca had received effects illegally, knowing them to have been Pizarro's, and appropriated them to his own uſe. On this, the preſident, and all the officers who had deſerted Pizarro's ſervice, were declared traitors by Zepeda and the other judges, acting in virtue of the royal commiſſion†.

Gaſca in the meantime was not idle. Perceiving that force muſt be employed in order to accompliſh the purpoſe of his miſſion, he was aſſiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and the other Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent, and was ſo ſucceſsful in his endeavours, that he was ſoon in a condition to diſpatch Aldana with four ſhips, and a conſiderable body of troops, to the coaſt of Peru. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and tho' Aldana did not attempt for ſome time to make any hoſtile deſcent, he performed more eſſential ſervice by ſetting aſhore perſons at different places, who made known the tenor of the preſident's commiſſion, the revocation of the late edicts, and the act of general indemnity; in conſequence of which deſertion became ſo common, that Pizarro ſoon found his army conſiderably diminiſhed. All who were diſſatisfied with his violent adminiſtration, and all who retained any ſentiments of duty to their ſovereign, now meditated revolt, while ſuch as had lain concealed in mountains and caves began to emerge from their obſcurity. Among theſe was Centeno, who in the courſe of a few months raiſed eight hundred men for the crown in the province of Charcas, and made himſelf maſter of the cities of La Plata and Cuzco‡.

Aſtoniſhed as Pizarro was at beholding one enemy approaching by land, and another by ſea, at a time when he expected to find all Peru united in his favour, he was neither appalled nor diſconcerted. As the danger from Centeno's operations was moſt urgent, he inſtantly ſet out to oppoſe him; and his army being provided as already mentioned, he marched with ſurpriſing celerity. Every

* Herrera, dec. v. lib. iii. c. 1. † Zarate, lib. vi. c. 16. ‡ Id. ibid.

BOOK I. A. D. 1547. morning, however, he found his force diminiſhed by the numbers that had left him during the night; and though he took every precaution, and exerciſed every ſeverity, to check the rage of deſertion, he could not muſter above four hundred ſoldiers, when he came within ſight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake Titicaca. But thoſe he juſtly conſidered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldeſt and moſt deſperate of his followers; men, conſcious like himſelf of crimes for which they could hardly expect forgiveneſs, and whoſe only hope was in the ſucceſsful efforts of their valour. He did not heſitate, at the head of theſe determined veterans, to face Centeno, and a body of troops more than double the number of his own. Both armies were Oct. 20. drawn up with great military ſkill; but eſpecially Pizarro's, that important buſineſs devolving upon Carvajal, whoſe talents as a commander were as worthy of admiration as his cruelties were deteſtable. His orders were to wait the enemy's attack firmly, till they came within ſure reach of ſhot, and then to pour in a vigorous fire upon them. In order to provoke the royaliſts, he ſent Acoſta with a party of muſqueteers to inſult their front, and inſtructed him to keep up a retreating fight; all which was executed with ſuch punctuality, that Centeno was inſenſibly drawn into an engagement, and ſeduced to expend his ſhot before it could take effect. This manœuvre more than counterbalanced the ſuperiority of numbers. Pizarro's ſoldiers timed their fire ſo judiciouſly that near an hundred and fifty of the royaliſts fell at the firſt diſcharge; the ſecond put all in confuſion and diſmay: moſt of Centeno's officers were killed or wounded, and the infantry was entirely routed in leſs than half an hour. The caſe was otherwiſe in regard to the cavalry, where the weight and ſuperiority of numbers proved more than equivalent to valour and diſcipline. Pizarro's horſe were borne down with the torrent, and himſelf in imminent danger of being killed or taken priſoner, when the victorious infantry came to his aſſiſtance; attacked the enemy in front and on both flanks, and put them to flight with great ſlaughter. The treatment of the vanquiſhed was ſuch as might have been expected from men irritated by perſonal injuries, and puſhed to deſpair. The ſpoils of the field, and the pillage of the camp were immenſe, amounting to one million four hundred thouſand peſos *.

Pizarro, however, did not obtain this ſignal victory without conſiderable loſs. Near one hundred of his brave band were killed on the ſpot; but as he was now deemed invincible in the field, freſh troops daily reſorted to him, and ſoon augmented his army to double its former number. Beſides, a road was now opened to the heart of the empire, a happy turn given to the ſpirits of the people, and a wide field offered to his ambition. He advanced towards Cuzco; made his triumphal entry, with great pomp, into that city; ſent detachments upon different expeditions, and ſeized the king's treaſures, to an incredible value at La Plata, while the unfortunate Centeno was making the beſt of his way to Lima,

* Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 79. Herrera, dec. V. lib. iii. c. 4.

over

over rugged mountains and barren deſerts, attended only by a prieſt, who had ſhared in his calamities, and aſſiſted in his eſcape *.

A. D. 1547.

But events happened, in other parts of Peru, which preponderated over all the advantages that Pizarro derived from his victory at Huarina. Scarce had he left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his tyrannical dominion, erected the royal ſtandard, and Aldana, with a detachment of ſoldiers from the fleet, took poſſeſſion of the town. About the ſame time the preſident landed at Tumbez with five hundred men, and Benalcazar took poſſeſſion of Quito, where Puelles, Pizarro's general in that province, was ſlain by one of his officers, who inclined to the preſident. The ſituation of the two parties was now perfectly reverſed: while Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were poſſeſſed by Pizarro, all the reſt of the empire, from the frontiers of Popayan, acknowledged the juriſdiction of Gaſca, whoſe behaviour ſtill continued to be gentle and unaſſuming. Full of affability, lenity, and complacency, he expreſſed, on every occaſion, his ardent wiſh of terminating the conteſt without bloodſhed. The people were won by his inſinuating carriage, and as his numbers daily increaſed, he was encouraged to advance into the interior part of the country †.

Meanwhile Pizarro, intoxicated with the ſucceſs which had hitherto attended his arms, and elated with having again near a thouſand men under his command, remained in Cuzco with as much ſecurity as if the war had already been finiſhed. Carvajal perceived the bad effects which muſt attend ſuch a conduct, and laboured with all his eloquence to induce Gonzalo to ſeize the ſtrong poſts in the enemy's way, evacuate the city, and take the field with activity and ſpirit. When advice arrived of Gaſca's approach he redoubled his ſolicitations; but the infatuated Pizarro ſuffered the royaliſts to paſs all the rivers that lie between Guamanga and Cuzco without oppoſition, and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himſelf that a defeat in ſuch a ſituation as rendered a retreat impracticable would at once make him undiſputed maſter of Peru. Carvajal, on the contrary, ſenſible that the enemy's ſtrength was great, inſiſted on diſtreſſing them by marches and countermarches; dividing their forces; and attacking them ſeparately, when no opportunity offered of aſſiſting each other; and on finding his advice rejected, he declared that he gave up all for loſt. Pizarro, however, confident of victory, drew out his troops, and intrepidly marched to meet the royaliſts, in the valley of Xaquixaguana ‡.

April 9, A. D. 1548.

The appearance of the two armies, as they advanced ſlowly to the charge, was very remarkable: in Pizarro's, compoſed of men enriched with the ſpoils of the moſt opulent country of America, every officer, and almoſt all the private ſoldiers, were cloathed in ſtuffs of ſilk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and ſilver; and their horſes, their arms, their ſtandards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp. Gaſca's, though leſs ſplendid, exhibited a ſpectacle no leſs ſtriking; he himſelf, accompanied by the archbiſhop of Lima, the biſhops of

* Zarate, lib. vii. c. 4. Herrera, dec. V. lib. iii. c. 4. † Zarate, lib. vii. c. 1.

‡ Herrera, dec. V. lib. iv. c. 2.

Quito

BOOK I. A. D. 1548.

Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of inferior eccleſiaſtics, marching along the lines, bleſſing the men, and encouraging them to a reſolute diſcharge of their duty *!—When both armies were ready to engage, Garcilaſſo de la Vega, an officer of diſtinction, deſerted to the royaliſts, and was received with open arms by the preſident. His example was followed by Zepeda, the perſon in whoſe fidelity Pizarro placed the higheſt confidence. He advanced under pretence of examining the diſpoſition of the enemy, put ſpurs to his horſe, and ſuddenly joined them. The revolt of perſons of ſuch high rank ſtruck all with amazement: mutual confidence ceaſed at once, and diſtruſt and conſternation became general. The royal camp was ſoon crowded with Pizarro's ſoldiers, who all declared they had ſeized the firſt opportunity of eſcaping and teſtifying their loyalty. The whole left wing of the muſqueteers went over to the preſident in a body. A deſertion ſo uncommon ſeemed to render fighting unneceſſary; Gaſca therefore laid aſide the deſign of giving battle, either becauſe he had no great confidence in troops that had already betrayed their general, or becauſe he did not chuſe to drive a handful of men to deſpair, who, if left to themſelves, would probably join him. He was not deceived in this laſt conjecture. The pikemen, who only remained with Pizarro, ſeeing the deſperate ſtate of his affairs, threw down their arms, declared their reſolution not to fight againſt their king, and made the beſt of their way for the royal camp. Perceiving all irretrievably loſt, Pizarro exclaimed, in aſtoniſhment, to a few officers who ſtill faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?"—"Let us ruſh," replied one of them, "on the enemy's firmeſt battalion, and die like Romans." But Gonzalo, dejected by ſuch a ſudden reverſe of fortune, wanted ſpirit to follow this gallant advice, and tamely ſurrendered to Pedro Villavicencio, who commanded one of the enemy's out poſts. Carvajal was taken priſoner in endeavouring, at the age of eighty-five, to make his eſcape by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe †.

Gaſca's lenity after this bloodleſs victory was equal to his moderation before it. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a few other diſtinguiſhed offenders, only were condemned to ſuffer death. The reſt were pardoned, or but ſlightly puniſhed. Pizarro, when brought into the preſence of Gaſca, vindicated his meaſures with becoming boldneſs; claimed all that he aſpired to as his undoubted right; hinted at the ingratitude of the court to his family, but never dropt a diſreſpectful expreſſion of his imperial majeſty. He was beheaded the day after the battle, and ſubmitted to his fate with a compoſed dignity. The end of Carvajal was ſuitable to his life. When introduced to the preſident he maintained a contemptuous ſilence, and on his trial he ſcorned to make any defence. "One can die but once," ſaid he, when his ſentence was pronounced;—"and a man of my age, even in more proſperous circumſtances, can leave little behind him to occaſion a ſigh." Nothing, in a word, could be more extraordinary than the behaviour of this hoary ſoldier from the time of his impriſonment to his execution. He diſcovered no

* Zarate lib. vi. c. 11. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. lib. vi.

† Herrera, dec. V. lib. iv. c. 2. Zarate, lib. vii. c. 7.

CHAP. X.
A. D. 1548.

ſign either of remorſe for the paſt or ſolicitude about the future, but indulged himſelf in the ſame ſarcaſtic vein of mirth and groſs pleaſantry as at any other period of his life; and diſmiſſed, with admiration of his wit and fortitude, thoſe who came to viſit him from motives of curioſity, or with a view to take vengeance for the injuries they had received, by inſulting his misfortunes *.

The malcontents, in every corner of Peru, laid down their arms on the death of Pizarro; but before public tranquillity could be re-eſtabliſhed on any ſolid foundation, it was neceſſary to find employment for the multitude of daring adventurers with which the country was filled, and to reward thoſe who had particularly aſſiſted in ſuppreſſing the rebellion. To theſe objects Gaſca applied himſelf with the greateſt attention. For the better diſperſing of the army, governors were appointed to all the cities in the empire †, and new expeditions projected. By theſe means no inconſiderable portion of the mutinous and inflammatory ſpirit, ſo much to be dreaded, was drained off, as the hopes of bettering their condition induced many of the moſt indigent and deſperate ſoldiers to follow the ſtandards of different leaders into remote provinces or undiſcovered regions.

The gratification of the loyaliſts was an affair of more difficulty. While the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own ſervices, it was impoſſible to ſatisfy all; though the allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be diſtributed, in conſequence of the death or forfeiture of the former poſſeſſors, exceeded two millions of peſos of yearly rent ‡. Gaſca liſtened to the claimants with the moſt patient attention, and that he might have leiſure to weigh their ſeveral pretenſions, he retired with the archbiſhop of Lima, and a ſingle ſecretary to Quayarima, a village twelve leagues from Cuzco. There he ſpent ſeveral days in proportioning the ſeveral ſhares; and that he might get beyond the fierce ſtorm of clamour and rage, which he foreſaw would break out on the publication of his decree, notwithſtanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he ſet out for Lima, leaving the inſtrument of partition ſealed up, with orders not to open it for ſome days after his departure. It was accompanied with the following letter. "I have," ſaid he, "made repartition of an hundred and fifty commandaries, agreeable to the juſteſt notions I could acquire of merit and long faithful ſervices; and I ſhall, in the ſame manner, beſtow whatever ſhall become vacant during my ſtay in Peru. Thoſe who are not now rewarded, may depend upon being afterwards provided for. Let me beſeech you therefore to conſider, not what you or I would wiſh to enjoy, but what I have in my power to beſtow. I have omitted nothing to ſerve you: immenſe donations have been made, in which I have no ſhare; many more will fall within my province to beſtow: reſt then ſatisfied in my decree, and believe that I am ſenſible it is the duty of a Chriſtian to repay obligations, and the intereſt of a ruler to ſecure the affections of the people by acts of juſtice and liberality ‖."

* Garcilaſſo, lib. v. c. 39. † Herrera, dec. V. lib. v. c. 3. ‡ Garcilaſſo, lib. iv. c. 4. ‖ Herrera, dec. V. lib. v. c. 3.

BOOK I.
A. D. 1548.

The diſſatisfaction occaſioned by the publication of the decree was ſuch as Gaſca had feared. It broke out with all the fury of military inſolence. Thoſe who had always remained firm in their allegiance, were incenſed that ſuch as had joined Pizarro ſhould have any ſhare in the forfeitures, or even retain their own poſſeſſions. Calumny, threats, and curſes, were poured openly out on the preſident, while emulation, envy, and rage, agitated the breaſts of the diſappointed claimants. Of theſe the moſt clamorous was Franciſco Hernandez Giron. He accuſed Gaſca of ingratitude, partiality, and injuſtice; and as he had ſuffered very much by the rebellion, and was an officer of known valour and reputation, all the malcontents looked up to him as their head. But not judging it prudent at that time to ſtand forth in defence of their common wrongs, Giron went to Lima, under pretence of avoiding the ſolicitations of the factious ſoldiers, in order to repreſent his ſervices to the preſident. Gaſca received him reſpectfully; diſregarded all the accuſations of his enemies; and veſted him with a command, which put it ſtill more in his power to complete his ambitious projects *.

In the meantime the preſident laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to compoſe the minds of all men, and to re-ſtabliſh the regular adminiſtration of juſtice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and ſimplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue; and he iſſued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppreſſion, and to provide for their inſtruction in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labour †. Having, by theſe wiſe and humane regulations, reſtored univerſal tranquillity to Peru, and reſerved, by the prudent œconomy of his adminiſtration, thirteen hundred thouſand peſos of public money, after paying all the expences of the war, Gaſca reſolved to return to Spain, as every object of his miſſion ſeemed now fully accompliſhed.

A. D. 1550.

In this reſolution he was confirmed by the arrival of diſpatches from the emperor, commanding him to ſuppreſs entirely the perſonal ſervice of the Indians. He ſaw the diſturbances that would enſue from enforcing ſuch orders; and therefore committed them, together with the government, to the court of audience, and embarked with the treaſure for Panama. He alſo delivered to the judges a decree for the repartition of ſuch eſtates as had become vacant ſince the former diſtribution made at Quayarima, with inſtructions not to publiſh it till after his departure, that he might eſcape the clamours and the perſecution of the diſſatisfied claimants ‡.

When Gaſca arrived at Panama, he received a letter from the emperor, thanking him for his ſervices, and informing him that his imperial majeſty had appointed Don Antonio de Mendoza to the government of Peru, with the title and enſigns of viceroy. This gave great ſatisfaction to Gaſca, as Mendoza had governed New Spain for many years with ſingular prudence, his moderation and

* Id. ibid. † Herrera, dec. V. lib. v. c. 4. ‡ Herrera, dec. V. lib. vi. c. 3.

abilities

abilities being equally conſpicuous. Meanwhile Peru was expoſed to freſh diſturbances. The judges no ſooner publiſhed the ſecond partition of lands, than all was uproar and confuſion in Lima. The diſappointed claimants reviled the preſident, curſed their own hard fortune, and called aloud for vengeance on the authors of their wrongs. Theſe diſorders were increaſed by the injudicious endeavour to enforce the new edict, exempting the Indians from all perſonal ſervice. The judges required, That the natives ſhould no longer be compelled to work in the mines, to carry burdens, or perform any other kind of work; and inſiſted that their ſervice ſhould not only be voluntary, but that they ſhould be paid a daily ſtated price for their labour. A freſh alarm was ſpread, and an inſurrection immediately appeared in Cuzco. The malcontents again placed Giron at their head, and their numbers increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the tumult was ſuppreſſed with the utmoſt difficulty. CHAP. X. A. D. 1550.

Giron being taken priſoner was ſent to receive judgment at Lima; but the court of audience, overawed by the popularity of his character, durſt not perſume to call him to trial *. He was therefore diſmiſſed, and rendered more inſolent by this proof of the feebleneſs of government. The diſturbances daily increaſed, and all law and order ſeemed to be aboliſhed, when Antonio de Mendoza arrived at Lima. Though the viceroy's bad ſtate of health prevented him from viſiting in perſon the different cities within his government, that important buſineſs was not neglected. He immediately diſpatched his ſon Franciſco, to examine into the diſcontents which prevailed in Cuzco, and to proceed from thence to Charcas and the more diſtant provinces. By the vigilance of Franciſco, and the activity of the magiſtrates, the tumult in Cuzco was at that time ſuppreſſed, and Peru delivered from one of the moſt dangerous inſurrections which had diſtracted it ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Spaniſh government. A. D. 1551.

After this fortunate ſervice, Alonſo ſet out for the province of Charcas, where he examined every thing with the moſt curious eye; took plans of the towns; made draughts of the mines of Potoſi; eſtabliſhed ſeveral neceſſary regulations in the different provinces through which he paſſed, and returned to his father at Lima with an account of his progreſs and tranſactions. From Lima he was diſpatched to Spain, in order to lay his draughts and plans before his imperial majeſty, and give an exact account of the ſtate of Peru. Soon after his departure the viceroy died much regretted by all who valued the intereſt of their country, or knew the importance of a moderate, wiſe, and upright magiſtrate †. A. D. 1552.

In conſequence of this fatal event, the government again devolved upon the judges of the court of audience. No ſooner were they in poſſeſſion of power, than they revived the decree for releaſing the Indians from perſonal ſervice, which had been prudently ſuſpended during the adminiſtration of Mendoza. Unpopular as this regulation appeared, the judges always endeavoured to enforce it, as often as the adminiſtration came into their hands, and now required its execution with unuſual rigour. An alarm ran through all the provinces, and a ſpirit

* Id. ibid. † Herrera, dec. V. lib. ix. c. 1.

of

BOOK I. A. D. 1552.

of ſedition every where appeared, eſpecially in the province of Charcas, where the labour of the Indians was indiſpenſably neceſſary to the working of the mines, till ſuch time as a proper number of negroes could be provided. Crowds of diſcontented Spaniſh ſettlers, and diſbanded ſoldiers, there aſſembled, in hopes of receiving countenance from Nonojoſa, the governor, who was deeply affected by the edict, in regard to the ſervice of the Indians. From ſome expreſſions which he had formerly dropt, they imagined he would now act independently, and claim the power formerly uſurped by Gonzalo Pizarro; but Nonojoſa's ambition being gratified by the government of Charcas, where he poſſeſſed an immenſe eſtate, he determined to ſupport the royal authority, agreeable to the duty of his employment, without riſking ſo large a fortune in the criminal and dangerous purſuit of ſupreme power.

The malcontents ſoon diſcovered that they would be diſappointed in their ſanguine expectations from the governor, and therefore determined to cut him off, in order to obviate any difficulties which he might throw in the way of their rebellious projects. They accordingly choſe for their leader Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla, ſon to the earl of la Gomera, and ſpoke publicly of their deſigns; but Nonojoſa obſtinately refuſed to liſten to the informations daily lodged of a conſpiracy againſt his life. He could not perſuade himſelf that ſoldiers, among whom he was ſo popular, and who had hitherto appeared devoted to his ſervice, could ſo ſuddenly alter their affections, as to aſſaſſinate the leader whom they lately ſeemed to adore. Deluded into a fatal ſecurity by this liberal way of thinking, he never provided guards, or took the leaſt ſtep for the ſafety of his perſon: all his attention was directed towards the preſervation of the public peace; ſo that the conſpirators had full leiſure to mature their horrid plot. On the day fixed for their bloody purpoſe, they entered Nonojoſa's palace in the morning, without reſiſtance, ruſhed into his chamber, and diſpatched him with many wounds; then running into the ſtreets, cried aloud, "The tyrant is dead. Long live the king*!"---intimating, by theſe expreſſions, that they were enemies to the governors of the country, but not rebels againſt their ſovereign.

May 6, A. D. 1553.

Having finiſhed this part of their buſineſs, no leſs important than atrocious, the conſpirators plundered Nonojoſa's palace, maſſacred ſome of the principal citizens, whom they ſuſpected to be adverſe to their deſigns, and ſeized their effects. This ſucceſs encouraged them to proceed more openly. They aſſembled all the inhabitants in the market place by beat of drum; proclaimed their leader, Don Sebaſtian, governor and chief juſtice of the province, and appointed officers both civil and military. In a few days they gained poſſeſſion of the rich mines of Potoſi, and the town in its neighbourhood, where they found two millions of peſos, the property of the king, of the late governor, or of private perſons. They alſo detached a party to ſeize upon la Paz, and murder the mareſhal Alvarado, who commanded in that city; but before their ſcheme was accompliſhed, fortune took a ſudden turn, and divided the conſpirators amongſt

* Id. ibid. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 19.

themſelves. Part of Nonojoſa's ſoldiers began to reflect on the conſequences of ſuch violent proceedings, and even to repent of the murder of their general; a crime which they reſolved to expiate by ſhedding the blood of Don Sebaſtian, to whoſe ambition they now aſcribed their own guilt. They accordingly ſet about this new act of treachery with the utmoſt confidence; choſe Baſco Godinez, one of the chief malcontents, for their leader, and murdered the general whom they had lately proclaimed with ſo much oſtentation, appointing Godinez to all his employments *.

CHAP. X. A. D. 1552.

A military government now entirely prevailed in the ſouthern part of Peru. Godinez obliged the magiſtrates of La Plata to give ſanction to the appointment of the ſoldiers, and confirm him not only in the dignity of captain-general, but of chief juſtice in the province of Charcas. In virtue of this authority, he acted with uncontrouled power; put all to death who were the objects of his jealouſy or reſentment; cauſed ſeveral of the conſpirators, engaged in the murder of Nonojoſa, to be executed; and put on the appearance of extraordinary zeal for the king's ſervice; intimating, that he had been forced to the rebellion, and had puſhed forward to thoſe employments which he now held, with no other view, than that of ſupporting the juriſdiction of the royal court. Even the perſons with whom he was moſt intimate, his accomplices in the death of Sebaſtian, and his warmeſt friends felt the rod of power; being either publicly executed as traitors, or privately aſſaſſinated, in order to prevent them from diſcovering his complicated crimes, and diſappointing him by that means, of thoſe rewards which he expected for his vigilance in behalf of the government.

But Godinez, with all his cruel cunning, fell a ſacrifice to ſuperior craft. The judges of the court of audience, to whom he had repreſented his ſervices, being ſufficiently informed of his treaſons, appointed the mareſchal Alvarado governor of the province of Charcas, with full power to act as he ſhould ſee moſt for the honour of his imperial majeſty. Alvarado, ſenſible of the difficulty of ſubduing Godinez by open force, had recourſe to artifice. He made it be ſignified to the malcontents, that he had orders to reward all who had been inſtrumental in ſuppreſſing the rebellion of Sebaſtian, and particularly to beſtow a large eſtate upon Godinez, which, though immenſely valuable, was deemed too ſmall a recompenſe for his important ſervices. Every thing ſucceeded to Alvarado's wiſh. The deluded Godinez conſidering theſe declarations as ſincere, neglected to aſſemble his followers, was ſeized, condemned, and executed, together with moſt of his officers †.

The death of Godinez, and the vigour of Alvarado's government, reſtored tranquility to the province of Charcas; but his ſeverity excited univerſal indignation, and ſoon gave riſe to new diſorders. The two laſt rebellions had been fomented by the principal citizens of Cuzco, who poſſeſſed large ſhares in the mines of Potoſi, now lying unwrought on account of the royal edict, which required that the ſervice of the Indians ſhould be altogether voluntary, and

* Ut Supra. † Herrera, dec. V lib. ix cap. 1.

BOOK I. A. D. 1552.

which their native indolence rendered equal to an actual prohibition of their labour. The Spaniards in general were incenſed at the rigour with which the judges enforced this law, as well as at the violent proceedings againſt the rebels; and the citizens of Cuzco not only took part in the general reſentment, but were afraid leſt in the courſe of the proſecutions daily ſet on foot, and the puniſhments no leſs frequently inflicted, their own ſecret practices might be diſcovered. In order to avert the ills they dreaded, as well as to procure relief from thoſe they experienced, fourſcore citizens drew up a petition to the court of audience, requeſting that the edict relative to the ſervice of the Indians might be recalled, and a ſtop put to thoſe violent criminal proſecutions, which were beheld with horror by every one, not entirely dead to the feelings of humanity. This petition the governor of Cuzco tore, under a frivolous preſence of informality, when it was preſented to him for his approbation; a circumſtance which gave ſo much offence to the perſons chiefly concerned, that they laid the foundation of a general revolt.

At the head of theſe diſaffected citizens was Franciſco Hernandez Giron, who eagerly longed for an opportunity of gratifying his inſatiable ambition, not in the leaſt impaired by repeated diſappointments. He waited the iſſue of the revolt in the province of Charcas before he declared himſelf; and being informed that Alvarado, who had ſuppreſſed the ſedition there, maintained a correſpondence with Ramierez, governor of Cuzco, and was concerting meaſures for deſtroying him and his friends, he reſolved to anticipate their deſigns, by breaking

A. D. 1553.

out into open rebellion. With this view he aſſembled his aſſociates, acquainted them with their danger; revealed all the intelligence he had received concerning the intrigues carried on by Alvarado and Ramierez; aggravated every circumſtance; and affirmed, that Alvarado's deſign was to ſtrike at Cuzco, the root of all the evils of which he complained as ſoon as he had lopped off the branches of Charcas. He exhorted them, therefore, to enter upon vigorous meaſures for their own preſervation, and not tamely to ſuffer unjuſt puniſhments under colour of law. The cauſe was general, he obſerved, to all the Spaniſh planters: all were intereſted in oppoſing an edict which rendered their mines uſeleſs, and their eſtates an incumbrance if they were deprived of the labour of the Indians; and he aſſured them, that they would be joined by the whole colony, as ſoon as it was known they had taken up arms to redreſs a grievance ſo generally and ſo ſeverely felt.

As this aſſembly conſiſted chiefly of citizens who were proprietors of mines or eſtates, or of ſoldiers of deſperate fortune, whoſe only reſource was in ſome new diſturbance, little perſuaſion was neceſſary to engage them in a meaſure to which they were already ſufficiently diſpoſed. They eagerly cloſed with Giron's propoſal, and offered to undertake the execution of any plan which he ſhould ſuggeſt for reſiſting the tyranny of their oppreſſors. A happy opportunity offered for making themſelves maſters of Cuzco. The governor and principal magiſtrates were invited to the wedding of a wealthy citizen, which was to be celebrated with great magnificence. When the day came, Giron, with twelve of the

moſt

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1553.

most desperate of his associates clad in armour, rushed into the bridegroom's house, while the company was at supper, killed such of the magistrates as attempted resistance, and made the governor prisoner *.

This bold action threw the citizens of Cuzco into the utmost consternation, no man knowing whom to trust, or to whom he might safely communicate his sentiments, as the number of the rebels seemed hourly to increase. After having proclaimed liberty in the market-place, where all the inhabitants were ordered to assemble on pain of death, Giron seized upon the royal treasure; appointed officers to command his troops, and made open declaration of war; protesting at the same time, that he had nothing in view but the public good. He complained that all remonstrances to the court of audience were contemptuously rejected, and that nothing remained but to seize upon the supreme authority, until the situation of affairs could be properly represented to his imperial majesty. Meanwhile he insisted it was necessary to have a representative, or chief justice, for the city and kingdom; and such was his influence, or the pusillanimity of the magistrates, that they appointed him to that office, with full powers to petition for a redress of grievances. Guamanga, Arequipa, and other towns congratulated him on his elevation, and begged to be admitted into the confederacy †. Nov. 27.

Intelligence of this insurrection no sooner reached Lima, than the judges issued orders to suspend the execution of the edict relative to the personal service of the Indians, to which was chiefly to be attributed the public discontents. At the same time Alvarado was constituted general of the forces in the southern provinces, which were ordered to march towards Cuzco; and a resolution was taken to assemble an army in the neighbourhood of Lima, to join that of Alvarado. In order to prevent those who had been engaged in the late rebellions, and dreaded punishment, from throwing themselves into the arms of the malcontents, a general pardon was proclaimed to all who had fought under the ensigns of Gonzalo Pizarro, Sebastian, and Godinez, provided they would immediately enlist in the royal army, and serve against the enemies of their king and country. By that time, however, Giron was so strong, that he had marched to Pachacama, in his way to Lima, in order to give battle to the royalists. There he received intelligence of the approach of the enemy, and was preparing to bring matters to a speedy issue, when a desertion among his troops obliged him to remove to a greater distance. In his retreat he was pursued by Paolo de Meneses, who had orders to harrass his retreat with a considerable detachment, both of horse and foot; but this officer being too confident, was drawn into a snare, and defeated, before the main body of the royalists could come up to his relief ‡. A. D. 1554.

This victory, though by no means decisive, was of the utmost consequence to Giron; affording him not only leisure to augment his army, but putting an entire stop to the desertion, by infusing new spirits into his troops. The moment that fortune declared in his favour, he was joined by such a number of followers as

* Herrera, dec. V. lib. ix. c. 2. † Id. ibid. ‡ Herrera, dec. V. lib. ix. c. 4.

emboldened

BOOK I. A. D. 1554.

emboldened him to advance to Naſca, on the ſea-coaſt, about ſixty leagues to the northward of Lima; while Alvarado having aſſembled a thouſand Spaniards, and ten thouſand Indians, began his march from Charcas, and took poſſeſſion of Cuzco. There being joined by ſeveral detachments, he thought himſelf a ſufficient match for the rebels, and ſet out in queſt of Giron, who did not decline the combat. The two armies met near Guallaripa, where Alvarado was totally routed in attempting to force the rebel camp, ſtrongly ſtationed on the banks of the river Abancay. Above four hundred of the royaliſts were killed or wounded, and three hundred made priſoners, while Giron had only ſeventeen men ſlain, and forty wounded *. The booty was immenſe, exceeding any thing ever ſeen before, even in that rich country. The moſt opulent planters in Peru ſerved in Alvarado's army, and had equipages ſuitable to their overgrown fortunes: every thing was adorned with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones; and ſo certain were they of victory, that ſome preparations had actually been made for a magnificent triumphal entry into Lima.

May 20.

Had Giron known as well how to improve as to gain a victory, he might now have extorted a confirmation of that authority which he had uſurped. But inſtead of taking advantage of the enemy's confuſion, by purſuing them when broken and diſpirited, or endeavouring to make himſelf maſter of Lima, by a rapid march thither, he remained five or ſix weeks inactive in his impregnable camp; contenting himſelf with ſending detachments to Cuzco, Arequipa, La Paz, and other cities, to plunder and deſpoil without limitation or reſtriction. Many of the citizens of Cuzco were not only ſtripped of their eſtates, but deprived of their lives. Scarce a houſe eſcaped the fury of the ſoldiers. The affection of the people was converted into enmity. They now perceived, that Giron's aim was not to defend the rights and property of the Spaniards, but to acquire the power of pillaging his countrymen with impunity.

This change in the ſentiments of the capital determined Giron to march to the pleaſant vale of Yuca, where he ſpent his time in rural ſports, till advice arrived that the royaliſts, augmented to near two thouſand men, were advancing towards Cuzco, with a fine train of artillery, and a numerous army of loyal Indians. He then retired to Pacara, a ſtrong paſs, about forty leagues ſouth of the capital, where he poſted his army in ſuch a manner as rendered an attack extremely hazardous. This was his peculiar province. No general was ever more fortunate in the choice of ground for encampments than Giron. His wings and front were rendered inacceſſible by rivers, woods, rocks, and moraſſes; and behind he was ſecured by a deep rapid ſtream, which, however, did not obſtruct his communication with the adjacent country. As a farther advantage, he commanded, by this ſtation, the province of Chareas, and thereby rendered himſelf maſter of the treaſures of Potoſi. His troops were not only regularly paid, but ſuch a fund was laid up as might have enabled him, as far as money was concerned, to proſecute the war for a ſeries of years.

* Herrera, dec. V. lib. ix. c. 4.

Meantime

CHAP. XI.
A. D. 1554.

Meantime the royal army, headed by the judges, paſſed the rivers Abancay and Apurima, in ſpite of the parties diſpatched by Giron to diſpute the banks; purſued their march through Cuzco; advanced towards Pacara, and encamped within ſight of the rebels, in an open plain, where the cavalry might have room to act. Giron flattered himſelf that the enemy's ſuperiority in numbers would induce them to attack him as formerly; but they prudently reſiſted all the provocations that he offered, and plainly ſhewed that they had profited by experience. For ſeveral days the two armies watched each other, without any attempt on either ſide to come to a general engagement. At length, however, encouraged by his conſtant ſuperiority in ſkirmiſhing, and a report that the caution of the judges proceeded from diffidence of the fidelity of their ſoldiers, Giron determined to attack the royal camp by night; but his deſign was betrayed by his own troops, among whom deſertion began to prevail, and he was repulſed after an obſtinate conflict. Deſertion became general before morning; and Giron, attended by a few friends, was obliged to ſeek ſhelter in the mountains. He was purſued by a detachment of the royaliſts, ſeized, condemned, and executed. With him expired the ſpirit of civil diſſention among the conquerors of Peru *.

No ſooner were the Spaniards at peace with each other, than they began to turn their eyes towards the natives. It was diſcovered that Tapac Amaru, grandſon of Manco Capac, the only male deſcendant of the Incas, kept his court in the mountains, in order to avoid the ſlaviſh bondage impoſed on the reſt of his countrymen. Means were contrived to draw him from his retirement; and this guiltleſs heir of empire fell a ſacrifice to the jealous policy of that execrable tyrant Philip II. and the Peruvians ſunk, without diſtinction, into that humiliating ſtate in which they ſtill remain.

CHAP. XI.

A View of the Government, Laws, Religion, Arts, and Manners, of the ancient Mexicans *and* Peruvians.

AS the Mexicans and Peruvians were the only people in America, who, at the time of its diſcovery, had made any conſiderable advances in civilization, it will be proper to take a view of their progreſſive improvements, before we proceed to the hiſtory of the rude tribes, or of the Europeans ſettled in the New World.

The Mexican empire, according to tradition, was originally poſſeſſed by ſmall independent tribes of wandering ſavages, who lived entirely by hunting, and who were ignorant of all the conveniencies of ſocial life. But about a period correſponding to the year 900 in the Chriſtian æra, ſeveral tribes, more

* Herrara, dec. V. lib. x. c. 1, 2.

BOOK I.

civilized, arrived from unknown regions towards the north and north-weſt, and ſettled in the different provinces of Anabac, the ancient name of New Spain, but chiefly in the neighbourhood of the great lake. As the original inhabitants were ſtrangers to agriculture, they reſigned, without reluctance, the vallies to the new ſettlers, who taught them in return many uſeful arts. Cities and villages were reared, and ſome advances made towards government and ſubordination *. At length, about three hundred years after the firſt migration, arrived the Mexicans, a people more poliſhed than any of the former, who are ſuppoſed to have migrated from the borders of the Californian gulph. As all the country round the great lake was already occupied, they were obliged to have recourſe to ſtratagem and force, in order to obtain footing in that fertile plain. Certain iſlands in the lake were granted them: theſe they united by bridges; filled up great part of the lake with timber and ſtone-work; and there, by very early proofs of their genius and induſtry, raiſed the foundation of the famous city of Mexico, the nobleſt monument of human ingenuity in the New World.

The Mexicans, like moſt other tribes in the infancy of ſociety, continued for ſome time to be governed in peace, and conducted in war, by ſuch among them as were diſtinguiſhed for their wiſdom or valour; but as they had eſtabliſhed no regular plan of government, the inconveniencies ariſing from civil diſſentions and foreign attacks, which they were unable to prevent or reſiſt, induced them at laſt to veſt the ſupreme authority in a ſingle perſon. The power of the Mexicans ſoon increaſed under their kings; eſpecially during the reign of Izcoalt, their fourth ſovereign, who may properly be deemed the father of the monarchy, as he ſubdued all the cities in the neighbourhood of the lake, and founded thoſe famous cauſeways, which afterwards rendered the capital ſo illuſtrious. Other princes added to theſe acquiſitions and improvements; and the empire arrived, by degrees, at that height of grandeur in which we have beheld it on the invaſion of the Spaniards, when Montezuma II. the ninth ſovereign who had ſwayed the Mexican ſceptre, was upon the throne †.

Such is the tradition of the Mexicans concerning the progreſs of their own empire; according to which its duration appears to have been very ſhort. Nations ſeldom err in this particular; yet we muſt either aſſign an higher antiquity to the Mexican monarchy, or reject the ſplendid deſcriptions which have been given of the government and manners of the people. Allowing the Spaniſh writers, however, to have been guilty of exaggeration, in ſome particulars, many inconteſtable evidences remain of an improved ſtate of ſociety among the ſubjects of Montezuma. The right of private property was perfectly underſtood, and eſtabliſhed in its full extent. The diſtinction between real and moveable poſſeſſions, between property in land and property in goods, had taken place. Both might be transferred from one perſon to another by ſale or barter, and both might deſcend by inheritance. Every perſon who could be denominated a free man had property in land, which was held by different tenures, as in Europe.

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 2. Acoſta, lib. vii. c. 8. † Id. ibid.

A ſeparation of arts and profeſſions alſo had taken place to a conſiderable extent. The functions of the maſon, the weaver, the goldſmith, the painter, and ſeveral other crafts, were carried on by different perſons, each of whom was regularly inſtructed in his particular calling, and to it alone confined his induſtry. Regular markets were held in the cities, which were numerous, large and populous, where the mutual wants of the people were ſupplied, and the produce of their various labours brought into commerce *.

From the ſeparation of profeſſions we are naturally led to the diſtinction of ranks, which was yet more perfectly eſtabliſhed in the Mexican empire, and affords a ſtill leſs equivocal proof of an advanced ſtate of ſociety; for in the infancy of civil life men, conſcious of equality, are impatient of ſubordination, and pre-eminence is only acquired by perſonal merit and accompliſhments. How different the form of ſociety among the ſubjects of Montezuma!—The great body of the people were in a moſt humiliating ſtate. A conſiderable number of them, known by the name of Mayeques, were conſidered as inſtruments of labour attached to the ſoil, and were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were ſettled, from one proprietor to another, in the ſame manner as the Villains or territorial ſlaves, during the prevalence of the feudal ſyſtem. Others were reduced to the loweſt form of ſubjection, that of domeſtic ſervitude, and the condition of ſuch as were free was little more to be envied: they were conſidered by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior ſpecies, and treated accordingly. The condition of the nobles, as in all governments, was elevated in proportion to the abaſement of the people. They were divided into different claſſes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belonged, and they poſſeſſed ample territories for the ſupport of their rank. Some of their titles, like their lands, deſcended from father to ſon in perpetual ſucceſſion; others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of perſonal diſtinction. Exalted above all, and enjoying extenſive power and ſupreme dignity, was placed the monarch. A line of regular ſubordination being thus eſtabliſhed, reaching from the higheſt to the loweſt member of the community, each knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dreſs of the ſame faſhion, or to dwell in houſes of a form ſimilar to thoſe of the nobles, accoſted them with the moſt ſubmiſſive reverence; in the preſence of their ſovereign they durſt not lift up their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face: even the nobles, when admitted to an audience of the emperor, entered barefooted, in mean garments, and paid him homage approaching to adoration †.

The Mexican monarchs, however, notwithſtanding this profound reſpect, and the repreſentations of ſome Spaniſh writers, were by no means abſolute maſters of the lives and fortunes of their ſubjects, before the reign of Montezuma II. whoſe aſpiring ambition ſubverted the ancient ſyſtem of government, and introduced a pure deſpotiſm. On the contrary, the juriſdiction of the crown was extremely

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 5, 6. Gomara, c. 79. † Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 4. lib. x. c. 4. dec. III. lib. i. c. 6. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. vii.

limited

BOOK I.

limited. All real and effective authority, as in a feudal kingdom, was retained in the hands of the nobles, and the ſhadow of it only left to the ſovereign. Jealous to excels of their own rights, the nobility guarded with moſt vigilant anxiety againſt the encroachments of their princes, while they held the people in the loweſt ſtate of ſubjection. By a fundamental law of the empire it was provided, that the king ſhould not determine concerning any point of general importance, without the approbation of a council, compoſed of the nobility of the four firſt orders *. Without their conſent he could not engage the nation in war; nor could he diſpoſe of the moſt inconſiderable branch of the public revenue at pleaſure: it was appropriated to certain purpoſes, from which it could not be diverted by the royal authority; and in order to ſecure the full effect of theſe conſtitutional regulations, the Mexican nobles did not permit the crown to deſcend by inheritance. It was diſpoſed of by election. The right of election ſeems originally to have been veſted in the whole body of the nobility, if not of the free men of every denomination; but under Izcoalt, the fourth Mexican monarch, it was committed to ſix electors; namely, the kings of Tezeuco and Tacuba, and four princes of the blood royal. Reſpect for the reigning family made the choice generally fall upon ſome perſon ſprung from it; but as valour and abilities were of the utmoſt conſequence among a turbulent and martial people, more regard was generally had to merit and mature age, than to the order of birth or vicinity to the throne †. This maxim in their policy, which appears to have ſecured to the Mexicans a ſet of able and warlike princes, in ſome meaſure enables us to account for that extraordinary height of power and grandeur to which their empire had attained, when invaded by the Spaniards, even allowing its duration to be leſs than two centuries.

The pomp of Montezuma's court, and the means by which it was ſupported, have already been deſcribed ‡; and after making ample allowance for the fond admiration with which they were beheld, and painted, by Cortez and his companions, they will ſtill be found to reſemble more the magnificence and ſplendour of oriental monarchy, than the rude ſimplicity of the infant ſtates in the New World. But, as a learned hiſtorian very juſtly remarks, it was not in the mere parade of royalty that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power ‖: they manifeſted it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal adminiſtration and police of their dominions. Beſides the council of ſtate, already mentioned, there was a council or board for the management of the royal revenue; a council of war, which regulated every thing relative to the army; a ſupreme council of juſtice, and a board of trade and commerce. The ſupreme tribunal of juſtice reſided at Mexico, and conſiſted of twelve judges, who determined all appeals from the inferior courts, and gave a final verdict, unleſs the emperor thought proper to interpoſe. The towns and provinces had their proper judges and officers, who heard the parties,

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 4. † Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 2, 4. ‡ Chap. V. p. 148. ‖ Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book. vii.

and decided cauſes. Their deciſions were ſummary and verbal: both ſides appeared with their claims and witneſs; and judgment was immediately given, except when the point in litigation appeared too intricate for the determination of the court, in which caſe it was remitted to the ſupreme tribunal at Mexico. Cuſtom and the inſtitutions of their anceſtors uſually regulated the decrees of the judges, as they had no written laws to guide them. Murder, theft, adultery, and even the appearance of treaſon, or the ſlighteſt inſtance of diſreſpect to the religion of the country, were puniſhed with death. All other crimes were eaſily pardoned, except corruption in office, which was alſo deemed a capital offence *.

The council of war nominated all inferior officers; iſſued out the pay to the ſoldiers; took care that the army was properly ſupplied with proviſions and all other neceſſaries; and recommended to the royal notice ſuch officers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the public ſervice by their courage or capacity. As the government was in a great meaſure military, the ſoldiers were more favoured than any other claſs of people. Wherever troops reſided, they were diſtinguiſhed by particular privileges and immunities; and military orders, with badges of honour, were inſtituted as rewards to thoſe who had eminently ſignalized themſelves by their valour †. This was an admirable contrivance to excite emulation; and the honours thus offered were the more eagerly ſought after, as they were never conferred on the unworthy. Signal ſervices alone gave a title to thoſe dignities. It was even neceſſary, that the exploits of which they were the rewards, ſhould be acknowledged by the whole army, before the perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed could procure reſpect or eſteem.

The council of trade and commerce was ſtrictly united to that of the revenue. They conferred together on the means of rendering the impoſitions on commodities moſt advantageous to the crown, and leaſt oppreſſive to the ſubject. The board of trade examined all projects offered for the benefit of commerce; promoted them, if approved of, and rejected them if found inadequate to the purpoſes intended. They alſo adjuſted and regulated all differences among merchants, and rated the market-prices of all commodities ‡. The attention of the Mexican government extended even to ſuch regulations in police as poliſhed nations are late in eſtabliſhing. Among theſe may be numbered the inſtitution of public couriers, ſtationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to another, a refinement, as already obſerved, not introduced at that period into any European kingdom; the appointment of a conſiderable number of perſons to clean and light the ſtreets, and to patrole as watchmen during the night.

From the genius of their religion, which was gloomy and atrocious, ſome unfavourable inferences have been drawn, concerning the civilization of the Mexicans. But this is a fallacious way of eſtimating the character of a people; for nations, long after their ideas begin to enlarge, and their manners to refine, adhere to ſyſtems of ſuperſtition founded on the rude conceptions of early ages,

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 16. Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 4. † Id. ibid.
‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. v. c. 6. De Solis, lib. iii. c. 16.

BOOK I.

and continue rites and ceremonies which equal in abſurdity and barbarity thoſe of the ſavage ſtate. Such was the ſuperſtition of the Mexicans. Their religious tenets, and the rites of their worſhip, as deſcribed by the Spaniſh writers, were wild and cruel in an extreme degree. Their divinities were cloathed with terror, and delighted in vengeance: they were exhibited to the people under deteſtable forms, which created horror: fear was the only principle which inſpired their votaries. Faſts, mortifications, penances, and human ſacrifices, were the means employed to appeaſe their wrath; and no worſhipper approached their altars without ſprinkling them with blood drawn from his own body *.

One thing however is remarkable, amid all theſe dark rites, and is a proof of the advanced ſtate of ſociety among the Mexicans: religion, which occupies but an inconſiderable place in the mind of a ſavage, was formed by them into a regular ſyſtem, with its complete train of prieſts, temples, victims, and feſtivals. The great temple dedicated to the idol Viztzlipuztli, or the God of War, has been already deſcribed †. The next in dignity was that dedicated to Tezcaltliputca, the God of Pennance and Remiſſion of Sins, which was aſcended by eighty ſtone ſteps, and had on the top an area one hundred and twenty feet in breadth. Theſe two temples were in the nature of cathedrals, all the reſt being as it were pariſh churches, and chapels. The idol Tezcaltliputca was made of black ſtone, as bright as jet, and richly adorned with gold, ſilver, and jewels. In his left hand he held a fan of beautiful feathers, iſſuing from a plate of gold, ſo finely burniſhed that it reſembled a looking glaſs; importing, that he ſaw, through that mirror, all that was done in the world. In his right hand he had four darts, to denote the puniſhments which he inflicted on the wicked for ſin; and his ſhrine was adorned with human ſkulls and bones, characteriſtic of his preſiding alſo over famine and peſtilence ‡.

Marriage among the Mexicans was connected with religion. The preliminary articles being adjuſted, the contracted pair appeared in the temple, where one of the prieſts ſounded their inclinations, by certain ceremonial queſtions, appointed by law for that purpoſe; after which he took the tip of the woman's veil with one hand, and a corner of the man's garment in the other, and tied them together, in order to ſignify the interior tye of their affections. Nor did this ceremony complete their union: they returned to their habitation, under this emblem of the nuptial ſtate; viſited the domeſtic fire, attended by the ſame prieſt; went round it ſeven times, and then ſat down to receive an equal ſhare of the heat, after which the marriage was thought to be completed. The portion brought by the bride was regiſtered in a public inſtrument, that every part of it might be faithfully reſtored, in caſe of a ſeparation; which frequently took place, as the law laid no reſtraint on inclination, mutual conſent being judged ſufficient cauſe for a divorce. After the nuptial tye was diſſolved, and the parties ſeparated, the boys became the care of the father, and the mother was enjoined to provide

* Acoſta, lib. v. c. 14. Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 3. † Chap. v. p. 145.
‡ Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 3.

for the girls; and it was made a capital offence ever again to cohabit or unite, that a due reſtraint might be laid on caprice, and the ſudden tranſports of anger *. Thus, notwithſtanding the natural fickleneſs of the people divorces were extremely rare, and more inſtances of conjugal affection were to be ſeen in Mexico, than in moſt other countries. The danger incurred by attempting cohabitation after the diſſolution of the nuptial tie, was ſufficient to prevent the wedded couple from giving way to ſlight ſallies of reſentment, while any ſparks of mutual tenderneſs remained; and the law thought it unreaſonable and cruel, to oblige two perſons to inſeparable union, who entertained for each other only ſentiments of diſguſt.

As ſoon as the child was born, it was carried to the temple with great ſolemnity, and received by a prieſt, who pronounced a grave and pathetic oration on the troubles and miſeries to which it was doomed, on entering on this ſcene of exiſtence. In the right hand of infants of diſtinction the prieſt put a ſword, and in the left a ſhield, to expreſs the military life to which they were deſtined. Mechanical inſtruments were put into the hands of male children of plebeian extraction, and the females of every degree were adorned with the ſpindle and diſtaff, intimating the proper occupation of the more tender ſex. This ceremony being ended, the infants were brought up to the altar; where, after drawing ſome drops of blood from the privy parts with a lancet of flint, they were dipped in water, while certain invocations were repeated over them †.

The progreſs of the Mexicans in the liberal and mechanical arts has been conſidered as the moſt deciſive proof of their ſuperior refinement; but notwithſtanding all the panegyrics of Cortez and the early Spaniſh writers, if we may judge by ſuch ſpecimens of their ingenuity as have been preſerved in the cabinets of the curious, they appear to have produced nothing worthy of a poliſhed people. Their ſo much boaſted efforts in painting and ſculpture are uncouth repreſentations of common objects, or very coarſe images of the human and ſome animal forms. But their ornaments in gold and ſilver are deſerving of admiration, if we conſider the rude tools with which they were formed; and their paintings, though contemptible as works of art, become curious as well as intereſting objects of attention, when contemplated as the records of their country. The Mexicans were but imperfectly acquainted with the nobleſt and moſt beneficial of human inventions, that of writing. They expreſſed their ideas by *things*, not *words*: an image was offered to the eye, not a ſymbol to the underſtanding. They delineated the objects which they wiſhed to repreſent. A few ſingular ſpecimens of this picture-writing have been preſerved, by which it appears, that the Mexicans had made ſome advances towards the allegorical ſymbol; and in one inſtance, the notation of numbers, they even attempted to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. For this purpoſe, they had invented artificial marks, or *ſigns of convention*, by which they computed the years of their kings reigns, as well as the account of tribute to be paid into the royal treaſury ‡.

* De ſolis, lib. v. c. 17. Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 3. † Id. ibid.
‡ Robertſon, Hiſt. America, book vii.

Their

BOOK I.

Their mode of computing time may be regarded as a more perfect evidence of the progreſs of the Mexicans in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, each conſiſting of twenty days, amounting in all to three hundred and ſixty; but as they obſerved, that the courſe of the ſun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. Theſe, which were properly intercalary days, they termed *ſupernumerary* or *waſte*; and as they did not belong to any month, they were devoted wholly to feſtivity and paſtime. The tradeſmen left off work, and the ſhops were ſhut up; the buſineſs of the tribunals ceaſed, and even the ſacrifices in the temples. Every one ſeemed anxious how to waſte that overplus of time.

Beſides the diviſion of the year into days and months, the Mexicans had an intermediate diviſion of time into weeks, each of which conſiſted of thirteen days, with particular names, marked in their kalendar by certain images. Their age conſiſted of fifty-two years, or four weeks of years, the diſtribution of which was highly ingenious. They drew a large circle, which they divided into fifty-two degrees, allowing one year to each degree. In the centre ſtood the image of the Sun, from which proceeded four rays of various colours, equally dividing the circle, and leaving thirteen degrees to each ſemi-diameter. Theſe diviſions were calculated to repreſent the ſigns of their zodiac, upon which their ages had their revolutions, and the ſun his aſpects, proſperous or adverſe, according to the colour of the deſcendent ray. In a larger circle, incloſing the other, they noted with their hieroglyphical ſigns and characters, all the accidents and occurences of the age, worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity *.

With theſe ſpeculations, to which men in a rude ſtate never turn their thoughts, the Mexicans blended an abſurd mixture of ſuperſtition. They believed that the world was in danger of being deſtroyed, when the ſun had completed the courſe of thoſe four greater weeks; and when the cloſe of the period arrived, all the people prepared themſelves for that dreadful and ultimate calamity. On the laſt night of the fifty-ſecond year, they bid farewel to the light of the ſun with tears and moans: they extinguiſhed their fires; broke their houſhold goods, as unneceſſary lumber; neglected their food, and abandoned themſelves to their fate. Thouſands might be ſeen walking about the fields, agitated by the moſt violent tranſports of deſpair, till they knew whether they were to be forever conſigned to the regions of darkneſs. On the approach of morning, they began to recover their ſpirits, anxiouſly turning their eyes towards the eaſt; and they ſaluted the firſt rays of the riſing ſun with all their muſical inſtruments, with hymns and ſongs, which expreſſed their tumultuous joy. They congratulated each other that a new age was begun, and that they ſhould no more be expoſed to a ſimilar danger for the ſpace of fifty-two years, then crowded to the temples to return thanks to their gods by ſacrifices, and to receive from the prieſts new fire; the whole day being ſpent in public rejoicings, dancing, and other diverſions dedi-

* De Solis, lib. iii. c. 17. Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 4.

cated

cated to the *renewal of time*, in much the ſame manner as the Romans celebrated their Secular Games *.

None of the Mexican inſtitutions was more worthy of admiration, or more expreſſive of the character of a poliſhed people, than that which regarded the education of youth. Public ſchools were erected for the children of plebeians, and colleges, or ſeminaries of a ſuperior order, for the ſons of the nobility. The mode of education was adapted to the peculiar genius of the child, and the ſtation of life in which he was to act. There were maſters for every different branch of education, for children, boys, and youths. Theſe had the authority of the emperor's miniſters, and were juſtly regarded in that important light, as they formed thoſe principles and qualifications, which fitted men for the ſervice of the public. One of the firſt branches of education was to decypher thoſe ſigns and characters of which their kalendar, and hiſtorical regiſter was compoſed, and to recite by memory thoſe ſongs, which celebrated the gallant actions of their anceſtors, and the praiſes of their gods. In the next ſuperior claſs they were inſtructed in the principles of moral duty, mutual obligation, and mutual complaiſance. The maſters appointed for this purpoſe were of greater reputation and abilities than the former, as their office was more important: it required them to be eminently ſkilled in the human heart, and fully practiſed in the means of contending with the violence of youthful inclinations, and headſtrong paſſions. When the youths attained what was deemed a ſufficient moral knowledge, and were ſuppoſed to be able to bend their deſires to reaſon, they paſſed on to the third claſs, where they employed themſelves in robuſt exerciſes, and were taught to govern vigour by dexterity and addreſs. They exerciſed their ſtrength in carrying weights, and in wreſtling: they vied with each other in leaping and running, and were inſtructed in the uſe of arms; to beſt advantage how to handle the ſword, to throw the dart, and, with force and exactneſs, to ſhoot the arrow. They were inured to hunger, thirſt, fatigue, and hardened againſt the inclemencies of the weather. When they returned home to their parents, they were engaged, according to the report which their maſters made of their inclinations and capacities, in civil, military, or religious functions †.

Theſe are the moſt ſtriking particulars in the manners and policy of the Mexicans, which point them out as a people faſt advancing towards refinement, and poliſhed in compariſon of their ſavage neighbours. The Spaniſh writers have no doubt embelliſhed ſome of their deſcriptions, eſpecially in regard to the magnificence of the Mexican buildings, which appear to have been ſlight and rude, if we may credit thoſe who have viewed their ruins; but few hiſtorical facts can be aſcertained by evidence more unexceptionable, than may be produced in ſupport of the principal articles in the account of the Mexican manners and inſtitutions. Eye-witneſſes relate what they ſaw, and men of ſuch different profeſſions that objects muſt have appeared to their view under every aſpect; ſoldiers,

* Id. ibid.

† De Solis, lib. iii. c. 16. Herrera, dec. II. lib. x. c. 4.

BOOK I.

lawyers, prieſts, all concur in their teſtimony. The ſtrongeſt evidence, however, ariſes from the inability of thoſe men to frame a fictitious ſyſtem of policy, ſo well combined and ſo conſiſtent, as that which they delineate in their accounts of the Mexican government. Who among the deſtroyers of this great empire, to uſe the bold language of Raynal, was ſo enlightened by ſcience as to be equal to ſuch a taſk? or where could they have borrowed the idea of many inſtitutions in legiſlation and police, to which, at that period, there was no parallel in Europe?—The unanimous teſtimony of contemporary writers, and of their immediate ſucceſſors, ought to be regarded as the ſtrongeſt hiſtorical demonſtration that can be demanded.

The Peruvian empire boaſts an higher antiquity than that of Mexico: it had ſubſiſted, according to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, four hundred years, under twelve ſucceſſive monarchs; but as the Peruvians were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, the knowledge of their ancient ſtory which they could communicate to their conquerors muſt have been both imperfect and uncertain; for their Quipos, or knots on cords of different colours, ſo much celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, appears to have been no more than a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours different objects were denoted, and by each knot a diſtinct number*; but as by theſe knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abſtract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be repreſented, they contributed little towards preſerving the memory of ancient events and inſtitutions. Very ſmall credit therefore is due to the minute details which have been given, by Garcilaſſo and others, of the exploits, the battles, the conqueſts, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can reſt upon nothing in their ſtory as authentic, but on a few facts, ſo interwoven in the ſyſtem of their religion and policy as preſerved the memory of them from being loſt; and upon the deſcription of ſuch cuſtoms and inſtitutions as continued in force at the time of the conqueſt, and fell under the immediate obſervation of the Spaniards.

Peru, like the reſt of America, was originally poſſeſſed by ſmall independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, as well as in their forms of rude government; but all ſo little civilized, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preſerved among their deſcendants may be credited, that they may be claſſed among the loweſt order of ſavages. Strangers to every ſpecies of induſtry, and even unacquainted with thoſe ſentiments and obligations that form the firſt bonds of ſocial union, they are ſaid to have roamed about naked in the foreſts, with which the country was then covered, more like beaſts than men; gratifying their appetites, without diſcrimination, with the firſt woman that offered, allaying their hunger with the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, and repoſing during the night in ſome rock or cave.

While the Peruvians continued to ſtruggle, after the elapſe of ſeveral ages, with all the hardſhips inſeparable from this barbarous ſtate, and when no circum-

* Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 8.

ſtance

ſtance ſeemed to indicate any extraordinary effort towards improvement, a man and a woman, known by the names of Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, cloathed in decent garments, appeared, we are told, on the banks of the lake Titiaca, and declared themſelves the children of the Sun, ſent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miſeries of the human race, to inſtruct and reclaim them. Who theſe extraordinary perſonages were, whether natives of Peru, enlightened by their own ſagacity, or emigrants from ſome country more civilized, tradition has not informed us; but as they took advantage of the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Peruvians for the Sun, and not only pretended to be the offspring of that glorious luminary, but to deliver their inſtructions in his name and authority, ſeveral of the diſperſed ſavages united together at their perſuaſion, and receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they ſettled, and began to lay the foundations of a city.

Having thus collected ſome wandering tribes, and formed that ſocial union, which, by multiplying the deſires and uniting the efforts of the human ſpecies excites induſtry, and leads to improvement, Manco Capac inſtructed the men in agriculture, and other uſeful arts, while Mama Ocollo taught the women to ſpin and to weave. By theſe means ſubſiſtence became leſs precarious, and life was rendered more comfortable. Manco Capac next turned his attention towards introducing ſuch laws and policy as might perpetuate the happineſs of the rude people of whom he had taken charge. By his ſalutary inſtructions, the ſpirit of which ſhall be afterwards explained, the various relations in private life were eſtabliſhed, and the duties reſulting from them preſcribed with ſuch propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency and manners; and the functions of perſons in authority were ſo preciſely defined, and the ſubordination of thoſe under their juriſdiction maintained with ſuch a ſteady hand, that the ſociety in which he preſided ſoon aſſumed the form of a regular and well governed community *.

Such, according to tradition, was the origin of the empire of the Incas, or lords of Peru. At firſt its extent was ſmall. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco; but within its narrow limits, he exerciſed abſolute and uncontrouled authority. His ſubjects, however, had no cauſe to complain of his ſeverity: like that great fountain of light and heat which he taught them to worſhip, and from which he pretended to deduce his lineage, he was continually employed in diſpenſing bleſſings towards them; in cheriſhing and animating them in their natural and moral duties. After a long and happy reign, finding his ſtrength declining, and the torch of life almoſt extinguiſhed, he aſſembled his family, and his chief jubjects at Cuzco, and in a long and ſolemn harangue, which he called his laſt Will and Teſtament, recommended to his ſon and heir a tender regard for his people, and to the people loyalty, zeal, and obedience to their ſovereign and the laws. In private, he admoniſhed his children to remember, in all their proceedings, that they were deſcended from the

* Garcilaſſo, lib. i. c. 7, 8. 9, &c.

Sun,

BOOK I.

Sun, and to do nothing unworthy of their divine origin; to adore this glorious luminary with the veneration becoming children, who owed every bleſſing to the author of their being; to obey his laws and precepts, that their ſubjects, in imitation of their example, might the more readily be induced to worſhip the deity. He exhorted them to engage the Peruvians by acts of piety, lenity, and clemency, as the ſureſt bond of their fidelity; aſſuring them, that thoſe monarchs who founded their power upon the dread of their ſubjects, were neither happy nor truly reſpectable *.

Sinchi Roca, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Manco Capac, not only exerciſed the ſame abſolute authority over his ſubjects, but inherited the ſame legiſlative genius. It was in his reign that the Peruvian empire, which he had conſiderably extended, was divided into four quarters, called Tavantinfuya, repreſenting the four quarters of the heavens; eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth, of which the city of Cuzco was made the centre. It was alſo ordained, that theſe greater diviſions ſhould be parcelled out into ſmaller diſtricts, the inhabitants of which ſhould be regiſtered and claſſed in decuries, or tithings, over each of which a ſuperior or decurion was to preſide. Thus ten families conſtituted the minuteſt diviſion of the people. Five of thoſe, or fifty families, compoſed an higher claſs, over which was a proper magiſtrate; and two of the laſt diviſions formed a third claſs, called an hundred. In this manner the number increaſed to the diviſion of a thouſand families, which was the higheſt claſs. Every decurion was enjoined to provide, that no family within his juriſdiction wanted the neceſſaries of life or the means of induſtry. He was alſo appointed to inſpect into their moral conduct, and to report to his ſuperiors any crimes or miſdemeanours of which they were guilty, as well as ſuch actions as deſerved praiſe, leaving to them the proportioning of rewards and puniſhments, except in caſes of a trivial nature. The ſuperintendant of a thouſand made his report to the miniſter of the Inca; ſo that the ſovereighs of Peru, in conſequence of theſe regulations, were at all times perfectly acquainted with the ſtate of their provinces, the number of their ſubjects, and the ſupplies proper to be required of them †.

The moſt ſtriking circumſtance in the Peruvian government was the influence of religion upon its genius and inſtitutions. The Inca appeared not only as ſupreme legiſlator, but as the miniſter of heaven: his precepts, therefore, were received not merely as the injunctions of a ſovereign, but as the commands of the deity. The royal race, as already obſerved, was held to be ſacred; and in order to preſerve it diſtinct, and uncontaminated by any mixture of inferior blood, the ſons of Manco Capac married their own ſiſters, and no perſon was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by ſuch a pure deſcent. To thoſe *Children of the Sun*, as they were called, the people looked up as to beings of a ſuperior order; and it was conſidered not only as an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to oppoſe the will of the Inca. His authority was, of courſe, unlimited and abſolute, in the moſt extenſive meaning of the words. The perſons of

* Id. ibid. † Garcilaſſo, lib. ii. c. 5.

higheſt rank in his dominions, humbled with an apprehenſion of their natural, as well as political inferiority, never appeared in his preſence without a burden upon their ſhoulders, as an emblem of their ſervitude, and of their willingneſs to bear whatever he ſhould think proper to impoſe upon them. Force was on no occaſion neceſſary to ſecond his commands, obedience being regarded as a duty of religion: the officer intruſted with them might therefore paſs from one end of the empire to the other, without meeting the ſmalleſt oppoſition; and as a farther motive to ſubmiſſion, on producing a fringe from the royal Borla, an ornament peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his diſpoſal *.

Another conſequence immediately reſulting from this connexion between religion and government, and from eſtabliſhing the latter on the baſis of the former. was, That all crimes, being conſidered as inſults offered to the Deity, not as tranſgreſſions of human laws, were puniſhed capitally. Without diſtinction between ſuch as were ſlight, and ſuch as were atrocious, each called for vengeance, the blood of the offender being deemed the only expiation; and conformable to the ſame ideas, puniſhment followed the treſpaſs with inevitable certainty, becauſe an offence againſt Heaven could not be pardoned by man †. This ſeverity might have been apt to multiply crimes among a people of corrupted manners, by rendering them ferocious and deſperate, but among the Peruvians, equally under the influence of religious, moral, and political reſtraints; where parents were made anſwerable for the treſpaſſes of their children before a certain age, and magiſtrates for the irregularities of thoſe under their juriſdiction, it was attended only with ſalutary effects. Over-awed by the dread of puniſhment, which they were taught to conſider as the unavoidable vengeance of Heaven, and prompted to their duty by their veneration for ſovereigns, enlightened and directed as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, all orders of men were ſtrict obſervers of the laws, and even of the ſlighter decorums of ſociety; ſo that the number of public executions in Peru was incredibly ſmall, notwithſtanding the rigour of the legiſlature.

Means were alſo taken, in ſome inſtances, to remove the motive to the offence. Of this one remarkable example is recorded the reality of which we cannot doubt, as there was at that time no inſtitution of the kind amongſt the inhabitants of Europe. It was obſerved that the modeſty of the Peruvian women, which appears to have been greater than their chaſtity, led them to practice abortion, to murder, or expoſe their natural children; all which offences were capital. In order to remedy this evil, which the ſeverity of the law was not able to check, the ſenſe of ſhame being found ſtronger than the dread of death, one of the Incas cauſed a cavity to be made in a wall, and iſſued a proclamation, commanding ſingle women labouring under ſuch apprehenſions, to depoſite their children there, and they ſhould be brought up at the expence of the ſtate, without any inquiry being made concerning the parents.

* Zarate, lib. i. c. 13. Robertſon, Hiſt. America, lib. viii.

† Garcilaſſo, lib. 2. c. 6.

Proper perſons were accordingly appointed to call frequently at that place, and to carry ſuch children as they found to an houſe or hoſpital appointed for nurſing them. When reared, they were employed in the public ſervice, and the end of the law was fully anſwered as far as it regarded the women *.

As the ſeverity of the Peruvian laws was ſoftened by certain ſalutary inſtitutions, the deſpotiſm of the government was qualified by that mild religion on which it was founded. The Sun, as the great ſource of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation, attracted their chief adoration; the moon and ſtars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to ſecondary homage; and their rites and ceremonies, as might be expected, in a worſhip directed to that glorious luminary, which is the emblem of divine beneficence, were innocent and humane. They offered to the Sun a part of thoſe productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the boſom of the earth, and reared to maturity; they ſacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, ſome of the animals who were indebted to his influence for nouriſhment; and they preſented to him choice ſpecimens of thoſe works of ingenuity, which his light had guided the hand of man, in forming, but they never ſtained his altars with human blood, believing it impoſſible that he could be delighted with ſuch horrid victims †. The national character of the Peruvians was accordingly more gentle than that of any people in America, and the authority of the Incas, though unlimited, never degenerated into tyranny. Conſcious that the ſubmiſſive reverence of the people flowed from their belief of his heavenly deſcent, the ſovereign was continually reminded of a diſtinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was ſuppoſed to repreſent, while his ſubjects willingly yielded the implicit obedience which the conſtitution required, without being depreſſed by the idea of a forced ſubjection. The Incas were regarded as the fathers, and guardians of their people; and the upright conduct of twelve ſucceſſive monarchs, among whom there was no oppreſſor, ſeems to have entitled them to theſe affectionate appellations.

The genius of the Peruvian religion influenced even their military operations. The Incas carried on war with a ſpirit very different from that of the other American nations. They did not fight like ſavages, to deſtroy and exterminate, or like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirſty divinities with human ſacrifices, but in order to reclaim and civilize thoſe who ſubmitted to their arms, and by that means to diffuſe the knowledge of their own arts and inſtitutions. The Incas accordingly took the people whom they ſubdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original ſubjects. Conſidering the homage paid to any object except the heavenly powers which they adored as infamous, they were fond of gaining proſelytes to their favourite ſyſtem. Hence the vanquiſhed people were not only treated with lenity, but carefully inſtructed in the religious tenets of their new maſters, that the victorious Inca might have the honour of augmenting the number of the

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. x. c. 1. † Garcilaſſo, lib. ii. c. 4.

votaries

votaries of his father the Sun; and the idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco, and there placed as trophies of the ſuperior power of the divinity who protected the empire *.

The ſtate of property in Peru was no leſs ſingular than that of religion, and contributed likewiſe to give a mild turn to the character of the people. All the lands ſuſceptible of cultivation were divided into three ſhares, one of which was conſecrated to the ſun; and whatever it produced was appropriated to the purpoſes of religion: another belonged to the Inca, being ſet apart as the proviſion made by the community for the ſupport of government; and the third and largeſt ſhare was reſerved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. No individual however had a right of excluſive property in the portion allotted to him: he poſſeſſed it only for a year; at the expiration of which a new diviſion of lands was made by regular meaſure, the ſhares being proportioned to the rank, the number, and the exigencies of each family. All thoſe lands were cultivated by the joint induſtry of the community; the people being maintained at the expence of religion and the ſtate, during the time they were employed on the lands of the Sun and the Inca. Summoned by a proper officer, they repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common taſk, while ſongs and muſical inſtruments cheered them to their labour †.

In conſequence of this ſingular diſtribution of territory, as well as the mode of cultivating it, the ideas of a common intereſt, and of mutual ſubſerviency was continually inculcated. Every individual felt his connection with thoſe around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increaſe he was to reap; hence reſulted gentle manners and mild virtues. But the inſtitutions of the Incas, though framed in ſuch a manner as to ſtrengthen the bonds of affection among their ſubjects, by no means reduced them to an equality of condition: the diſtinction of ranks was fully eſtabliſhed among the Peruvians ‡; and we may venture to affirm, that they would have acquired the ability of diverſifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, transferable, and hereditary property.

The Peruvians, however, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the neceſſary arts of life, and in ſuch as have ſome title to the name of elegant. Agriculture in particular, that art of primary neceſſity in ſocial life, was more extenſive, and carried on with greater ſkill in Peru, than in any other part of America. The quantity of ſoil under cultivation was not left to the diſcretion

* Garcilaſſo, lib. v. c. 12. Robertſon, Hiſt. America. b. vii. † Herrera, dec. V. lib. x. c. 1. Garcilaſſo, lib. v. c. 3. ‡ They were divided into four orders: 1. The Yanaconas, who were held in a ſtate of ſervitude, and whoſe garb and houſes were of a form different from thoſe of freemen; 2. Next ſuch of the people as were free but diſtinguiſhed by no official or hereditary honours; 3. The Orejones, who formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace as well as war, held every office of power and truſt; 4. The *Children of the Sun*, who by their high deſcent, and peculiar privileges, were as much elevated above the Orejones, as theſe were above the Yanaconas. Herrera, dec. III. lib. x. c. 1.

BOOK I.

of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community; and the invention and induſtry of the people were farther called forth to extraordinary exertions by certain defects peculiar to their climate and ſoil. As the low country in Peru is naturally ſandy and barren, never refreſhed with rain, and watered only by ſome ſtreams which ruſh from the mountains like torrents, the ingenuity of the people had recourſe to various expedients in order to fertilize ſuch an unpromiſing region. By means of artificial canals, conducted with much patience, and no little art, from the ſtreams that interſect their country, they conveyed a regular ſupply of moiſture to their fields; and they enriched the ſoil by manuring it with the dung of ſea fowls, of which they found an inexhauſtible ſtore on all the iſlands ſcattered along their coaſts *.

Nor was the ſuperior induſtry and ingenuity of the Peruvians leſs conſpicuous in the conſtruction of their public buildings, roads and bridges. It was in the temples conſecrated to the Sun, and in the edifices deſtined for the reſidence of their monarchs, that they diſplayed the utmoſt extent of their progreſs in architure. Ruins of theſe ſacred or royal buildings, are found in every province of Peru, ſome of a moderate ſize, many of immenſe extent, but all remarkable for ſolidity; and though the ſtructures appear to have been low, and the apartments in them ill diſpoſed and worſe lighted, they muſt nevertheleſs be conſidered as ſtupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the uſe of iron, and convey to us an exalted idea of the power poſſeſſed by the Incas. But the two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted ſtretch above five hundred leagues, are entitled to ſtill higher praiſe, and reflect the utmoſt honour on the memory of the ancient monarchs of Peru. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the ſea-coaſt. At proper diſtances Tambos or inns were erected for the accommodation of travellers; and though theſe roads were but ſlightly formed, and did not exceed fifteen feet in breadth, they muſt be conſidered as a ſtriking proof of an advanced ſtate of policy. Another improvement, equally unknown over all the reſt of America, was intimately connected with this. As the roads were frequently interſected by torrents, unnavigable by reaſon of their rapidity, it was neceſſary to find ſome expedient for paſſing them. From their unacquaintance with the uſe of arches, and their inability to work in wood, the Peruvians could not conſtruct bridges either of ſtone or timber; but, in order to ſupply that defect, they formed cables of great ſtrength, by twiſting together pliable withs or oſiers, ſix of which they ſtretched acroſs the ſtream parallel to one another, and made them faſt on each ſide. Theſe they bound firmly together, by interweaving ſmaller ropes ſo cloſe as to form a compact piece of network, which being covered with branches of trees and earth, they paſſed along with tolerable ſecurity. Proper perſons were appointed to attend at each bridge, to keep it in repair, and to aſſiſt paſſengers †.

* Acoſta, lib. iv. c. 37. Zarate, lib. i. c. 4. † Zarate, lib. v. c. 14. Garcilaſſo, lib. iii. c. 8. Herrera, dec. III. lib. x. c. 1, 2. Ulloa, Voy. vol. I. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. vii.

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The Peruvians had even extended their ingenuity to works of elegance. Among theſe their poliſhed ſtone mirrors are highly celebrated; and their dexterity in forming veſſels of gold and ſilver appears even to have been ſuperior to that of the Mexicans. But many other circumſtances ſeem to indicate, that ſociety was leſs advanced in Peru, notwithſtanding ſo many improvements in arts and policy, than among the ſubjects of Montezuma. In all the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name of a city. Every where elſe the people lived moſtly in detached habitations, diſperſed over the country; or, at the utmoſt, ſettled together in ſmall villages: but till men are brought to aſſemble in numerous bodies, and incorporated in ſuch cloſe union as to enjoy frequent intercourſe, they never imbibe perfectly the ſpirit, or aſſume the manners of ſocial life; it is therefore more ſurpriſing that the Peruvians, in this ſtate of imperfect union, ſhould have carried refinement ſo far, than that they puſhed it no further. The leſs cloſely men aſſociate the more ſimple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. Men in ſuch a ſtate find no difficulty in miniſtering to their own neceſſities: hence none but the artiſts employed in works of mere curioſity or ornament conſtituted a ſeparate order of men in Peru, or were trained to their profeſſions by any particular courſe of education *.

As the ſeparation of profeſſions was leſs complete in the Peruvian than the Mexican empire, by reaſon of the want of cities, commercial intercourſe was alſo leſs perfect. The Mexicans had ſtated markets in their towns, to which vaſt crowds reſorted, and where every thing was expoſed to ſale which human ingenuity had produced, or which the neceſſities and deſires of the people were ſuppoſed to crave; whereas the inhabitants of Peru, from their ſingular mode of dividing property, and the manner in which they were ſettled, had little traffic of any kind, and were utter ſtrangers to thoſe buſy ſcenes which give activity to the ſpirit of man. But the chief defect in the character of the Peruvians was their want of courage. The moſt poliſhed people in the New World were, in this reſpect, the moſt deſpicable. The Mexicans defended their liberties and their poſſeſſions with obſtinate valour; and even the ſavage tribes, in different parts of the continent, gallantly oppoſed their naked breaſts to the arms of the Spaniards; but the Peruvians, after a feeble ſtruggle, ſunk into ſervitude, and continue in the moſt abject condition of any people of America.

* Herrera, dec. III. lib. x. c. 1, 2. Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 15. Garcilaſſo, lib. v. c. 9.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BOOK II.

The EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS in SOUTH AMERICA and the ISTHMUS of MEXICO.

CHAP. I.

A general View of the Government and Commerce of the Spaniſh *Colonies.*

BESIDES Mexico and Peru, which are ſtill the richeſt countries in America, Spain poſſeſſes other dominions there of immenſe extent, and no inconſiderable value. But the conqueſt of thoſe territories affords nothing ſufficiently intereſting to merit a particular detail. Such circumſtances as deſerve to be remembered, ſhall be noticed in deſcribing them as Spaniſh colonies. In the mean time, it will be proper to exhibit ſuch a view of the political and commercial regulations of Spain in regard to her ſettlements, as will make the account of the particular countries, and the importance of the whole more perfectly underſtood. BOOK II.

On ſurveying the Spaniſh dominions in America, ſtretching from the bottom of the gulph of California to the Straits of Magellan on one ſide, and from Florida to Patagonia on the other, except the two ſettlements of Brazil and Surinam, belonging to the Portugueſe and the Dutch, one is naturally induced to ſuppoſe the king of Spain the moſt opulent and powerful monarch in the

BOOK II.

the univerſe. How great then is our ſurpriſe, to find him occupying the ſecond rank among the ſovereigns of Europe!—The unfolding of this political paradox, this ſingular diſproportion between real and apparent riches, between dominion and power, conducts us to ſpeculations equally curious and intereſting. It leads us to inquire, by what errors in her political ſyſtem, or in her mode of conducting commerce, Spain comes to be deprived of thoſe advantages which ſhe might reaſonably be expected to derive from her American ſettlements. This will beſt appear from a view of her regulations in regard to each.

The fundamental maxim of the Spaniſh policy with reſpect to America, is to conſider the territories acquired there as veſted in the crown, rather than in the ſtate. In conſequence of the bull of Alexander VI. to Ferdinand and Iſabella, they and their ſucceſſors were uniformly held to be the ſole proprietors of the vaſt countries, which the arms of their ſubjects ſubdued in the New World. From them of courſe, all grants of land flowed, and to them they finally returned. The people, in the Spaniſh ſettlements, are entitled to no privileges independent of the ſovereign, or that can ſerve as a bar againſt the power of the crown; for although the citizens, in the different towns, are permitted to elect their own magiſtrates, the juriſdiction of theſe is merely municipal, and confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. The will of the monarch is a law, in whatever relates to public government or general intereſt. No political power originates from the people: all centres in the crown, and the officers of its nomination. At the head of theſe are the viceroys, the mode of whoſe appointment, and the nature of whoſe authority is a new ſource of oppreſſion.

All the Spaniſh dominions in America were originally divided into two immenſe governments; one ſubject to the viceroy of Mexico, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The juriſdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain north of the iſthmus of Panama; that of the latter, over all that ſhe poſſeſſed in South America. The inconveniencies of this arrangement were early felt, and became intolerable, when the remote provinces of each viceroyalty began to improve in population. So prodigious is the extent of the Spaniſh dominions in the New World, that ſeveral places ſubject to the juriſdiction of each of the viceroys, were at ſuch an enormous diſtance from the capitals in which they reſided, that neither their attention nor their authority could reach them. Some provinces ſubject to the viceroy of New Spain, lay about two thouſand miles from Mexico. There were countries ſubject to the viceroy of Peru ſtill farther from Lima. The people in thoſe remote diſtricts could hardly be ſaid to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppreſſion and inſolence of its inferior officers they often feel: and rather ſubmit to theſe in ſilence, than involve themſelves in the expence and trouble of reſorting to the diſtant capitals, where alone they can find redreſs. As a remedy for thoſe evils, a third viceroyalty was eſtabliſhed in the beginning of the preſent century, at Santa Fé de Bogota, the capital of the New Kingdom of Granada, the juriſdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firma, and the province

of Quito *; and a fourth has been lately erected, to the juriſdiction of which are ſubjected the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos-Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potoſi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. The limits of the viceroyalty of New Spain have likewiſe been circumſcribed, and with no leſs propriety and diſcernment: four of its remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a ſeparate government; though the perſon intruſted with this command is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank †.

The viceroys not only repreſent the perſon of their ſovereign, but poſſeſs his royal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments, in the utmoſt extent. Like him, they exerciſe ſupreme authority in every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. They may preſide in every tribunal; and they have the ſole right of nominating the perſons who hold many offices of the higheſt importance, as well as the occaſional privilege of ſupplying ſuch as are in the royal gift, until the ſucceſſor appointed by the king ſhall arrive. The external pomp of their government is ſuited to its real dignity and power; their courts are formed upon the model of that of Madrid, with horſe and foot guards; a houſehold regularly eſtabliſhed; numerous attendants, and enſigns of command; diſplaying ſuch magnificence, as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority ‡. Conſcious of this, and of the innumerable opportunities which the viceroys have of accumulating wealth, the jealouſy of the Spaniſh government permits them to continue in office only for a few years; a circumſtance that often renders them rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour wherewith they labour to improve every moment of power, which they know is haſtening faſt to a period. They are ſucceeded by others, who have the ſame motives to purſue the ſame conduct; and being generally choſen out of families of diſtinction of broken or ſhattered fortunes, the provinces are exhauſted by avarice and oppreſſion, in order to repair the waſte of former prodigality, or to furniſh the means of future profuſion.

As the viceroys, though ever ſo well diſpoſed, cannot execute the office of a ſupreme magiſtrate in every part of their extenſive juriſdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals ſimilar to thoſe in Spain. The adminiſtration of juſtice is veſted, as we have already ſeen, in courts known by the name of Audiences. Theſe are eleven in number, and diſpenſe juſtice to as many diſtricts, into which the Spaniſh dominions in America are divided. Both civil and criminal cauſes come under their cognizance, and for each particular judges are ſet apart. Their ſentences are final in every litigation concerning property of leſs value than ſix thouſand peſos; but when the ſubject in diſpute exceeds that ſum, their deciſions are ſubject to review, and may be carried, by appeal, before the Royal Council of the Indies; in which, as formerly obſerved, is veſted

* Voy. de Ulloa, tom. I.

† Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book viii.

‡ Voy. de Ulloa, tom. I.

BOOK II.

the ſupreme government of all the Spaniſh dominions in America. The Audiences are eſtabliſhed at St. Domingo in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firma, Santiago in Guatimala, Guadalaxara in New Galicia, Santa Fé in the New Kingdom of Granada, La Plata in the province of Charcas, St. Franciſco de Quito, St. Jago de Chili, and Buenos Ayres *. Several large provinces are ſubject to each of theſe Audiences, and ſome ſo far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their juriſdiction.

The firſt object of Spain, after eſtabliſhing her dominion over her American conqueſts in ſuch a manner as to keep the natives in abſolute ſubjection, and the colonies in perpetual dependance on the parent-ſtate, was to ſecure an excluſive intereſt in their commerce; and as almoſt all the countries that ſhe had diſcovered and occupied lay within the tropics, the productions of which are different from thoſe of Europe, even in its moſt ſouthern provinces, the moſt beneficial effects might have been expected from ſuch an intercourſe, both to the inhabitants of the Old and New World. In order to prevent the colonies from making any efforts that might interfere with thoſe of the mother country, the eſtabliſhment of ſeveral ſpecies of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine and olive, are prohibited in the Spaniſh ſettlements, under the ſevereſt penalties †. They muſt truſt entirely to Old Spain for moſt of the objects of primary neceſſity, and even for their luxuries. In exchange for theſe is given the produce of their mines and plantations. All that her colonies yield flows into the ports of Spain, and all that they conſume muſt iſſue from them; for no foreigner can enter one of her ſettlements without expreſs permiſſion, nor are the veſſels of any foreign nation received into their harbours, and the pains of death, with confiſcations of moveables, are denounced againſt every inhabitant who preſumes to trade with them ‡. Nor did the jealouſy and narrow maxims of the Spaniſh government ſtop here. It prohibited, under the moſt ſevere penalties, all communication between the various provinces ſituated on the South Sea; though each of theſe yields peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the happineſs of their reſpective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progreſs in induſtry. It cruelly debarred the Spaniards in Peru, in New Spain, in Guatimala, and the New Kingdom of Granada, from ſuch a correſpondence with each other, as tended manifeſtly to their mutual proſperity ‖.

Such is the great outline of that ſyſtem of policy purſued by the Spaniſh monarchs in regard to their American ſettlements; a ſyſtem dictated by ambi-

* Robertſon, Hiſt. America, vol. II. note 74. † Ulloa Retabliſſ. des Manufac.—On account of the diſtance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of ſuch bulk as wine and oil acroſs the iſthmus of Panama, or round by Cape Horn, the Spaniards in thoſe provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives; but they are ſtrictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to Panama, Guatimala, or any province in ſuch a ſituation as to receive it from Spain. Recopil. de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indas, lib. ix. tit. 18. ‡ Recopil. lib. ix. tit. 17. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. viii. ‖ Id. ibid.

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tion and avarice, and rendered more oppreſſive by ſuperſtition, as if Heaven had decreed that the ſame dæmons, which conſpired the ruin of the New World, ſhould alſo inflict vengeance on its deſtroyers. Never perhaps was deſpotiſm any where eſtabliſhed with ſo little regard to the rights of humanity. The natives reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude; the new inhabitants ſubjected to the arbitrary will of a ſucceſſion of hungry and rapacious governors, who, like ſo many vultures, prey upon their vitals; prohibited from ſupplying their own neceſſities, from having recourſe to foreigners, or to the neighbouring colonies of their countrymen, and obliged to purchaſe the articles ſent from the parent-ſtate at an exorbitant price!—In order to ſecure the monopoly at which ſhe aimed, Spain conducted all her trade with America by means of two fleets, which ſailed under ſtrong convoys; the one by the name of the Galleons, the other by that of the Flota. They were equipped annually, and originally took their departure from the port of Seville, afterwards from that off Cadiz. In conſequence of ſuch a reſtricted mode of communication, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent. are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies *.

Population was not likely to make rapid advances in ſettlements where men had ſo few inducements to look forward to poſterity, nor induſtry to flouriſh under ſo many diſcouragements. As a further check upon both, religion, which was early eſtabliſhed in America in the ſame form as in Spain, with its full train of archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and other dignitaries, demanded a tenth out of the produce of the planter. This tax upon induſtry, which is in no ſlight degree oppreſſive to ſociety even in its moſt improved ſtate, muſt have been highly grievous to infant colonies, as it affects every article of primary neceſſity towards which the attention of new ſettlers are naturally turned. Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of ſimple culture: its more artificial productions, ſuch as ſugar and indigo, were declared tythable †. The induſtry of the planter was taxed in every ſtage of its progreſs; but ſo fertile and inviting are the regions in America which the Spaniards have occupied, that population gradually increaſed in ſpite of every obſtruction, and filled her colonies with citizens of various orders. Among theſe, the Spaniards who arrive from Europe, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Chapetones, occupy the firſt rank; and from the jealous attention of the Spaniſh court to ſecure the dependence of the colonies, every department of conſequence is not only filled by perſons ſent from Europe, but each muſt bring proof of a clear deſcent from a family of *Old Chriſtians*, untainted by any mixture of Jewiſh or Mahometan blood, and never diſgraced by any cenſure of the inquiſition ‡. Power is deemed to be ſafely lodged in ſuch pure hands: almoſt every function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone; while thoſe, who by their birth or reſidence in America, may be ſuſpected to have any intereſt

* Ulloa, Retabliſſ. part II. † Recop. lib. i. tit. 16. ‡ Recop. lib. ix. tit. 26. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book viii. ‖ Recop. lib. i. tit. 16.

adverſe

BOOK II. adverſe to that of the mother-country, are the object of diſtruſt to ſuch a degree as amounts nearly to an excluſion from all offices of confidence or authority. In conſequence of this predilection of the court, the Chapetones are raiſed to ſuch pre-eminence in Spaniſh America, that they look down with diſdain on every other order of men.

The Creoles, or deſcendants of Europeans ſettled in America, form the ſecond claſs of ſubjects in the Spaniſh colonies. Some of them are deſcended from the conquerors of the New World, others can trace up their lineage to the nobleſt families in Spain, and many of them are poſſeſſed of ample fortunes; but, by the enervating influence of a ſultry climate, by the rigour of a jealous government, and by their deſpair of attaining thoſe diſtinctions to which mankind naturally aſpire, the vigour of their minds is ſo entirely broken, that great part of them, languid and unenterpriſing, waſte life in luxurious indulgencies, mingled with an illiberal ſpirit of ſuperſtition, ſtill more debaſing. Commerce appears to them ſo cumberſome and oppreſſive, that, in moſt parts of Spaniſh America, they decline engaging in it: the interior traffic of every colony, as well as its trade with the neighbouring provinces, where that is permitted, and with Spain itſelf, is therefore carried on chiefly by the Chapetones *, who acquire immenſe wealth by their induſtry, at the ſame time that they engroſs the emoluments of government.

The various paſſions excited by this diſtinction of rank and character, between thoſe two orders of citizens, have ſettled into the moſt violent and implacable hatred, which often breaks out in occaſional ferments, and is marked by appellations as contemptuous as thoſe which flow from the moſt deep-rooted national antipathy †. From a refinement in diſtruſtful policy, the court of Spain cheriſhes thoſe ſeeds of diſcord, and foments this mutual jealouſy; which not only prevents the two moſt powerful claſſes of its ſubjects in the New World from combining againſt the parent ſtate, but prompts each with the moſt vigilant zeal, to obſerve the motions and counteract the ſchemes of the other ‡.

The third claſs of inhabitants in the Spaniſh colonies is a mixed race, the offſpring either of an European and a Negro, or of an European and Indian; the former called Mulattoes, the latter, Meſtizos. The ſeveral ſtages of deſcent in their race, and the gradual variations of ſhade, until the African black, or the copper-colour of America, brighten into an European complexion, are accurately marked by the Spaniards, and each diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar name. Thoſe of the firſt generation are now conſidered and treated as Indians and Negroes; but in the third deſcent, the characteriſtic hue of the former diſappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is ſo entirely effaced that they can no longer be diſtinguiſhed from Europeans, and are entitled to all their privileges ‖. The mechanic arts are chiefly carried on by this mixed race, whoſe form is remarkably robuſt and hardy §.

* Voy. de Ulloa, tom. I. † Gage's Survey. ‡ Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book viii. ‖ Voy. de Ulloa, tom. I. § Id. ibid.

The Negroes hold the fourth rank among the inhabitants of the Spaniſh colonies, and in ſeveral of their ſettlements, particularly in New Spain, are employed in domeſtic ſervice. They form a principal part in the train of luxury, and are cheriſhed and careſſed by their ſuperiors, whoſe manners they imitate, and whoſe paſſions they imbibe. Their dreſs and appearance is hardly leſs ſplendid than that of their maſters *. Elevated by this diſtinction, they have aſſumed ſuch a tone of ſuperiority over the Indians, and treat them with ſuch inſolence and ſcorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru, where they are more numerous, and employed in field-work, the Negroes maintain their aſcendancy over the natives, and their mutual hatred ſubſiſts with equal violence. This averſion, to which accident gave birth, is induſtriouſly fomented by the laws; all intercourſe which might form a bond of union between the two races being prohibited by the moſt rigorous injunctions †.

The Indians form the fifth, and moſt depreſſed order of men, in that country which belonged to their anceſtors. By the famous edict of Charles V. which we have ſeen give riſe to ſo many diſturbances, the Indians were exempted from involuntary ſervices; but ſo many inconveniencies were experienced in carrying that edict literally into execution, that, after a variety of unſucceſsful attempts, the idea was laid aſide, and meaſures were taken to ſecure the labour of the Indians, though now conſidered as free men, as well as to make them contribute to the ſupport of government. With this view, an annual tax was impoſed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and at the ſame time, the nature as well as the extent of the ſervices which they might be required to perform, were aſcertained with preciſion. The tribute varies in different provinces, but if that paid in New Spain be taken as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four ſhillings a head ‡. The right of levying it likewiſe varies. Every Indian in Spaniſh America is either an immediate vaſſal of the crown, or depends upon ſome ſubject to whom the diſtrict in which he reſides, has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of *encomienda*. In the former caſe, about three-fourths of the tax is paid into the royal treaſury; in the latter, the ſame proportion of it belongs to the holder of the grant. According to the ſame rule, the benefit ariſing from the ſervice of the Indians accrues either to the crown, or to the perſon poſſeſſed of the *encomienda*. The nature of the work which they muſt perform is not only defined, but a recompence, ſeemingly equitable, is allowed for their labour. On many occaſions, however, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magiſtrates, unreaſonable taſks are impoſed, the term of their labour is prolonged, and they groan under all the inſults and wrongs which are the lot of a dependant people ‖.

The ſtated ſervices demanded of the Indians may be divided into two branches. They are either employed in works of primary neceſſity, without which ſociety

* Voy. de Ulloa, tom. I. Gage's Survey. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. viii.

† Recop. lib. vii. tit. 5.

‡ Recop. lib. vi tit. 5.

‖ Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. viii.

BOOK II.

cannot exiſt comfortably, ſuch as the culture of grain, the building of bridges, the forming of high roads; or they are compelled to labour in the mines, from which the Spaniſh colonies derive their chief value and importance *. The laſt is the great ſource of their oppreſſion. Their conſtitutions are exhauſted in extracting ore from the bowels of the earth, and in refining it by ſucceſſive proceſſes, no leſs unwholeſome than laborious. How often muſt they curſe the richneſs of their country! which not only tempted the Spaniards to deprive them of their poſſeſſions, but to condemn them to a condition more completely wretched than that of any other vanquiſhed race.

Theſe reflections naturally lead us to ſpeak of the American mines, to which the firſt ſettlers bent all their attention, and which poured forth their treaſures with a profuſion that aſtoniſhed mankind. The quantity of gold and ſilver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain is computed at four millions ſterling annually; reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was firſt diſcovered, to the preſent time. In two hundred and eighty-three years, this amounts to eleven hundred and thirty two millions; and, immenſe as this ſum is, the Spaniſh writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it, in conſideration of the treaſure which has been extracted from the mines, without paying duty to the king: conſequently, admitting their computation, Spain has drawn from the New World, a ſupply of wealth amounting at leaſt to two thouſand millions of pounds ſterling †.

One might naturally ſuppoſe that ſuch a torrent of treaſure muſt have rendered Spain the richeſt country in the univerſe. But the event has proved otherwiſe. When the American mines were firſt opened, and the intercourſe between Spain and her colonies became active and conſiderable, her interior induſtry and manufactures were in a ſtate ſo proſperous, that, with the product of theſe, ſhe was able to anſwer their growing demands. Before that time, her manufactures in wool, in flax, and in ſilk, were ſo extenſive as to furniſh not only what was ſufficient for her own conſumption, but to afford a ſurplus for exportation; and when a market for them formerly unknown, was opened, to which ſhe alone had acceſs, this new employment muſt have added vivacity to the ſpirit of induſtry. Various cauſes, however, contributed to the decay of that ſpirit, and prevented the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain from increaſing in the ſame proportion with her colonies, or her colonies from attaining that degree of proſperity which might have been expected from the opulence and fertility of the countries where they are ſettled.

Political writers are much divided on this ſubject; and an author of real diſcernment ‡ has juſtly ridiculed the commonly received opinion, that the Spaniards voluntarily neglected their manufactures and agriculture, in conſequence of finding themſelves maſters of the treaſures of America, which induſtry only could make the property of the people, or of ſuch individuals as did not

* Recop. lib. vi. tit. 13.

† Uztariz, Theor. y Pract. de Comercia, c. 3. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. viii. Of theſe mines a particular account ſhall be given, in treating of the countries in which they are found.

‡ Abbé Raynal.

viſit

viſit the New World. But another author * of no leſs penetration, and more comprehenſive ideas, has taken the matter a little higher. It is with nations, he obſerves, as with individuals; when wealth flows in gradually, and with moderate increaſe, it feeds and nouriſhes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well conducted exertions; but when it pours in ſuddenly, and with too full a ſtream, it overturns all ſober plans of induſtry, and brings along with it a taſte for what is wild, extravagant, and daring, in buſineſs or in action. Accordingly, ſome ſymptoms of the pernicious influence of the great and ſudden augmentation of revenue, that the poſſeſſion of America brought into Spain, ſoon began to appear in the political operations of that monarchy, and rapidly communicated itſelf to the people. It inſpired Charles V. with the idea of overturning the liberties of Germany; and Philip II. whoſe talents were by no means equal, but whoſe ambition was not inferior to that of his father, entertained ſo high an opinion of his own reſources, that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. He had formed the ſcheme, if we may credit contemporary hiſtorians, of making himſelf as abſolute in Europe as in America. One thing we know, that he waged open war with the Engliſh and Dutch, encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France, and conquered Portugal, at the ſame time that he maintained armies and garriſons in Italy, Africa, in the Eaſt Indies, and the New World.

By ſuch a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, purſued with ardour during the courſe of two long reigns, Spain was drained both of men and money; and the few inhabitants that remained, would have thought they proſtituted their victorious hands, by applying them to peaceful labours. Under the weak adminiſtration of Philip III. the vigour of the nation continued to decreaſe, and was ſunk into the loweſt decline, when the inconſiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once near a million of his moſt induſtrious ſubjects; ex- A. D. 1611.
pelled them at the very time, when the exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom required ſome extraordinary exertion of political wiſdom to augment its numbers and to revive its ſtrength. Theſe were the Moreſcoes, or deſcendants of the Moors, who were ſuppoſed, from ſome circumſtances, to be infidels in their hearts, though they outwardly profeſſed Chriſtianity.

It is eaſy to conceive what a vacancy the loſs of a million of induſtrious inhabitants muſt make in a country at ſuch a criſis; at a time when the nobility, who ſtill retained the prejudices and barbarous privileges of the Viſigoths, from whom they boaſted their deſcent, threw all the labour upon that ſet of men they deſpiſed, though in fact the moſt uſeful. The military, that deſtructive profeſſion, in every ſenſe of the word, was the only one that was entitled to any diſtinction; and the arts of primary neceſſity, as well as thoſe by which life is rendered more comfortable, ſtamped a mark of diſhonour upon thoſe who profeſſed them. If agriculture was in the leaſt attended to, it was becauſe there were ſlaves; if Spain had any manufactures, it was owing to the Moreſcoes, who led a laborious life,

* Dr. Robertſon.

and

and were generally held in contempt. Adminiſtration did not reflect, That, in order to retain the treaſures of America in the mother-country, it was neceſſary to encourage that induſtry which brought them thither. The only active part of the nation, the only ſet of men who could promote this great end, were infamouſly baniſhed; and incredible as it may ſeem, there was not a kingdom in Europe ſufficiently enlightened to afford them an aſylum. They were forced to diſperſe themſelves in Africa and Aſia.

Spain felt ſuch a diminution in the number of her people, that, from her inability to recruit her armies, ſhe was obliged to contract her operations: her flouriſhing manufactures were fallen into decay; her fleets, which had been the terror of Europe, were ruined; her extenſive foreign commerce was loſt; the trade between different parts of her own dominions was interrupted, and the ſhips which attempted to carry it on were taken and plundered, by enemies whom ſhe once deſpiſed. When the Spaniſh miniſtry firſt perceived the want of ſpecie, occaſioned by thoſe multiplied misfortunes, they thought it only neceſſary to impoſe heavier duties on manufactures and artificers, in order to ſupply that deficiency; and when they had no more manufactures to oppreſs, they oppreſſed the farmer, by taxes as ill judged as they were various and exceſſive. In conſequence of theſe, and other concurring cauſes, even agriculture, the firſt object of induſtry in every proſperous ſtate, was neglected; and that fertile peninſula, which afforded ſubſiſtence to thirteen or fourteen millions of people before the diſcovery of America, and which had formerly been the granary of Rome and all Italy, was ſoon overſpread with thorns and briars, and ſcarcely raiſed what was ſufficient for the ſupport of its few remaining inhabitants.

The demands of the colonies continued to increaſe, in proportion as the preſent ſtate declined in population and manufactures. Diverted from the paths of ſober induſtry by the profeſſion of arms, which, as already obſerved, alone was held honourable, or by the oppreſſions of government, the Spaniards repaired with eagerneſs to the New World, in hopes of bettering their condition in that land of treaſure. Another drain was opened, by this rage of emigration; and the ſtrength of the colonies was augmented by exhauſting that of the mother-country. This matter requires ſome explanation.

In the countries of Europe, where the ſpirit of induſtry ſubſiſts in full vigour, every perſon ſettled in colonies ſimilar in their ſituation to thoſe of Spain, is ſuppoſed to give employment to three or four at home in ſupplying his wants *; but wherever the mother-country cannot afford this ſupply, every emigrant may be conſidered as a citizen loſt to the community, as ſtrangers muſt reap the chief benefit of anſwering his demands. Thinned of people, and void of induſtry, Spain was unable to ſupply the increaſing demands of her colonies. She had recourſe to her neighbours. The manufactures of the Low-Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into exiſtence, or animated with new vigour, furniſhed in abundance whatever ſhe required. In

* Child on Trade and Colonies.

vain did the fundamental law of Ferdinand and Iſabella, concerning the excluſion of foreigners from the trade of America oppoſe this innovation: neceſſity, more powerful than the ſtatute, defeated its operations, and conſtrained the Spaniards themſelves to concur in eluding it. Relying on the fidelity and honour of the Spaniſh merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, the Engliſh, the French, and Dutch, ſend out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are ſold there, either in ſpecie, or in the rich commodities of the New World *. That probity, which is the pride and diſtinction of the nation, has been the ſecurity of foreigners in this trade: neither the dread of danger, nor the allurements of profit, ever induced a Spaniſh factor to betray the perſon who confided in him †.

Before the middle of the ſeventeenth century, not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spaniſh growth or fabric. All the reſt was the property of foreign merchants, though entered in the name of Spaniards. The treaſure of the New World may be ſaid henceforth not to have belonged to Spain, as it was anticipated, before it reached Europe, as the price of goods purchaſed from foreigners. This deſtructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faſter and more completely, than even the ruinous ſchemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was ſo much aſtoniſhed and diſtreſſed, at beholding her American treaſures vaniſh almoſt as ſoon as they appeared, that ſhe had recourſe to many wild and ineffectual expedients. The exportation of gold and ſilver was rendered capital: but this law was eluded, like the former; and Philip IV. unable to ſupply what was requiſite in circulation, endeavoured to raiſe copper coin to a value in currency nearly equal to that of ſilver. The lord of the mines of Mexico and Peru was reduced to the neceſſity of uttering baſe money.

Such, from the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, has been the internal ſtate of Spain, and ſuch her inability to ſupply the growing wants of her ſettlements: and the fatal effects of this diſproportion between their demands and her capacity of anſwering them, have been much increaſed by the mode already explained, in which the Spaniſh court has endeavoured to regulate the intercourſe between the mother-country and the colonies. The trade with America being confined to one part, was of courſe thrown into a few hands, and almoſt the whole of it was gradually engroſſed by a ſmall number of wealthy houſes, formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. Nor does this reſtraint on the American commerce only affect its domeſtic ſtate, it alſo limits its foreign operations. A monopoliſt may acquire more by a confined trade, which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extenſive commerce, in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. It is often his intereſt not to enlarge, but to circumſcribe the ſphere of his activity; and inſtead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial induſtry, it may be the object of his attention to check and ſet bounds to them. By ſome ſuch maxim the mercantile policy of Spain ſeems to have regulated its inter-

* Raynal, liv. viii. Robertſon, book viii. † Zavala.

courſe with America; for inſtead of furniſhing the colonies with European goods in ſuch quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate, the merchants of Seville and Cadiz have always ſupplied them with a ſparing hand, that the eagerneſs of competition amongſt the cuſtomers, obliged to purchaſe in a ſcanty market, might enable their factors to diſpoſe of their cargoes with exorbitant gain *.

Under the feeble monarchs, with whom the reign of the Auſtrian line in Spain cloſed, no remedy was applied to the evils under which the national commerce, domeſtic as well foreign, languiſhed. Theſe evils continued to increaſe; and Spain, with dominions more extenſive, and more opulent than any European ſtate, poſſeſſed neither vigour, nor money, nor induſtry. At length, to uſe the elegant language of Dr. Robertſon, the violence of a great national convulſion rouſed the ſlumbering genius of Spain, and the efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war, kindled by the diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown at the beginning of the preſent century, called forth in ſome degree the ancient ſpirit and vigour of the nation; while the various powers who favoured the pretenſions of the Auſtrian or Bourbon candidate for the throne, France, England and Holland, ſent formidable fleets and armies to their ſupport, and remitted immenſe ſums of money to Spain, which were ſpent in the provinces that became the theatre of war. Part of the American treaſure, of which the kingdom had been drained, flowed back thither; and as ſoon as the Bourbons obtained quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, they diſcerned this change in the ſpirit of the people, and in the ſtate of the nation, and took advantage of it. Accordingly, the firſt object of Philip V. was to ſuppreſs an innovation which had taken place during the war, and which overturned the whole ſyſtem of the Spaniſh commerce with America.

The Engliſh and Dutch by their ſuperiority in naval power, having acquired ſuch command of the ſea as to cut off all communication between Spain and her colonies, the Spaniſh court, in order to furniſh them with thoſe neceſſaries of life without which they could not ſubſiſt, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treaſure, departed ſo far from the uſual rigour of its maxims, as to open the trade with Peru to the French. Lewis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce to the merchants of St. Malo, who engaged in it with vigour, and carried it on upon principles very different from thoſe of the Spaniards. They ſupplied Peru with European commodities at a more moderate price, and not in ſtinted quantity: the goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spaniſh America, in ſuch abundance as had never been ſeen in any former period; and if this intercourſe had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain muſt have ceaſed, and the de-

* Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book viii. About the middle of the laſt century, when the excluſive trade to America from Seville was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the burden of the two united ſquadrons of the Galleons and Flota did not exceed twenty-ſeven thouſand five hundred tons; (Campomanes Educ. Popul.) a ſupply by no means adequate to the demands of the populous and extenſive colonies, which depended on thoſe fleets for the luxuries, and many of the neceſſaries of life. The return being chiefly in gold and ſilver, was eaſily conveyed.

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pendance of the colonies on the mother-country have been at an end. Peremptory orders were therefore iſſued, prohibiting the admiſſion of foreign veſſels into any part of Peru or Chili, while a Spaniſh ſquadron was employed to clear the South Sea of intruders, to whatever nation they might belong.

But though Spain obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial ſyſtem, on the ceſſation of the war which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, A. D. 1713. ſhe was expoſed to another which ſhe deemed hardly leſs pernicious. As an inducement with queen Anne to conclude a peace, which France and Spain deſired with equal ardour, Philip V. not only conveyed to Great Britain the Aſſiento, or contract for ſupplying the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of ſending annually to the fair of Porto-Bello a ſhip of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In conſequence of this contract, which was veſted excluſively in the South Sea Company, Britiſh factories were eſtabliſhed at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos-Ayres, and other Spaniſh ſettlements; and the company was farther permitted to freight in the ports of the South Sea veſſels of four hundred tons burden, in order to convey its negroes to all the coaſts of Peru; to equip them as it pleaſed; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its ſales in gold or ſilver, without being ſubject to any duty of import or export *. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the ſtate and tranſactions of her colonies was removed: the agents of a rival nation, reſiding in the towns of moſt extenſive trade, and of chief reſort, had the beſt opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the provinces; of obſerving their ſtated and occaſional wants, and of knowing what commodities might be imported into them with the greateſt advantage. The merchants of Jamaica, and other Engliſh colonies that traded to the Spaniſh main, were accordingly enabled, by means of information ſo authentic and expeditious, to aſſort and proportion their cargoes ſo exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility, and to an extent unknown in any former period †.

This, however, was not the moſt fatal effect of the Aſſiento to the trade of Spain. The agents of the Britiſh South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authoriſed to make by the ſhip ſent annually to Porto-Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spaniſh continent, without limitation or reſtraint. Inſtead of a veſſel of five hundred tons, as ſtipulated by the treaty, they uſually employed one of a thouſand tons in burden, excluſive of water and proviſions. She was accompanied by three or four ſmaller veſſels, that ſupplied her wants; and which mooring in ſome neighbouring creek, furniſhed her clandeſtinely with freſh bales of goods, in order to replace ſuch as were ſold. Gained by exorbitant preſents, the inſpectors of the fair, and the officers of the revenue, connived at the fraud ‡.

* Anderſon, Hiſt. Com. vol. II. † Id. ibid. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book viii.
‡ Ut ſupra.

Thus

BOOK II.

Thus, partly by the operations of the Britiſh South Sea Company, and partly by the activity of private interlopers, almoſt the whole trade of Spaniſh America was engroſſed by foreigners. The immenſe commerce of the Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, ruined by this competition, as well as by the various articles that the Engliſh poured into the ports whither they
A. D. 1737. carried their Negroes, ſunk to nothing; and the ſquadron itſelf, reduced from fifteen thouſand to two thouſand tons, ſerved hardly any other purpoſe than to fetch home the royal revenue, ariſing from the fifth on ſilver.

It was alike impoſſible for Spain not to obſerve thoſe pernicious encroachments, whoſe effects were ſo ſenſibly felt, or tamely to ſubmit to them. Her firſt attempt to reſtrain them was, by ſtationing ſhips of force, under the name of *Guarda Coſtas*, upon the coaſts of thoſe provinces, to which interlopers moſt frequently reſorted; and as private intereſt concurred with the duty which they owed to the public, in rendering the officers who commanded them vigilant and active, ſome check was given to the progreſs of the contraband trade, though in dominions ſo extenſive, and ſo acceſſible by ſea, no number of cruizers was ſufficient to guard againſt its inroads in every quarter. But this interruption, however imperfect, of an intercourſe that had been carried on with ſo much facility, that the merchants in the Britiſh colonies were accuſtomed to conſider it almoſt as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs and complaints; which were, in ſome meaſure authoriſed, and rendered more intereſting by ſeveral unjuſtifiable acts of violence committed by the Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas.
A. D. 1739. Theſe precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain; in conſequence of which, the latter obtained a releaſe from the Aſſiento, and was left at full liberty, by the
A. D. 1748. treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, to regulate the trade with her colonies, without being reſtrained by any foreign engagements.

Other beneficial regulations had taken place before this era. The formidable encroachments of the Engliſh on their American trade, had not only diſcovered to the Spaniards the vaſt conſumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occaſional demand of the various provinces, but made them ſenſible of the neceſſity of deviſing ſome mode of communication, different from the ancient one by periodical fleets, which was ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely ſupply of what it wanted. As the departure of the Galeons and Flota was ſometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe, the ſcarcity of European goods in the Spaniſh ſettlements, after the trade of the South Sea Company was interrupted, frequently became exceſſive: their price roſe to an enormous height: the watchful eye of mercantile attention did not fail to obſerve this favourable opportunity: an ample ſupply was poured in by interlopers, in ſpite of the vigilance of the Guarda Coſtas, from the Engliſh, the French, and Dutch iſlands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets ſo glutted by that illicit commerce, that there was no demand for their valuable cargoes. In order to remedy this evil, Spain permitted a conſiderable part of her trade with America to be carried on by *regiſter ſhips*; which being

being fitted out during the intervals between the ſtated ſeaſons, when the Galeons and Flota ſail, by merchants in Seville and Cadiz, ſet out for thoſe ports where any extraordinary demand is foreſeen or expected, after obtaining a licence from the council of the Indies.

The advantages of conducting commerce in this mode were ſoon perceived: when the American market was furniſhed with a regular ſupply of freſh commodities, the interloper could no longer be allured by the ſame proſpect of exceſſive gain, nor the people in the colonies urged by the ſame neceſſity to engage in the hazardous adventure of contraband trade: the number of regiſter-ſhips increaſed; and at length, in 1748, the Galeons were finally aboliſhed, after having been employed upwards of two centuries. Since that time, the trade with Chili and Peru has been carried on entirely by ſingle ſhips, diſpatched as occaſion requires. Theſe ſail round Cape-Horn, and convey directly to the ports of the South Sea, the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people ſettled in thoſe countries, were formerly obliged to repair to Porto-Bello, or Panama. Such an intercourſe cannot fail to contribute to the happineſs and proſperity of all the Spaniſh colonies on the South Sea; but as all the regiſter ſhips deſtined for that ocean, muſt take their departure from Cadiz, and are obliged to return thither *, this branch of the American commerce, even in its improved form, ſtill continues ſubject to the reſtraints of a ſpecies of monopoly, and muſt feel its pernicious effects.

Since the acceſſion of the reigning monarch, Charles III. ſeveral new regulations have taken place, which diſcover the progreſs of a ſpirit in Spain, far elevated above the narrow maxims on which her ſyſtem concerning the trade and government of her colonies was originally founded. The firſt of theſe was the appointing of packet-boats, to be diſpatched on the firſt day of each month, A. D. 1764. from Corugna to the Havana, or Porto Rico †. Letters are thence conveyed in ſmaller veſſels to Vera Cruz and Porto Bello, and tranſmitted by poſt through the kingdoms of Tierra Firme, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. Packet boats ſail with no leſs regularity, once in two months, to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the eaſt of the Andes. With this ſalutary arrangement, which cannot fail of redounding to the political and mercantile intereſts of the kingdom, a ſcheme of extending commerce has been immediately connected: each of the packet-boats, which are veſſels of conſiderable burden, is allowed to take in half a loading of ſuch commodities as are the product of Spain, and moſt in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for

* Campomanes.

† While Spain adhered with rigour to her ancient maxims concerning the commerce with America, ſhe was ſo much afraid of opening any channel, by which an illicit trade might find admiſſion into the colonies, that ſhe almoſt ſhut herſelf out from any intercourſe with them, except that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no eſtabliſhment for a regular communication of either public or private intelligence between the mother-country and her American ſettlements. Hence the operations of the ſtate, and the buſineſs of individuals, were retarded, or conducted unſkilfully; and Spain often received from foreigners the firſt information with reſpect to very intereſting events in her own colonies. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. viii.

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BOOK II.

these, they bring home to Corugna an equal quantity of American productions *.

This first relaxation of those rigid laws which confined the trade with the New World to a single port, was soon followed by one more decisive. In the year 1765, Charles III. laid open the trade to the Windward islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his subjects in every province of Spain; permitting them to sail from certain ports in each of those specified in the edict, at any season, and with whatever cargo they judge most proper, without any other warrant than a simple clearance from the custom-house of the place whence they take their departure: and in 1774, he published an edict, granting to the provinces situated on the South Sea, the privilege of a free trade with each other †. Still, however, the commercial regulations of Spain with respect to her colonies, are too rigid and systematical; and many pernicious institutions and abuses, deeply incorporated with the system of internal policy that has been long established in the mother-country, must be abolished, before industry and manufactures can recover such extensive activity, as to enable her to reap those advantages, which she has a natural right to expect from her American settlements ‡.

CHAP. II.

Account of New Spain *and the neighbouring Provinces.*

MEXICO, or New Spain, the first valuable acquisition of the Spaniards on the continent of America, still continues their principal settlement, whether we consider the number of its inhabitants, its natural wealth, or its extended traffic. As the greater part of it lies within the torrid zone, it is excessively hot; and on the eastern coast, where the land is low, marshy, and constantly flooded in the rainy seasons; it is likewise extremely unwholesome. That coast is in other respects disagreeable, being generally encumbered with almost impenetrable woods of mangrove-trees, of a bare and forbidding aspect. The inland country presents a more inviting appearance, and the air is of a better temperature. There the tropical fruits grow in great abundance. On the western side, the land is not so low as on the eastern, is much better in quality, and chiefly laid out in plantations. Few countries, in a word, under the canopy of heaven, enjoy more profusely the benefits of nature, and the necessaries of life; though, like all the tropical countries, it abounds more

* Ponz, Viage de Espagna. Campomanes, Educ. Popul. Append. ii.

† Robertson, Hist. Amer. Book viii.

‡ The trade between New Spain and the Philippines is purposely here ommitted, as it has no connexion with the general policy of Spain in regard to her colonies. It shall be mentioned in speaking of Acapulco, the port from which it is carried on.

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in fruits than in grain. Pine-apples, pomgranates, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, and cocoa-nuts, are here produced in the greateſt plenty and perfection.

The viceroyalty of New Spain is divided into three audiences, namely that of Mexico, of Guadalaxara, and of Guatimala; in each of which are comprehended ſeveral extenſive provinces: but before we proceed to a particular deſcription of theſe, it will be proper to give an account of ſuch natural productions as are leſs or more common to all, and which conſtitute the commerce of this very valuable part of the Spaniſh empire in America. Of theſe the moſt conſiderable are gold and ſilver.

The origin of metals has not always been well underſtood. It was long thought that they were as old as the creation. It is now believed with greater reaſon, that they are formed ſucceſſively: in fact, it is impoſſible to doubt that nature is continually in action, and that ſhe exerts herſelf with as much power in the bowels of the earth, as on its ſurface. Every metal, according to the chemiſts, has for its principle, an earth which conſtitutes and is peculiar to it. It preſents itſelf ſometimes to us in the form which characteriſes it, and ſometimes under various appearances, and then it requires a degree of habit and ſkill to recognize it. In the firſt caſe it is called native, in the ſecond mineralized ore.

Metals, whether native or mineralized, are ſometimes ſcattered by fragments in beds of earth that are horizontal or inclined; but this is not the place of their origin: they have been conveyed thither by vulcanoes, floods or earthquakes, which are continually ſubverting our miſerable planet. They are commonly found within the rocks and mountains where they are formed; ſometimes in regular veins, ſometimes in detached maſſes: and according to the conjectures of naturaliſts, from theſe large caverns, which are perpetually heated, ariſe continual exhalations. Theſe ſulphurous and ſaline liquors act on the metallic particles, attenuate, divide them, and put them in motion within the cavities of the earth. They again unite; and then becoming too heavy to ſupport themſelves in the air, they fall and are heaped up one upon another. If in their ſeveral motions they have not met with other bodies, they form pure metals: if otherwiſe, they are combined with foreign ſubſtances.

Nature, which, from ſome circumſtances, ſeems to have intended to conceal theſe metals from the avidity of man, has alſo taken care to generate them in ſuch places as are entirely unfit for paſture or tillage, that the ſoil proper for yielding any thing neceſſary to his well-being, might not be torn up in ſearch of what generally turns to his prejudice. They are uſually found in mountains, where plants grow with difficulty, and ſoon fade; where trees are ſmall and crooked; where the moiſture of dews, rains, and even of ſnows, is ſoon dried up; where ſulphureous and mineral exhalations ariſe; where the waters are impregnated with vitriolic ſalts, and where the ſands contain metallic particles. Though each of theſe marks, ſeparately conſidered, be ambiguous, the whole united, are almoſt an infallible proof of a mine.

Gold is found either in the ſand of rivers native, and in ſmall grains, or it is dug out of the earth in the ſame condition in ſmall bits, almoſt wholly metallic,

BOOK II.

and of a tolerable purity; or it is found, like the ore of other metals, in an aggregate opaque maſs, in a mixture of earth, ſtone, ſulphur, and other ſubſtances. In this ſtate it is of all colours; red, white, blackiſh, making little or no diſplay of the riches it contains. Sometimes it forms part of the ornaments of ſome beautiful ſtones, which are of various lively colours, intermixed with filaments of this metal, quite native. Lapis lazuli is one of theſe, which has always ſome ſmall portions of gold: but this gold-ſtreaking is often extremely fallacious, and has betrayed many into ruinous expences; for in ſeveral ſtones, theſe fine veins have been no more than marcaſite.

It is remarkable that the gold mines, though they contain the richeſt of all metals, and though neither the labouring of the mine, nor the purifying of the metal, is attended with ſuch an expence as the working and purifying inferior metals, moſt frequently diſappoint the hopes and ruin the fortunes of ſuch as engage in them. This is occaſioned by the inequality of the vein. In ſome inſtances it is very large, full, and rich; in others, it decays by a quick gradation, and is frequently loſt of a ſudden. But, on the other hand, the ends of the veins are often extremely rich. Theſe are called the *purſe* of the vein; and when the miner is ſo lucky as to diſcover one of them, his fortune is made.

The gold ore, when dug out of the mine, is uſually broke to pieces in a mill, reſembling thoſe large ones employed for grinding apples or bark, wherein a mill ſtone ſet on its edge is made to turn in a circular channel of ſtone. When the ore is thus broke, and the gold ſomewhat ſeparated from the impure maſs, they add to the whole a quantity of quick-ſilver. Of all other metals quick-ſilver has the greateſt attraction with gold; which therefore immediately breaks the links that held it to the former earth, and clings cloſe to this congenial metal. A rapid ſtream of water is then let into the channel; and this ſtream, ſcouring away (through a hole made for the purpoſe) the light earth, by the briſkneſs of its current, leaves the maſs of gold and mercury, precipitated by its weight, at the bottom. This amalgama, or paſte, is put into a linen cloth, and ſqueezed ſo as to make the quickſilver ſeparate and run out. To complete the ſeparation, it is neceſſary to fuſe the metal, and then all the mercury flies off in fumes *.

Another method of obtaining and purifying gold is alſo practiſed in Spaniſh America. When by ſure tokens they know that gold lies in the bed of a rivulet, they turn the current into the inward angles, which time and the ſtream have formed; and whilſt this runs, they dig and turn up the earth, in order to make it more eaſily diſſolve, and be carried off. After the ſurface is completely waſhed away, and when they have come to a ſort of ſtiff earth, which is the receptacle of gold, they turn the ſtream back into its former channel, and dig up the earth, which they carry to a little baſon, ſomewhat in the form of a ſmith's bellows. Into this they direct a ſmall but lively ſtream, to carry off the foreign matter, whilſt they facilitate the operation by ſtirring the maſs with an iron hook, which diſſolves the earth, and gathers up the ſtones, which are carefully thrown out,

* Acoſta, lib. iv.

that

that they may not interrupt the paſſages that carry off the earth. The gold by this means looſened from the groſs ſubſtances which adhere to it, falls to the bottom, but mixed ſo intimately with a black heavy ſand, that none of the metal can be perceived, unleſs the grains happen to be uncommonly large. In order to ſeparate it from this ſand, it is put into a ſort of wooden platter, with a little hollow of about the depth of half an inch at bottom. This platter they fill with water, and turning the maſs about briſkly with their hands for ſome time, the ſand paſſes over the edges, and leaves the gold in ſmall grains, pure, and of its genuine colour, in the hollow of the bottom. Thus is gold refined without fire or mercury, merely by waſhing; the places where this operation is performed, are therefore called Lavaderos by the Spaniards.

Silver is the metal next in rank, but firſt in conſequence in the Spaniſh traffic, as their mines yield a much greater quantity of the latter than of the former. It is found in the earth under various forms, as the ore of all metals indeed is. There are ſome inſtances wherein the ſilver, almoſt pure, twines itſelf about a white ſtone, penetrating into the interſtices in the ſame manner as the roots of trees enter into the rocks, and twiſt themſelves about them. Some ores are of an aſh-coloured appearance, others ſpotted of a red and blue; ſome of changeable colours; and many all black, affecting ſomewhat of a pointed regular form like cryſtals.

The manner of refining ſilver does not differ eſſentially from the proceſs which is employed for gold. They are both purified upon the ſame principle; by clearing away as much of the earth as can be, with water; by uniting or amalgamating the ore with mercury, and afterwards by clearing off the mercury itſelf by ſtraining and evaporation. But the management of ſilver is, in this reſpect, more difficult than that of gold; becauſe ſilver is more intimately united with the foreign ſubſtances with which it is found in the mine, and its attraction with mercury is much weaker: great care is therefore required in the amalgamation, and it is long before they are perfectly mixed. A quantity of ſea-ſalt is likewiſe added. No ſilver is obtained by mere waſhing *.

The mines in the Spaniſh colonies are not worked at the expence of the crown, or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the perſon who diſcovers a new vein is entitled to the property of it. On laying his claim before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is meaſured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the cuſtomary duty to the king for what it ſhall produce; namely, one fifth out of the ſilver, and one tenth out of the gold, the gold mines being more precarious. Invited by the facility with which ſuch grants are obtained, and encouraged by ſome ſtriking examples of ſucceſs in this line of adventure, not only the ſanguine and the bold, but the timid and the diffident enter upon it with aſtoniſhing ardour. Every other occupation is deemed inſipid and unintereſting; and every bounty of nature is ſo much de-

* Id. ibid.

BOOK II.

ſpiſed, in compariſon with the precious metals, that the Spaniards ſettled in America denominate a country *rich*, not from the fertility of its ſoil, the abundance of its crops, or the luxuriance of its paſtures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain *.

The principal mines of New Spain are in the provinces of Zacatecas, New Biſcay, and Mexico Proper; all in the inland part of the country, where there are no navigable rivers, and where it is impoſſible for an enemy to penetrate by land. Theſe are ſuppoſed to employ forty thouſand Indians, under the direction of four thouſand Spaniards; and the total produce of the mines of New Spain, according to Villa Segnor, amounts at a medium, to eight millions of peſos in ſilver annually, and to five thouſand nine hundred and twelve marks of gold †.

But though the inhabitants of New Spain, like thoſe in moſt of the Spaniſh ſettlements, have employed themſelves chiefly in ſearching for the precious metals, they have not altogether neglected the cultivation of the earth. Cotton, ſugar, cocoa, tobacco, and European corn, have all been raiſed with conſiderable advantage. Theſe, however, for want of men and induſtry, are conſumed merely within the country. The vanilla, indigo, and cochineal, only make part of the trade of New Spain with Europe.

The vanilla is a plant which, like ivy, clings to the trees it meets with, embraces them cloſely, and raiſes itſelf by their aid. Its ſtem is very ſmall in diameter, and not quite round. Though exceedingly pliable, it is pretty hard. Its bark is thin, very cloſe, and of a green colour. It is interſected, like the vine, with knots at the diſtance of ſix or ſeven inches from each other. From theſe knots iſſue leaves reſembling thoſe of the laurel, but longer, larger, thicker, and more ſolid. They are of a bright green colour; their upper ſurface gloſſy, their under a little pale. The flowers are blackiſh. A ſmall pod about ſix inches long, and four broad, wrinkled, flabby, oily, though brittle, may be conſidered as the fruit of this plant. The inner part of the pod is lined with a pulp that is browniſh, aromatic, ſomewhat acrid, and full of black, oily, and balſamic liquor, in which an infinite number of black, ſhining, and almoſt imperceptible ſeeds float. The ſeaſon for gathering the pods begins about the latter end of September, and laſts till the end of December. They are dried in the ſhade; and when dry, and fit for keeping, they are rubbed externally with a little oil of cocoa, or of calba, to prevent them from becoming too dry and brittle ‡.

This is nearly all that is known of the vanilla, which is particularly appropriated to the perfuming of chocolate; a practice which has paſſed from the Mexicans to the Spaniards, and from them to other nations. That alone is eſteemed which grows in the mountains of New Spain. The Indians only are acquainted with the culture of it; and it is pretended that they have kept this ſource of wealth to themſelves, by taking an oath, that they would never reveal to the

* Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. viii.
† Theat. Mex. vol. I.
‡ Dampier, vol. I. Raynal, lib. vi.

Spaniards

Spaniards any thing reſpecting the planting of the vanilla. It is more probable, however, that they owe this advantage to the character of their conquerors; who, content with the riches they have acquired, and habituated to lead an indolent life, and to indulge themſelves in ignorance, equally contemn the curioſities of natural hiſtory, and the reſearches of thoſe who apply to it.

The Spaniards are better acquainted with indigo. This plant, whoſe root is three or four inches thick, and more than a foot long, has a ſmell ſomething like parſley. From the root iſſues a ſingle ſtem, nearly of the ſame thickneſs, about two feet high, ſtraight, hard, and almoſt woody, covered with a bark ſlightly ſplit, of a grey aſh-colour towards the bottom, green in the middle, reddiſh at the extremity, and without the appearance of pith in the inſide. The leaves, ranged in pairs around the ſtalk, are of an oval form, ſmooth, ſoft to the touch, furrowed above, of a deep green on the under ſide, and connected by a very ſhort pedicle. From above one third of the ſtem to the extremity, are ears loaded with very ſmall flowers, from a dozen to fifteen, but deſtitute of ſmell. The petal, which is in the midſt of each flower, changes into a pod, in which the ſeeds are incloſed.

Indigo requires a ſmooth rich ſoil, well tilled, and not too dry. The ſeed of it, which as to figure and colour reſembles gun-powder, is ſowed in little furrows, two or three inches deep, at the diſtance of a foot from each other, and in as ſtraight a line as poſſible. Continual attention is required to pluck up the weeds, which would ſoon choak the plant. Though it may be ſown in all ſeaſons, the ſpring is commonly preferred. Moiſture cauſes it to ſhoot above the ſurface in three or four days, and it is ripe in two months. When it begins to flower, it is cut with pruning knives, and cut again at the end of every ſix weeks, if the weather is a little rainy. It laſts about two years, after which it degenerates. It is then plucked up, and planted afreſh.

Indigo is diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, the true and the baſtard. Though the firſt is ſold at a higher price on account of its ſuperiority, it is more generally advantageous to cultivate the latter, becauſe it is heavier. The firſt will grow in many different ſoils, the ſecond ſucceeds beſt in thoſe which are moiſt. Both are liable to great accidents. Sometimes the plant becomes dry, and is deſtroyed by an inſect frequently found on it; at other times the leaves, which are the moſt valuable part of the plant, are devoured in the ſpace of twenty four hours by catterpillars. The laſt misfortune, which is but too common, has given occaſion to the ſaying, That the planters of indigo go to bed rich, and riſe in the morning totally ruined.

This production ought to be gathered in with great precaution, without preſſing or ſhaking it, as the value of the indigo, when manufactured, depends very much upon the fine farina which adheres to the leaves of the plant. When gathered, it is thrown into the ſteeping-vat, which is a large tub filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermentation, which in twenty-four hours at fartheſt is compleated. A cock is then turned, to let the water into a ſecond veſſel, called the mortar or pounding-tub. The ſteeping-vat is then cleaned

out,

out, that freſh plants may be thrown in; and thus the work is continued without interruption.

The water which has run into the pounding-tub is found impregnated with a very ſubtle earth, which alone conſtitutes the dregs, or blue ſubſtance, that is the object of this proceſs, and which muſt be ſeparated from the uſeleſs ſalt of the plant, becauſe that makes the dregs ſwim on the ſurface. In order to effect this, the water is forcibly agitated with wooden buckets that are full of holes, and fixed to a long handle. This part of the proceſs requires the greateſt attention. If the agitation be diſcontinued too ſoon, that part which is uſed in dying, not being ſufficiently ſeparated from the ſalts, would be loſt: if, on the other hand, the dye were to be agitated too long after the complete ſeparation, the parts would be brought together again, and form a new combination; and the ſalt, reacting on the dregs, would excite a ſecond fomentation, which would alter the dye, ſpoil its colour, and make what is called *burnt indigo*. Theſe accidents are prevented by a cloſe attention to the leaſt alterations that the dye undergoes, and by the precaution which the workmen take of drawing a little of it from time to time in a clean veſſel. When they perceive that the coloured particles collect, by ſeparating from the reſt of the liquor, they leave off ſhaking the buckets, in order to allow time for the blue dregs to precipitate to the bottom of the tub, where they are left to ſettle, till the water is quite clear. Holes, made in the tub at different heights, are then opened one after another, and this uſeleſs water is let out.

The blue dregs remaining at the bottom having acquired the conſiſtence of a thick muddy liquid, cocks are opened which draw it off into the ſettler. After it is farther cleared of much ſuperfluous water, in this third and laſt tub, until nothing remains but a thick mud, it is put into bags of coarſe linen. Theſe are hung up and left for ſome time, until the moiſture is entirely drained off. In order to finiſh the drying, this mud is turned out of the bags, and worked upon boards of porous timber, with a wooden ſpatula: it is frequently expoſed to the morning and evening ſun, but for a ſhort time only; then it is put into boxes or frames, and expoſed again to the ſun in the ſame cautious manner, after which it is fit for ſale.

Indigo is uſed in waſhing to give a bluiſh colour to linen, painters employ it in their water-colours, and dyers cannot make fine blue without it. The ancients procured it from the Eaſt Indies, and the moderns alſo before the diſcovery of America; hence perhaps its name. The cultivation of it has been ſucceſſively attempted at different places, in the American iſlands and continent, and appears to be fixed at Carolina, Hiſpaniola, and Mexico. That which is known under the name of Guatimala indigo, the province of Mexico in which it is chiefly produced, is of all others the moſt excellent. New Spain derives conſiderable advantage from this plant; but it gains ſtill more by the trade of cochineal.

After much diſpute concerning the nature of the cochineal, without which neither purple nor ſcarlet could be dyed, and which is almoſt peculiar to New Spain, it ſeems agreed that it is of the animal kind; an inſect of the ſpecies of the gall-inſect, of the ſize and form of a bug. This inſect is found adhering to

various plants; but there is only one that communicates to it the qualities which render it valuable in medicine and manufactures; namely, that which is called Opuntia by the botaniſts. It conſiſts wholly of thick, ſucculent, oval leaves, joined end to end, and ſpreading out on the ſides in various ramifications. The flower is large, and the fruit in ſhape reſembling a fig. This fruit is full of crimſon juice, and to that juice the cochineal inſect owes its colour.

When the rainy ſeaſon comes on, the perſons who cultivate this plant, cut off thoſe branches which abound moſt with ſuch inſects as are not yet at their full growth, and preſerve them carefully from the weather and all other injuries. Theſe branches, though ſeparated from the parent-ſtock, preſerve their freſhneſs and juices a long time; and this enables the inſect not only to live out the rains, but to grow to its full ſize, and be in readineſs to bring forth its young, as ſoon as the inclemency of the ſeaſon is over. The cochineals are then placed upon living plants, diſpoſed in little neſts of ſome moſſy ſubſtance, which contain each twelve or fifteen inſects. Three or four days after their expoſure to the enlivening influence of the freſh air, they emit their young. Theſe, ſcarce bigger than a mite, run about with wonderful celerity, and the whole plantation is immediately peopled. But, what is truly ſingular, this animal, ſo lively in its infancy, quickly loſes all its activity; and attaching itſelf to the moſt nutritive and leaſt expoſed part of the leaf of its native plant, clings there for life, without ever moving. Nor does it wound the leaf for its ſuſtenance; it only extracts the juice with a proboſcis, with which it is furniſhed by nature for this purpoſe.

A circumſtance no leſs remarkable than the way of life of this animal, is the nature of the male, who has no appearance of belonging to the ſame ſpecies. Far from being fixed to a ſpot, he has wings; and, like the butterfly, is continually in motion. The males are alſo ſmaller than the females; and though conſtantly ſeen among them, and walking over them, they are not ſuſpected by thoſe who take care of the inſects to be a creature of the ſame ſpecies. One male is ſufficient to impregnate three hundred females. The female cochineal only is gathered for uſe.

Three crops of cochineal are made every year, which are ſo many generations of this animal. The laſt produces only an indifferent cochineal; becauſe it is mixed with detached parcels of the leaves, that have been ſcraped to take away the new-born inſects, which otherwiſe it would be hardly poſſible to gather, and becauſe the young cochineals are then mixed with the old, a circumſtance which conſiderably diminiſhes their value. As ſoon as the cochineals are gathered, they are plunged in hot water, in baſkets, in order to kill them. There are different ways of drying them, on which chiefly depends the goodneſs of the commodity. The beſt is, to expoſe them to the ſun for ſeveral days, by which means they acquire a red brown colour, which has induced the Spaniards to call the cochineal ſo dried *renegrida*. The ſecond method is to put them into ovens, made for the purpoſe, where they aſſume a greyiſh colour ſtreaked with veins of purple, which has given this ſort the name of *jaſpeada*. The laſt and moſt imperfect method, is that commonly practiſed by the Indians, who put the cochineals on plates along

BOOK II.

with their cakes of maize; in which proceſs they are commonly burnt, and therefore are called *negra*.

Though the cochineal belongs to the animal kingdom, and to the ſpecies of all others the moſt likely to periſh, yet it never ſpoils. Without any other care than merely that of keeping it in a box, it has been preſerved in all its virtue for a century. It is uſed in medicine as a cordial and ſudorific, in which intentions few things anſwer better. This, added to its importance in dying, inſures it ſuch an high price and quick ſale, as ſhould have excited the emulation of thoſe nations that cultivate the American iſlands, and of other people that inhabit regions whoſe temperature would be propitious to this inſect, and to the plant on which it feeds. New Spain, however, has the ſole poſſeſſion of this rich commodity; and independent of what it furniſhes Aſia with, ſends annually to Europe about two thouſand five hundred bags or ſacks, which are ſold at Cadiz, on an average, for an hundred and forty-five pounds ſterling each *.

That very conſiderable produce hardly coſts the Spaniards any trouble. It ſhould ſeem as if nature had freely beſtowed upon their indolence what other nations are obliged to purchaſe with the price of labour and attention. This reflection is farther juſtified by another article of their commerce. The domeſtic animals of Europe, particularly horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity that almoſt exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards ſettled there, the herds of tame cattle became ſo numerous, that their proprietors reckoned them by thouſands †. As they continued to increaſe, they were ſuffered to run wild, and ſpreading over a country of boundleſs extent, under a mild climate, and covered with rich paſturage, their number became immenſe. They range over the vaſt plains which extend from Buenos-Ayres, towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thouſand. They are hardly leſs numerous in New Spain, where they are killed merely for the ſake of their hides; and the ſlaughter at certain ſeaſons is ſo great, that the ſtench of the careaſes, which are left in the fields, would affect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vaſt flocks of *gallinazos*, or American vultures, the moſt voracious of all the feathered kind, did not inſtantly devour them. The number of thoſe hides exported in every fleet to Europe is prodigious, and forms a lucrative branch of trade ‡.

Theſe are the chief productions of New Spain that are of any importance as articles of foreign commerce; and ſuch only are entitled to a particular deſcription in this work. The country and its inhabitants now claim our attention.

The viceroyalty of New Spain originally comprehended all the provinces from Terra Firma to the extremity of New Mexico; but ſome of the moſt northern of theſe, as already obſerved, have been lately formed into a ſeparate government. Perſpicuity, however, makes it neceſſary to deſcribe them here, as they are too inconſiderable to form a ſeparate article. Then we ſhall advance by a regular progreſs towards the ſouth.

* Voyages du Pere Labat, tom. IV. c. 4. Raynal, liv. vi. Europ. Set. in America, par II. c. 4. † Hachluyt, vol. III. ‡ Acoſta, lib. iii. c. 33. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. viii.

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The countries of Cinaloa and Sonora, that ſtretch along the eaſt ſide of the Vermilion Sea, or Gulf of California, as well as the immenſe kingdoms of New Navarre and New Mexico, which bend towards the north, are reduced leſs or more completely under the Spaniſh yoke. They extend through the moſt delightful part of the temperate zone; their ſoil is in general remarkably fertile, and all their productions, whether animal or vegetable, are moſt perfect in their kinds. They have all a communication either with the Pacific Ocean, or with the Gulf of Mexico, and are watered by ſuch rivers as not only enrich them, but may become ſubſervient to commerce. The number of Spaniards, however, ſettled in thoſe vaſt countries, is ſo extremely ſmall, that they may be ſaid to have ſubdued, rather than to have occupied them. But one circumſtance may contribute to the ſpeedy population of ſome diſtricts. Rich mines of gold and ſilver have been lately diſcovered in many places; particularly one of gold at Cineguilla in the province of Sonora, where above two thouſand perſons are ſettled, under the government of proper magiſtrates. In order to ſuppy thoſe with the neceſſaries of life, cultivation muſt be increaſed, artiſans of various kinds muſt aſſemble, and induſtry as well as population be gradually diffuſed. It is therefore probable, that theſe neglected and thinly inhabited provinces, may ſoon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spaniſh empire in America; eſpecially as ſeveral other mines, ſcarcely inferior in riches to that of Cineguilla, have been diſcovered both in Sonora and Cinaloa *.

The peninſula of California, on the other ſide the Vermilion Sea, was long ſuppoſed to be an iſland. It is now diſcovered to be a neck of land which proceeds from the northern coaſts of America, and runs, between eaſt and ſouth, as far as the torrid zone. The part of this peninſula that is known, is about nine hundred miles long, and from two hundred to fifty miles broad. Throughout ſuch an extent of country, the nature of the ſoil, and the temperature of the air muſt be very different. So in fact we find them. In ſome places the air is extremely hot and dry, and the ground bare, ſtoney, mountainous, ſandy, without water in ſufficient quantity to render it fit either for paſture or tillage; in others, the lands are level and fruitful, interſperſed with delightful woods, cool refreſhing ſprings and rivulets, and the moſt enchanting lawns and meadows. The ſea, which is richer than the land, ſwarms with moſt excellent fiſh of every kind: but what renders the gulph of California of ſtill more importance is the pearl-fiſhery, which attracts, during the proper ſeaſon, the inhabitants of all the provinces of New Spain.

The Californians are well made, and very ſtrong; but puſillanimous, inconſtant, indolent, ſtupid, and even inſenſible. They are more ſwarthy than the Mexicans. Before the Spaniards penetrated into California, the natives had no diſtinct form either of religion or government. Each nation was an aſſemblage of ſeveral cottages, more or leſs numerous, that were mutually confederated by alliances, but without any chief. They were ſtrangers even to filial obedience. No kind of dreſs was in uſe among the men; but the women (a circumſtance

* Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book viii.

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BOOK II.

ſingular in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety) covered with extreme care thoſe parts which nature intended ſhould be concealed *.

California, as already obſerved, was diſcovered by the great Cortez in 1536. He had not leiſure to ſurvey it, being obliged to return to his government, where a rumour of his death had diſpoſed the people to a general inſurrection. Several unſucceſsful attempts were afterwards made to form ſettlements there; and Spain, diſcouraged by her loſſes and expences, had entirely given up the project, when the Jeſuits, in 1697, ſolicited permiſſion to undertake it. As ſoon as they had obtained the conſent of government, they began to execute a plan of legiſlation; which they had formed from accurate ideas of the nature of the ſoil, the character of the inhabitants, and the influence of the climate. Their proceedings were not directed by fanaticiſm. They arrived among the ſavages whom they intended to civilize with curioſities that might amuſe them; with corn for their food, and apparel, which could not fail to be acceptable. The hatred that the Californians bore to the Spaniſh name was overcome; and they teſtified their gratitude for theſe demonſtrations of benevolence as ſtrongly as their indolence and inſenſibility would permit them. Theſe defects in their character were partly overcome by their pious legiſlators, who purſued their plan with a degree of ardour and reſolution peculiar to their ſociety. They applied themſelves to the different functions of the carpenter, the weaver, the maſon, the huſbandman; and by theſe means ſucceeded in imparting knowledge, and in ſome meaſure a taſte for the more uſeful arts to this rude people, who have been all ſucceſſively formed into one body.

In 1745, the Californians compoſed forty-three villages. The inhabitants of theſe ſubſiſt chiefly on corn and pulſe, which they cultivate, and on the fruits and domeſtic animals of Europe, the raiſing and breeding of which are objects of conſtant attention. They have each a field, and the property of what they reap; but ſuch is their want of foreſight, that they would ſquander in a day the labour of a year, if the miſſionary or magiſtrate, did not every where take upon him the care of their produce, and diſtribute it to them as they ſtand in need of it. They already manufacture ſome coarſe ſtuffs, and purchaſe what neceſſaries they ſtand in need of with pearls, which they fiſh for in the gulph, and with wine nearly reſembling that of Madeira, which they ſell to the Spaniards.

A few laws, and thoſe very ſimple, are ſufficient to regulate this riſing ſtate. In order to enforce the obſervance of them, the moſt intelligent perſon of the village is impowered to whip and impriſon offenders. Theſe are the only puniſhments of which they have any knowledge, and are found to be ſufficient to regulate their moral conduct. In all California there are only two garriſons, each conſiſting of thirty men, and a ſoldier with each miſſionary or magiſtrate. Theſe troops were choſen by the legiſlators, and are under their command, though paid by the government. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable, ſhould the population of theſe provinces increaſe in the manner ſuppoſed, that

* Vanegas, Hiſt. Californ.

California

California may, by degrees, receive from them ſuch a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the uncultivated diſtricts of the Spaniſh empire in America. At preſent it ſerves only for a place of refreſhment for the annual ſhips that ſail from the Philippine iſlands to New Spain.

Guadalaxara, the moſt northern diviſion of New Spain, was ſubdued in 1531, by Nugnez de Guzman, who found it inhabited by a bold warlike people; well armed, well cloathed; obſtinate lovers of freedom; and who, for a time, reſiſted the ſuperior arms and diſcipline of the Spaniards. The firſt province, which gives it name to the audience, and takes its own from the capital, is repreſented as a fertile, healthful country, and contains ſome mines of ſilver. The city of Guadalaxara is pleaſantly ſituated on the banks of the river Barenja, which afterwards falls into the South Sea. It is the ſeat of the royal courts of judicature, and the ſee of a biſhop. Forty leagues north of this city, ſtands that of Zacatecas, the capital of the province of the ſame name. It conſiſts of about ſix hundred houſes, and is defended by a conſiderable Spaniſh garriſon, in order to protect the produce of the ſilver mines, for which the province is ſo much celebrated, and which is lodged in this city. The mines of Zacatecas lie chiefly in the weſtern parts, which are otherwiſe barren; the eaſtern, are remarkable for their fertility. The province of New Biſcay is the next in ſituation. It contains ſeveral rich mines, and abounds in corn, cattle, and other conveniencies of life. The laſt province worthy of notice in this audience is Xaliſco, ſituated partly on the South Sea. Its capital, named New Compoſtella, is an opulent town, and was formerly the ſee of a biſhop.—This is all that we know with certainty of the audience of Guadalaxara, which the jealouſy of the Spaniards ſtudiouſly conceals from foreigners, on account of the rich mines with which it abounds, and the ſmall force it has to defend them.

The audience of Mexico is better known, and of yet more importance. Its two moſt northern diſtricts are Mechoacan and Panuco; the firſt extending towards the South Sea, the ſecond lying along the Gulph of Mexico. Panuco ſtill feels the deſtructive rage of the conquerors, who cut off almoſt to a man its ancient inhabitants: it is ſo thinly peopled as ſcarce to deſerve the name of a ſettlement. Mechoacan, as we have already ſeen, was ſaved from the ſword of the Spaniards by a timely ſubmiſſion. Though an independent kingdom, which had never acknowledged the dominion of Montezuma or his predeceſſors, its ſovereign, aſtoniſhed at the ſucceſs of Cortez, did voluntary homage to the king of Spain, immediately after the reduction of Mexico. The ſoil of Mechoacan is remarkably fertile, and the climate ſo healthful, that the Spaniards imagine it poſſeſſed of ſome peculiarly reſtorative quality, on which account the ſick and infirm flock to it from all quarters. Here are the moſt beautiful corn-fields, the richeſt paſtures, the moſt numerous flocks of ſheep and herds of cattle, and the fineſt breed of horſes of any in New Spain, with great abundance of fiſh, fowl, and game. But the commodities for which the province is more particularly celebrated are ſulphur, indigo, ſarſaparilla, ſaſſafras, cacoa, the venilla, ambergreaſe, hides, wool, cotton, ſilk, ſugar, the root Mechoacan, ſometimes called white

BOOK II.

rhubarb, and ſilver. The natives are remarkably ingenious in forming that kind of feather-work ſo much admired by the ancient Mexicans; their language is the moſt poliſhed of any province in New Spain; and they are diſtinguiſhed by the elegance of their form, as well as by their ſpirit and addreſs. In this province are ſeveral rich and well built towns, among which may be numbered Sacatula, Colima, St. Michael, and St. Philip, all advantageouſly ſituated in the country, beſides two good ports, named St. Anthony and St. Jago. The capital, which formerly bore the name of Mechoacan, but to which the Spaniards have given the name of Valladolid, is a large and beautiful city, adorned with a fine cathedral, and full of handſome houſes, the dwellings of rich Spaniſh merchants, who are proprietors of the mines of Quanaxoato *.

We now come to the province of Mexico Proper, the fineſt country in the Spaniſh dominions north of the equator, and inconteſtably the richeſt in New Spain. It is reported to exceed all the provinces of either America in extenſive and beautiful vallies, rich arable lands, and exuberant and delicious paſturage. Fruits are here produced in the greateſt variety, perfection, and abundance; herds and flocks are numerous; and the great lakes, rivers, and the vicinity of the ſea, afford fiſh of every kind. Hence the neceſſaries of life are extremely cheap, notwithſtanding the pompous luxury of the Mexicans, and the profuſion in which they poſſeſs the precious metals. The ſilver mines here are richer than thoſe of any other province in the viceroyalty, and their value is augmented by their containing a conſiderable portion of gold.

Mexico, the capital of this province, and of all New Spain, as it formerly was of the Mexican empire, is ſtill the moſt magnificent city in the New World. Though no ſea port, and deſtitute of communication with the ſea by means of any navigable river, it has a prodigious commerce, and is itſelf the centre of all that is carried on between America and Europe, on one hand, and between America and the Eaſt-Indies on the other. Here many of the principal merchants reſide, and here the greateſt part of the buſineſs is negociated. The goods ſent from Acapulco to Vera Cruz, or from Vera Cruz to Acapulco, for the uſe of the Philippines, and alſo thoſe for the uſe of Peru and Chili, all paſs through this city, and employ an incredible number of horſes and mules in the carriage. Here the viceroy reſides, and the firſt court of audience is fixed, and hither all the gold and ſilver comes to be coined; here the king's fifth is depoſited; and here is wrought all that immenſe quantity of utenſils and ornaments in plate, which is every year ſent to Europe. Every thing, in a word, has the greateſt air of wealth and ſplendour: the ſhops glitter upon all ſides with the expoſure of gold, ſilver, and jewels; and their real riches are heightened by the exaggerated repreſentations which imagination forms of the treaſures which fill great cheſts piled up to the ceilings, whilſt they wait the arrival of the Flota.

Mexico is ſituated, as formerly, on the great lake of the ſame name; but not, as generally ſuppoſed, in the middle of the waters. It is founded upon a marſh,

* Voyages de Gemelli Carreri, tom. VI.

adjoining to the lake, and interſected by a multitude of canals *. Theſe ſerve at once to drain off the moiſture, and for the conveniency of intercourſe; but after all the ſoil is ſo unfirm, that the houſes, though ſupported on piles, often ſink four or five feet in a few years. The ſtreets of Mexico are broad, perfectly ſtrait, and almoſt all interſect each other at right angles. The houſes in general are pretty well built, but diſplay few of the elegancies of architecture. The viceroy's palace and the mint, however, are noble edifices. But the moſt ſumptuous buildings are the churches, chapels, and convents, many of which are richly ornamented, both within and without. Their number is altogether incredible. The outſide of the cathedral, a ſtately ſtructure, is unfiniſhed, and likely to continue ſo, as they are afraid of increaſing the weight of the building, which already begins to ſink. Its inſide is profuſely rich. The pillars of poliſhed marble, are hung with the fineſt crimſon velvet, adorned with a broad gold fringe; the rail round the high altar is of ſolid ſilver; and what is ſtill more coſtly, from the roof is ſuſpended a ſilver lamp, ſo capacious that three men get in to clean it. This lamp is enriched with figures of lions heads, as big as the life, and other ornaments of pure gold †.

Beſides the market-place, named Tlatelulco before the conqueſt, and which is ſtill of immenſe extent, Mexico contains three ſquares, which contribute not a little towards its grandeur. The firſt is the *major*, or great ſquare, fronting the palace, and in the center of the city; the ſecond, where the bull-fights are held, is called *del Volador*; and the third, is that of *Santo Domingo*. Theſe ſquares are all tolerably regular and well built, and each has a fountain in the middle. To the north of the town, near the ſuburbs, is the public walk or *Alameda*. A rivulet runs round it, and forms a conſiderable circle, with a baſon and *jet d'eau* in the middle. Eight walks, with each two rows of trees, terminate at this baſon, like a ſtar ‡. The Alameda towards the evening affords a moſt brilliant ſpectacle. Thither the Mexicans reſort in crowds, as to a place of public amuſement. The rivulet or canal is filled with pleaſure boats, which entertain the company with muſic both vocal and inſtrumental; the principal citizens ride round the circle in their carriages, while the walks are occupied by thoſe of inferior condition. The carriages of the men are followed by a great number of black boys, all covered with lace and embroidery; and the ladies are attended by a train of Indian or mulatto girls, generally cloathed in ſilk, and adorned with jewels ‖. Oppoſite to the Alameda (what a contraſt!) is the *Quemadero*, or place where the Jews, and other miſerable victims of the awful tribunal of inquiſition, are delivered to puniſhment. It is an incloſure between four walls, filled with ovens, into which are thrown, over the walls, the unhappy perſons condemned to be burnt alive §. Hiſtorians differ about the number of inhabitants in Mexico: ſome make them two hundred thouſand,

* Lionnel Waffer. Gemelli Carreri. Chappe D'Auteroche. This marſh formerly made part of the lake, (Gage's Survey) and many thouſands of Indians were employed for a courſe of years in drainirg off the waters. † Voyage de M. Chappe D'Auteroche.
‡ Ibid. ‖ Gage's Survey. § D'Auteroche.

others

BOOK II.

others only one-fourth of that calculation. We ſhall not perhaps err widely if we fix them at eighty thouſand, including Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, Meſtizos and Mulattoes of every ſpecies. Theſe form ſuch a diverſity of heterogeneous races, from the white to the black, that, among an hundred faces, it is difficult to find two of the ſame colour.

In the province of Mexico Proper are ſeveral conſiderable towns beſides the capital, but none that merits a particular deſcription, except Acapulco, the principal port of New Spain on the South Sea. The town itſelf, though pretty large, is ill built, and thinly inhabited, by reaſon of the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, which induces the merchants to reſide chiefly in the country: but the harbour is excellent, being equally extenſive, ſafe, and commodious. Its entrance is defended by a lofty caſtle, mounting forty-two pieces of cannon, but containing only a garriſon of ſixty men *. Such is the place whoſe lucrative trade has excited the envy of every commercial nation, and which has been commonly ſuppoſed to be a city of great ſplendour and opulence. Let us inquire into the nature and origin of that trade, to which alone Acapulco owes its importance, and Mexico many of its luxuries.

Philip II. ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, formed the ſcheme of planting a colony in the Philippine iſlands, which had been neglected from the time of their diſcovery by Magellan, of which an account has already been given. This he accompliſhed, by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain †. Manilla, in the iſland of Luconia, was the ſtation choſen for the capital of the new eſtabliſhment; and, in order to induce the Spaniards to ſettle there, the riſing colony was authoriſed to ſend to America India goods, in exchange for the precious metals. From Manilla, an active commercial intercourſe began with the Chineſe, and a conſiderable number of that induſtrious people, allured by the proſpect of gain, ſettled in the Philippines under the Spaniſh protection. By their means the colony was ſo amply ſupplied with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the Eaſt, as ſoon enabled it to open an advantageous trade with America, by a courſe of navigation the longeſt from land to land on our globe. This trade was originally carried on with Callao, on the coaſt of Peru; but experience having diſcovered many difficulties in that mode of communication, and the ſuperior facility of an intercourſe with New Spain, the ſtaple of the commerce between America and Aſia was removed from Calloa to Acapulco.

Many remonſtrances have been preſented againſt this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treaſure which ought to flow into the kingdom; as tending to give riſe to a ſpirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, againſt which it is impoſſible to guard, in tranſactions ſo far removed from the inſpection of government. But as it requires no ſlight effort of political wiſdom and vigour to aboliſh any practice which numbers are intereſted in ſupporting, and to which time has

* Gemelli Carreri, tom. VI. chap. 2.

† Torquem. lib. v. c. 14.

added

added the ſanction of its authority, even though ſupported by no legal permiſſion, the commerce between Acapulco and Manila is ſtill carried on to conſiderable extent, and allowed under certain regulations. Theſe regulations are not generally underſtood. One or two ſhips depart annually from Acapulco, which may carry out ſilver to the amount of five hundred thouſand peſos *, and an unlimited quantity of European goods and American productions. In return for theſe they bring back ſpices, drugs, china and japan wares, calicoes, chintz, muſlins, ſilks, and every precious article, with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people, have enabled the Eaſt to ſupply the reſt of the world. The Peruvians, for a time, were admitted to a ſhare in this trafic, and might ſend annually a ſhip to Acapulco, to wait the arrival of the veſſels from Manila, and receive a proportional ſhare of the commodities which they imported, but as this was found to hurt the trade of European manufactures in South America, the Peruvians were at length excluded by moſt rigorous edicts, and all the commodities from the Eaſt, reſerved ſolely for the conſumption of New Spain †.

The elegance and ſplendor conſpicuous in that part of the Spaniſh dominions is the conſequence of this indulgence. The manufactures of the Eaſt are not only more ſuited to a warm climate, and more ſhowy than thoſe of Europe, but can be ſold at a lower price; at the ſame time that the profits upon them are ſo conſiderable, as to enrich all thoſe engaged in the trade. It is equally the intereſt of the buyer and the ſeller to favour this branch of commerce: it has therefore continued to extend, in ſpite of regulations concerted with the moſt anxious jealouſy to circumſcribe it. Under colour of what the law permits, great ſums of ſilver are exported ‡, and vaſt quaintities of India goods are annually poured into the port of Acapulco. Then the town entirely changes its appearance, and becomes one of the moſt conſiderable marts in America. On the arrival of the ſhips from Manila, a great fair is held, to which all the traders of New Spain reſort; but when that, which laſts about a month, is over, Acapulco ſinks into its former ſolitude and inſignificance ‖.

The other provinces in the audience of Mexico are Tlaſcala, Guaxaca, Tabaſco, and Yucatan. In the firſt of theſe ſtands Vera Cruz, the principal port of New Spain on the Gulph of Mexico. At this port the annual fleet from Cadiz, called the Flota, arrives about the end of November. It generally conſiſts of fifteen or ſixteen large merchant ſhips, from five hundred to two thouſand tons burden, under the eſcort of two or three men of war. The cargo comprehends almoſt every ſort of goods that Europe produces for exportation: wines, brandies, oils, conſtitute the more bulky part; and gold and ſilver

* Recop. lib. ix. tit. 45.

† But ſince a general communication is now opened between the colonies on the South Sea, it will be impoſſible to prevent Peru from receiving a ſupply of theſe contraband commodities.

‡ The ſhip from Acapulco, taken by Commodore Anſon, inſtead of the 500,000 peſos permitted by law, had on board 1,313,840 peſos, beſides uncoined ſilver equal in value to 43,611 peſos more. Anſon's Voyage.

‖ Gemelli Carreri.

BOOK II.

ſtuffs, gold and ſilver lace, cloths, linens, ſilks, laces, hats, jewels, glaſs, cutlery, clocks, watches, are the articles which are moſt valuable. On the arrival of the Flota a fair is held, which uſually continues about ſix weeks, but is ſometimes prolonged at the ſolicitation of the merchants of the country or thoſe of Spain. When all the goods are landed and ſold, the gold, ſilver, cochineal, indigo, vanilla, hides, and ſome other goods of inconſiderable value, which New Spain furniſhes, are put on board the fleet. It then directs its courſe for the Havanna; where being joined by ſome regiſter ſhips diſpatched to different ports, it returns to Cadiz by the channel of Bahama.

Vera Cruz, like Acapulco, though the ſcene of ſuch prodigious commerce, is in itſelf but an inconſiderable place. It is ſituated on the ſouthern coaſt of Mexico, eighteen miles lower than the town of the ſame name originally built by Cortez, now called Villa Rica, which was abandoned on account of its unhealthineſs, and the inconveniencies of its harbour. The preſent town has little to boaſt on the article of health. It is bounded on the north by dry ſands, and on the weſt by infectious moraſſes. Its ſtreets are tolerably ſtraight, and of a conſiderable breadth, but the houſes are generally low, and built of wood. It is fortified with a wall, eight towers erected at different diſtances, and two baſtions which command the ſhore. Theſe works, weak in themſelves and ill-conſtructed, are in an extremely ruinous ſtate; ſo that Vera Cruz depends chiefly for its defence on the caſtle of St. Juan de Ulloa, which is built on a rock that riſes in the middle of the harbour, and faces the town. The royal treaſure was formerly ſent here from Mexico to wait the arrival of the Flota; but ſince the year 1683, when the place was ſurpriſed by the Buccaniers, it has been kept at Los Angelos, the capital of the province, where the principal merchants alſo reſide *.

Puebla de los Angelos, or the city of Angels, vies in magnificence with Mexico itſelf. It is delightfully ſituated on the river Zacatula, in the middle of a fine valley. The houſes are all built of ſtone, and of a good ſize. The market-place is a ſpacious ſquare, from which the four principal ſtreets run in direct lines, and are croſſed by others at right angles. One ſide of this ſquare is almoſt entirely occupied with the magnificent front of the cathedral; the other three conſiſt of piazzas, under which are the ſhops of tradeſmen. One may form ſome judgment of the wealth of this city by the revenues of the cathedral, which exceed one hundred thouſand peſos annually. Its territory, which is nearly that of Old Tlaſcala, abounds in grain, ſugar-canes, and every thing that the wiſh of man can deſire. But the chief wealth of the inhabitants ariſes neither from the fertility of their country, nor their vicinity to Vera Cruz, but from their own ingenious manufactures. Their woollen cloths are ſcarcely leſs eſteemed than thoſe of England; their hats are excellent; and their glaſs-work, which is the only one in New Spain, is in a flouriſhing condition. The

* Gemelli Carreri. Gage D'auteroche.

cutlery

cutlery of Los Angelos alſo is celebrated, as well as the ingenuity of its artiſans, in working up gold and ſilver *.

The provinces of Guaxca and Tabaſco deſerve no particular notice. Both are thinly inhabited, and the laſt is remarkably barren. Yucatan, though not more populous or fertile, is more entitled to attention. This peninſula, which lies between the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, both formed by its projection into the ſea, is croſſed diagonally by a chain of mountains, that decreaſes as they approach Cape Cotoche. All that part to the weſt of this chain is dry, and deſtitute of either river or brook; but the water is every where ſo near the ſurface, and ſea-ſhells are found in ſuch numbers, that it is evident this immenſe ſpace formerly made part of the ocean. When the Spaniards firſt ſettled in the Mexican empire, they deſpiſed this province, as it did not abound in the precious metals, and diſcovered few traces of culture. They afterwards, however, diſcovered, that it produced in greater abundance than any other part of America the logwood tree; which, in dying ſome colours, is ſo far preferable to every other material, that the conſumption of it in Europe is conſiderable, and it has become an article of commerce of great value. This tree, if leſs thick, would not be unlike the white thorn. Its leaves are ſmall, and of a pale green colour. The inner part of the tree, which is at firſt red, becomes black, after it has been felled ſome time; and it is only this inner part that gives the black and the violet colour †.

On this diſcovery the Spaniards built the town of Campeachy on the weſtern coaſt of Yucatan, which has been indebted ſolely to the logwood-trade for the advantage of being a very conſiderable mart. It received every year ſeveral veſſels loaded with European commodities, whoſe cargoes were deſtributed in the inland countries, and which took in return wood, and metals, which the ſtaple of the province drew thither. This traffic continued to increaſe, till the time that the Engliſh conquered Jamaica. The vaſt number of Buccaneers who then reſorted to that iſland went to cruiſe in the bay of Campeachy, in order to interrupt the veſſels which ſailed thither. Theſe plunderers are ſaid to have been ſo little acquainted with the value of the wood, which was the only commodity of the country, that, when they found barques laden with it, they took away nothing but the iron utenſils. One of them, however, having carried off a large veſſel, which had nothing elſe but logwood on board, carried it into the Thames, with no other view than to equip it as a privateer; when, contrary to his expectation, he ſold at a very high price the wood which he had thought of ſo little value that he had always burnt it during his voyage. After this diſcovery, the Buccaneers who were not ſucceſsful at ſea, never failed to repair to the river Champeton, where they took on board the piles of wood, which were always found ranged on the ſhore ‡.

A ſtop being put to the depredations of the Buccaneers, in conſequence of a peace between England and Spain, ſeveral of them employed themſelves in cut-

* Gemelli Carreri. † Raynal. ‡ Oxmelen, Hiſt. Freeboot. Raynal, lib. vi.

BOOK II.

ting logwood. Cape Catoche at firſt furniſhed them with abundance; and they there, for a time, carried on a gainful traffic. When moſt of the trees near the coaſt were felled, they removed to the iſland of Triſt, in the Bay of Campeachy, where they were no leſs ſucceſsful. But their ardour, which at firſt was extreme, at length gave way to a habit of idleneſs; and as the greateſt part of them were excellent markſmen, the chace became their predominant paſſion. By this exerciſe their former inclination to plunder was rekindled. They ſoon began to make inroads into the neighbouring country. The Spaniards, rouſed from their lethargy by theſe depredations, ſurpriſed them in the midſt of their feſtivity over their booty, and carried them off priſoners. They were conducted to Mexico, and ended their days in the mines. Thoſe who eſcaped took refuge in the Bay of Honduras, where they were joined by ſome wandering freebooters of North America. In proceſs of time they increaſed to fifteen hundred men; and the ſtate of plenty and licentious independence in which they lived, reconciled them to the hardſhips of their employment, as well as to the inconveniencies of the country, which is low, extremely marſhy, and prodigiouſly infeſted with that ſpecies of gnats called muſketoes. Strong entrenchments ſecured them and their proviſions: they confined themſelves to thoſe employments which their unhappy companions lamented they had ever neglected; and they took care not to penetrate into the interior part of the country, to cut wood, without being well armed.

The induſtry of theſe lawleſs men was crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs. The ton of wood, which had been ſold as high as forty pounds ſterling, was gradually reduced to leſs than one fourth of that price. But this diſadvantage in value was compenſated by the quantity ſold. The cutters, or Bay-men, as they were called, delivered up the produce of their labours either to the people of Jamaica, who brought them Madeira wine, brandy, and cloaths; or to the Engliſh traders of North America, who ſupplied them with proviſions. Alarmed at this encroachment, which reduced their trade at Campeachy to nothing, the Spaniards endeavoured by negociation, remonſtrances, and by open force, to prevent the Engliſh from eſtabliſhing themſelves in that part of the American continent; but after ſtruggling againſt it for more than a century, the diſaſters of laſt war extorted from the court of Madrid a reluctant conſent to tolerate this colony of foreigners in the heart of its dominions *.

In conſequence of that humiliating conceſſion, the logwood cutters are authoriſed to proſecute their labours, without fear or interruption, from Hanover Bay, on the eaſt ſide of Yucatan, to the bottom of the Bay of Honduras, including about fifty leagues of the ſhore. They do not, however, form any regular colony, any more than their predeceſſors, the Buccaneers. But as no ſociety, not even among robbers, can ſubſiſt without ſome kind of compact, the logwood cutters have agreed to certain regulations among themſelves; and they elect a chief, with the name of king, to ſee that thoſe regulations are obſerved,

* Treaty of Paris, Art. xviii.

though

though they pay little regard to his authority. Like moſt elective ſovereigns, he is a mere mock-monarch, and the greateſt diſorders prevail among his unruly ſubjects. The Engliſh government is therefore obliged to ſend judges, occaſionally, from Jamaica to Yucatan; and the commander of the king's frigate, who brings the commiſſions, takes care to ſee that they have their complete execution *.

The quantity of wood annually furniſhed by this ſettlement has been computed at twenty thouſand tons, a very conſiderable export; but the trade is ſaid to have declined of late years, and ſince it obtained a legal ſanction. The cauſe of this decline is thus explained. The logwood produced on the weſt coaſt of Yucatan, where the ſoil is drier, is in quality far ſuperior to that which grows on the marſhy grounds where the Engliſh are ſettled; and the Spaniſh court, by encouraging the cutting of the former, and permitting the importation of it without any duty, has given ſuch vigour to this branch of their trade, that the logwood which the Engliſh bring to market has ſunk ſo much in value, as ſcarcely to render it an object of commerce †. It is to be hoped, however, that the ſuperior induſtry of the Engliſh will, in ſome meaſure, ſupply the fall in price; and as the wood is found in much greater abundance on the eaſt than the weſt coaſt of Yucatan, that this branch of our trade will not only recover its former importance, but attain that degree of conſequence which might have expected its legal eſtabliſhment.

We come next to the audience of Guatimala, which extends its juriſdiction over three hundred leagues to the ſouth, an hundred to the north, ſixty to the eaſt, and twelve to the weſt, towards the South Sea. There is no country in this part of the New World where nature has laviſhed her gifts with greater profuſion. The air is every where wholeſome, and the climate temperate. Poultry and game are found here in the greateſt abundance, and of an excellent flavour. No territory on the globe produces better corn. The rivers, lakes, and ſea, every where abound with excellent fiſh. The cattle have multiplied to ſuch a degree, that it is become neceſſary to kill all that roam wild on the mountains, leſt they ſhould prejudice agriculture by their exceſſive numbers.

The firſt province in this audience, according to our progreſs, is Chiapa, an inland territory, well cultivated, and extremely fertile. Here the European fruits, eſpecially apples and pears, are produced in the greateſt perfection, and the breed of horſes are eſteemed the beſt in New Spain. But what chiefly diſtinguiſhes Chiapa is its Indian town, known by the name of Dos Indos, which may be regarded as the metropolis of the original Mexicans. It is pleaſantly ſituated by the banks of a river, and ſuppoſed to contain twenty thouſand inhabitants, who are induſtrious, intelligent, and of a friendly and amiable diſpoſition. Their character is the beſt refutation of thoſe philoſophers who would repreſent the native Americans, from reaſonings founded on their preſent depreſſed ſtate, as an in-

* Preſent State of the Weſt-Indies.

† Raynal, lib. vi. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book vii.

BOOK II.

ferior order of human beings; and is ſufficient to convince the Spaniards, that they would have derived more eſſential advantages from treating the Indians as fellow creatures, than as beaſts of burden. The inhabitants of Dos Indos are not only peculiarly expert at all kinds of martial exerciſes, in which they frequently employ themſelves, but they are painters, muſicians, and poets. They have their theatres and other public amuſements, and are particularly ingenious in making pictures and cloths of feathers, after the manner of their anceſtors, and figured ſtuffs of different coloured wool, which the beſt manufacturers in Europe need not be aſhamed to own. The ſpirit which inſpires them with this elegance and ingenuity they owe to their exemption from ſervitude; and that partly to the barrenneſs of their country in mines, and partly to the famous Las Caſas, their biſhop, who protected them againſt oppreſſion, while alive, and obtained privileges for them which the Spaniards have always reſpected. Cividad Real, the Spaniſh capital of this province, is neither populous nor ſplended *.

The province of Guatimala, which is one of the largeſt in New Spain, was conquered in the years 1524 and 1525, by the celebrated Pedro de Alvarado. He built in it ſeveral towns, and particularly the capital, which bore the name of the province. It was ſituated in a valley about three miles broad, which is bounded by two pretty lofty mountains. From the mountain towards the ſouth run ſeveral rivulets and fountains, that delightfully refreſh the villages ſituated on the declivity, and keep up a perpetual ſucceſſion of flowers and fruits; but the aſpect of the mountain towards the north is terrible: it is covered with aſhes and calcined ſtones, and no verdure is ever ſeen upon it. A kind of rumbling noiſe, which the inhabitants uſed to aſcribe to the boiling of metals that are in a ſtate of fuſion, is continually heard. From theſe internal furnaces iſſue flames and torrents of ſulphur, which fill the air with horrible infection. Hence Guatimala, according to the adage of the country, was ſaid to be ſituated between heaven and hell. Where it is now heaven only knows; for it was totally ſwallowed up by an earthquake in April 1773. It formerly experienced a terrible ſhock in 1541, when an incredible number of people are ſaid to have loſt their lives: but the late blow ſeems to be final, as there are now no traces of it left. When laſt deſtroyed it is ſuppoſed to have contained between forty and fifty thouſand inhabitants, and the loſs in money and goods is computed at fifteen millions ſterling.

The principal commerce of this province with Spain, is by means of the indigo that it produces, which is reputed the beſt that comes from America. In the cultivation of it ſome Negroes are employed, and part of thoſe Indians which have ſurvived the tyranny of their conquerors. The labours of theſe unhappy men annually ſupply Europe alone with two thouſand five hundred ſurrons of indigo, which ſell, on an average, at Cadiz, for ſeventy-three pounds ten ſhillings each. This rich produce, with ſome other articles of leſs conſideration, are conveyed upon mules to the town of St. Thomas, ſituated ſixty leagues from Guatimala, at the

* Gage's Survey.

extremity

extremity of a very deep lake, which loſes itſelf in the gulph of Honduras. Here theſe commodities remain, till they are exchanged for others brought from Spain, in veſſels of a moderate ſize, which commonly arrive in the months of July and Auguſt.

The other towns of any conſideration in this province are La Trinadada or Sonſonate, ſituated in a bay of the South Sea, about two miles to the ſouth-eaſt of the capital, containing about five hundred Spaniſh families, beſides Indians and mulattoes; St. Michael, another ſea-port, to the eaſtward of the former, having about ſix hundred families; and Amapalla, ſtanding upon a fine bay to the eaſtward of St. Michael, with above an hundred Spaniſh families, who trade largely in cochineal, cocoa, hides, indigo, and the other commodities of the province.

Between the gulph of Honduras and the province of Guatimala, lies the province of Vera Paz; ſo called, becauſe the natives ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and religiouſly maintained the treaty made with the Spaniards. The extent of this province is but forty leagues in length, and about twenty in breadth. It is neither remarkable for its fertility nor populouſneſs, to which the woods that overſpread the country, and the frequency of earthquakes, are great and inſuperable impediments. The Spaniards, however, find it worth maintaining, on account of the cotton, medicinal gums, dying drugs, and other valuable commodities which it yields. There was formerly gold in the Golfo Dolce, but now it is either entirely exhauſted, or ſo ſcarce as not to reward the trouble of ſearching for it. Vera Paz, the capital, is a pretty well built town, but neither large nor magnificent; and may truly be ſaid to be emblematical of the real ſituation of the inhabitants, who enjoy in moderation the conveniencies of life, without opulence or grandeur. There is properly no other town in the province, but there are ſeveral Indian villages, ſome of which contain five hundred families. Theſe are chiefly in the mountains, where the natives live in a ſtate of freedom, and reſemble thoſe of Chiapa in their induſtry, ingenuity, and accompliſhments *.

The province of Honduras, above an hundred leagues in length, and ſixty in breadth, is the next in ſituation. On the north it is ſkirted by the bay of the ſame name, and on the eaſt by the North Sea: it has on the ſouth the provinces of Nicaragua and Guatimala, and is bounded on the weſt by Vera Paz. Though this country poſſeſſes many natural advantages, good harbours, a rich ſoil, and exuberant paſtures, it is but thinly peopled. The reputation which it at firſt acquired from its gold mines was but tranſitory; they ſoon ſunk into total oblivion, after having proved the grave of near a million of Indians. The territory which thoſe Indians inhabited remains uncultivated and waſte, and is now the pooreſt part of all America. Both the people and the lands were ſacrificed to the pernicious thirſt of gold, and the gold by no means anſwered the expectations that were formed of it. The only articles that Honduras at

* Gage's Survey.

BOOK II.

preſent exports to Europe are hides, caſſia, and ſarſaparilla. Its capital called by the Indians Comagaya, and by the Spaniards Valladolid, is the ſee of a biſhop, and a conſiderable inland town. As its trade is ſo ſmall, its ſea-ports cannot be of much conſequence. Truxillo, however, derives ſome degree of importance from its contraband traffic, and Omoa is defended by a tolerable fortification.

We now come to the province of Nicaragua, of which frequent mention has been made in relating the firſt voyages of the Spaniards to America, and alſo during the conqueſt of Peru. It is waſhed both by the North and South Seas. The air is clear and healthy; the ſoil excellent; and the whole country is finely diverſified with mountains, vallies, extenſive lakes, and beautiful ſavannas or meadows, on which feed numerous herds of cattle. Corn, timber, wax, tar, cordage and ſugar, are its principal commodities. Theſe it exports to a conſiderable amount; and what adds equally to the beauty and conveniency of Nicaragua, is an immenſe lake of the ſame name, that runs acroſs the country from within a few leagues of the South Sea, until it diſcharges itſelf into the Weſt Indian ocean, or North Sea, by a ſpacious river, at the mouth of which is the port of St. Juan. The tides riſe quite up to the lake; ſo that every ſpecies of fiſh peculiar to freſh or ſalt water is found there in great abundance, and almoſt together.

Happy is it for the natives that their country offords no mines; for in that caſe their bonds muſt have been drawn tighter, and their lives waſted in digging for the precious metals. As it is otherwiſe, both the Spaniards and Indians employ themſelves in agriculture, for which no part of America affords more encouragement, nor is it carried to ſuch perfection in any of the Spaniſh ſettlements. They have alſo erected divers manufactures, by means of which they draw great quantities of gold and ſilver from the other provinces. Hence it is obſerved, even by the Spaniards, that the induſtry of Nicaragua is a more permanent and ſecure treaſure, than the mines of Mexico and Peru, as the money drawn from it remains in the country. It is likewiſe obſerved, that a more free and bold ſpirit of liberty reigns here, than in any other of the Spaniſh provinces, the natural conſequence of ſelf-independence. Leon, its capital, is ſituated at the head of the great lake, within twenty miles of the South Sea. The houſes are well built, though low, on account of the frequent ſhocks of earthquakes in thoſe parts. The Spaniſh inhabitants do not exceed two thouſand; but the town is notwithſtanding pretty populous, including the natives, who live here with more conveniency, and under more ſocial inſtitutions, than in any other city of America *.

On the South Sea, fourteen leagues to the weſt of Leon, ſtands Realejo, which not only ſerves the purpoſes of a port to this city and province, but alſo to that of Guatimala, with which it carries on a conſiderable trade: and eighteen leagues to the eaſt of the capital is ſeated Granada, a larger, finer, and more populous city than Leon itſelf. Its more advanced ſituation upon the lake brings the mer-

* Voyag. de Correal. Gage's Survey.

chants

chants thither from all quarters, and renders it one of the greateſt marts between the two ſeas. All thoſe cities are famous in the hiſtory of the Buccaniers, who more than once plundered, burnt, or ranſomed them.

From the lake of Nicaragua to the iſthmus of Panama, where the viceroyalty of New Spain ends, the continent, more narrowly confined between the two ſeas, comprehends the two ſmall provinces of Coſta Rica and Veragua, both traverſed by mountains covered with impenetrable foreſts. Their ſoil is dry, their climate unhealthy; and though they yield ſome gold, the only circumſtance that prevents them from being abandoned, though neglected by the Spaniards, they are entitled to no particular attention.

A territory, however, no leſs neglected claims our notice before we quit this part of the American continent. Between the ſea and the Spaniſh provinces of Honduras and Nicaragua, extending from Cape Honduras to port St. Juan, lies a country inhabited by a free people, whoſe attachment to the Engliſh has long been remarkable, and who permit no other Europeans to viſit their coaſts. This ſpace takes in an hundred and fifty leagues of the ſhore, and forms an obtuſe angle at Cape Gracias a Dios, having one of its ſides expoſed to the north, the other to the eaſt. The general name of Moſquitos is given to all the nations or tribes who occupy this tract, as well as to thoſe who inhabit the inner ſpace, between the coaſt and the higher chain of mountains which form the Spaniſh frontier, and their country, in like manner, is known by the name of Moſquita, or the Moſquito Shore. Of theſe tribes the Moſquitos are the moſt numerous, as well as the braveſt. They muſter about fifteen or eighteen hundred warriors. Their country, properly ſo called, is about Cape Gracias a Dios, near the mouth and on the banks of the great Cape-river. It is one of the moſt healthy and beautiful ſpots in the world. Here are ſettled about thirty Engliſh families, who have begun plantations of ſugar on the lands given them by the Moſquitos.

The government of this people is perfectly republican. They acknowledge no kind of permanent authority. In the wars which they carry on againſt the Spaniſh Indians, and which much obſtruct their population, they chuſe as their commander the moſt brave and experienced of their warriors; he, who on the moſt trying and perilous occaſions, has given repeated proofs of his prudence and valour. After the war is over, his power ceaſes. The Moſquitos are diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the Red, and Black or Sambos. The firſt are the original inhabitants of the country, the ſecond the deſcendants of about fifty negroes, whom a Portugueſe captain had brought from Guinea and was carrying to Brazil, but who rendered themſelves maſters of the veſſel, and threw all but one man overboard. The aſſiſtance of this man, however, was inſufficient to enable them to navigate the veſſel, which, left at the mercy of the winds, was driven upon Cape Gracias a Dios, where the crew fell into the hands of the Moſquitos, among whom the negroes lived for ſome time in a ſtate of ſervitude, and afterwards became the companions of their dangers and toils. The Portugueſe mariner was ſo much like a Spaniard, againſt whom the animoſity of the Moſquitos is implacable, that

BOOK II.

his life was with difficulty ſpared; and after he had been a ſlave for two years, it was determined to ſacrifice him at the funeral of the maſter to whoſe lot he had fallen, that he might ſerve him in the other world. Luckily the Portugueſe had but one eye. He repreſented to the general aſſembly of the nation, which was convened upon this occaſion, that a one-eyed man could be of ſervice to nobody in the other world, as it was difficult to ſee clear there even with two. His argument was ſuſtained: the Moſquitos not only granted him his life, but alſo his liberty, with a wife, and the ſurname of "the Man who knows a great deal *."

The Moſquitos are divided into four principal tribes, under the protection of the Engliſh government, to which they ſubmitted themſelves early in the laſt century. They conſider the governor of Jamaica, to whom this ſubmiſſion was paid, as the greateſt potentate in the world. Their enmity againſt the Spaniards, by whom their anceſtors were driven from their fertile poſſeſſions near the lake of Nicaragua, goes as far back as the conqueſt of Mexico, and their friendſhip for the Engliſh is as old as the firſt expeditions of the Buccaniers againſt their common enemy. Like all uncivilized nations, they have few wants, and are very indolent. "I am not hungry," is their common ſaying, when they do not chuſe to work; nor do they ever labour but when this need is very ſenſibly felt. Then they go to hunt, fiſh, or to catch and harpoon turtle, an exerciſe at which they are very dexterous; or otherwiſe they hire themſelves to the Engliſh ſettlers to cut mahogany, or to build canoes, which are ſold at Jamaica for the purpoſe of fiſhing. Rice, cacao, indigo, tobacco, and other valuable productions might be cultivated to advantage in this country. At preſent England receives from it tyger and buck ſkins, dying woods of ſeveral kinds, gums and balſams, ſarſaparilla, tortoiſe-ſhells, and zebra wood for the cabinet makers, but thoſe only in ſmall quantities. All the free tribes, both inland and upon the coaſt, are allies of the Moſquitos and of the Engliſh.

Beſides this ſettlement, ſo unreaſonably neglected, we find another Engliſh colony about twenty leagues to the eaſt of Cape Honduras, at the mouth of *Black River*, by which name it is generally known. This place was during ſixty years the aſylum of the logwood cutters, when driven by the Spaniards from the foreſts of Eaſt Yucatan. There they waited in ſafety, till ſuch time as their enemies retired; and as thoſe expulſions were frequent, and always unforeſeen, the ſhips that went to load with wood in the bay of Honduras, choſe firſt to touch at Black River, in order to get intelligence, and determine, in conſequence of it, of the manner of purſuing their voyage. Wood-cutters, ſailors, deſerters, and adventurers of every kind, fixed themſelves inſenſibly in this place. They received merchandiſe in return for the fruits of their induſtry, and ſoon eſtabliſhed a lucrative trade with the Spaniards in the inland parts. The laſt treaty of peace, which ſecured to the wood-cutters, as already mentioned, the uninterrupted enjoyment of their foreſts, far from making Black River be deſerted, has given more activity to the ſettlement.

* Oxmelin, Hiſt. Freebooters. Dampier's Voyage.

The

The ſea coaſt here is ſandy, generally low and ſwampy, with mangrove trees; but higher up, among the rivers and lagoons, the ſoil is more fertile, and produces many plantains, coco-trees, maize, yams, and other vegetables. The paſſion for drinking rum has made the colony begin the planting of ſugar canes. The rivers, as well as the lagoons, are extremely well ſtored with fiſh, and the foreſts are filled with deer and game. On the ſhores they catch the fineſt turtle, from March to June, and from May to the end of September. Beſides this fiſhery, which is very advantagous, the Black River ſettlers cut mahogany and zebra wood, and gather a great deal of ſarſaparilla. A colony ſo well ſituated, though neglected by government, cannot fail of increaſing. It is one of thoſe plants, which, placed by the hand of chance in a happy corner, flouriſh, multiply, and bear fruit of themſelves, without the attention of the gardener.

CHAP. III.

The Spaniſh *Settlements in* South America.

ALL the Spaniſh dominions in South America, as already obſerved, were originally comprehended under one immenſe government, now divided into three. Among theſe Peru, the ſecond great acquiſition of the Spaniards in the New World, holds the firſt place, both in wealth and population. Its territory, which is very irregular, may be divided into three claſſes, of which the principal Cordeleras form the firſt. The ſummits of thoſe mountains are loſt in the clouds, and almoſt all of them are covered with enormous maſſes of ſnow, as old as the world. From ſeveral of theſe ſummits, which have in part tumbled down, and from the immenſe heaps of ſnow, torrents of ſmoke and flame iſſue. Such are the ſummits of Colopaxi, Tongourargua, and Sangai. The greateſt part of the reſt have formerly been volcanos, or will probably one day become ſuch. Hiſtory has only preſerved to us the æra of their eruptions ſince the diſcovery of America; but the pumice ſtones, the calcined earths with which they are ſtrewed, and the evident veſtiges that the flame has left, are authentic teſtimonies of the reality of former eruptions. Their height is prodigious.

Cayambour, which is ſituated directly under the equator, and Antiſona, which is only five leagues diſtant from it to the ſouth, are more than eighteen thouſand feet high, reckoning from the level of the ſea; and Chimborazo, which is twenty thouſand, two hundred, and eighty feet high †, ſurpaſſes more than one third the altitude of the pike of Teneriffe, the higheſt land in the ancient hemiſphere. Pitchincha and Carazon, where the French Academicians made moſt of their

† Voy. de Ulloa, tom. II.

obſervations

BOOK II.

obſervations with regard to the figure of the earth, have only thirteen thouſand five hundred and eighty, and thirteen thouſand eight hundred and ninety feet of abſolute height; and this is the higheſt land that ever was aſcended. Eternal ſnows have hitherto rendered ſummits of greater altitude inacceſſible.

From this elevation, where the ſnow never melts, not even in the torrid zone, in diſcending eight or nine hundred feet, ſcarcely any thing is ſeen but naked rocks or dry ſands. A little lower is perceived ſome moſs, that covers the rocks; various kinds of heath, which, though green and damp, make a clear fire; and round hillocks of ſpungy earth, on which grow ſmall radiated and ſtarry plants, whoſe petals are like the leaves of yew. Throughout the whole of this ſpace the ſnow is only temporary, but it continues ſometimes whole weeks and months. Lower ſtill the ground is commonly covered with a ſort of looſe graſs, which riſes a foot and an half, or two feet high. This ſpecies of hay is the proper characteriſtic of the mountains which the Spaniards call Paramos; a name by which they diſtinguiſh ſuch uncultivated ground as is too high for wood to grow on it, and where the rain ſeldom falls otherwiſe than in the form of ſnow, though it immediately melts. In deſcending yet lower, to the height of about twelve thouſand feet above the level of the ſea, it is obſerved ſometimes to ſnow and ſometimes to rain *.

On leaving thoſe mountains, others leſs conſiderable, which occupy the middle of Peru, preſent themſelves. The ſummit of theſe is commonly cold, barren, and full of mines. The vallies between them are covered with numerous flocks, and ſeem to offer to agriculture the moſt copious harveſt. There are ſeldom here above two months of winter; and in the greateſt heat, it is only neceſſary to paſs out of the ſun into the ſhade, to enjoy the temperate zone. This rapid alternative of ſenſation, however, is not always invariable in a climate, which by the diſpoſition of the ground alone often changes in the courſe of a league. But be it as it may, it is always found healthy. There is no malady peculiar to theſe diſtricts, and thoſe of our climate ſeldom there prevail.

The temperature of the low country is different from what is any where elſe found in the ſame latitudes. Having on one ſide the South Sea, and on the other the great ridge of the Andes or Cordeleras, through its whole length, the joint effects of the ocean and the mountains moderate the equinoctial heat in a manner equally agreeable and ſurpriſing. With a ſky for the moſt part cloudy, which ſhields the inhabitants from the rays of the vertical ſun, it never rains in lower Peru; but every night a ſoft benign dew broods upon the earth, and refreſhes the graſs and plants, ſo as to produce in ſome parts the greateſt fertility. The want of rain, however, in many places is ſenſibly felt; though in others it is ſupplied by the vaſt number of ſtreams, to which the frequent rains and the daily melting of ſnow on the mountains give riſe. But, along the coaſt, the fields are in general ſandy and barren; and none can be ſtiled truly fertile, except

* Voyage de Condamine.

ſuch

ſuch as are watered by the rivers and ſtreams, or the artificial canals dug from them.

Natural philoſophy has exerted its utmoſt efforts to diſcover the cauſe of a phænomenon ſo extraordinary as the want of rain in Lower Peru. May it not be attributed to the ſouth-weſt wind, which prevails the greateſt part of the year, and to the prodigious height of the mountains, whoſe ſummits are covered with eternal ſnow?—The country ſituated between both, being continually cooled on one ſide and heated on the other, maintains ſo equal a temperature, that the vapours which riſe can never be condenſed ſo far as to be reſolved into water. Hence the houſes, though only built of crude brick, or of earth mixed with a little graſs, are of eternal duration. Their covering is nothing but a ſimple matting, placed horizontally, with a layer of aſhes an inch thick above, to abſorb the moiſture of the fog.

The ſame cauſes that hinder it from raining in the flat country, undoubtedly alſo prevent ſtorms. Such of the inhabitants of Peru as have never viſited the mountains are perfect ſtrangers to thunder and lightning. Their terror is equal to their aſtoniſhment, when, in other countries, they firſt are witneſs to ſo aſtoniſhing a ſpectacle. But they have a phænomenon much more dangerous and dreadful; and which, in its conſequences, leaves much deeper impreſſions in the imagination of man, than thunder and all the ravages that accompany it. Earthquakes, which in moſt countries are ſo rare that whole ages paſs without a ſingle inſtance, are ſo common in Lower Peru, that the inhabitants have contracted a habit of reckoning them as a ſeries of dates; and they are ſo much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminiſh their violence. There are few places on this extenſive coaſt, which do not preſent ſome dreadful monument of thoſe horrible convulſions of the earth.

This phænomenon, which is ever irregular in its ſudden returns, is announced, however, by very perceptible and alarming ſymptoms. When the ſhock is conſiderable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noiſe of which is like that of heavy rain, falling from a cloud that ſuddenly burſts and diſcharges its waters. This noiſe ſeems to be the effect of a vibration of the air, which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then obſerved to dart in their flight: their tail and their wings no longer ſerve them, as oars and helm, to ſail in the fluid of the ſkies; they daſh themſelves in pieces againſt the walls, the trees, and the rocks. Whether it is the vertigo of nature that dizzies and confuſes them, or the noxious vapours that deprive them of ſtrength and ſkill to command their motions, we ſhall leave to be determined by the philoſophers of ultimate cauſes.

To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, whoſe cavities and deep receſſes re-echo each other's noiſes. The dogs anſwer theſe previous tokens of a general diſorder of nature, by howling in an extraordinary manner. The cattle ſtop; and, by a natural inſtinct, ſpread out their legs, that they may not fall. On theſe indications, the inhabitants inſtantly leave their houſes, with terror impreſſed on their countenances, and ſeek in the great ſquares, or in the fields, an aſylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the la-

BOOK II.

mentations of women, the ſudden darkneſs of an unexpected night *—every thing, in a word, conſpires to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity by the excruciating tortures of imagination, which, diſtreſſed and confounded, loſes in the contemplation of this diſorder, the thought and courage neceſſary to provide againſt it.

Another ſingularity merits attention. All along the coaſt of Peru, a current ſets ſtrongly to the north: further out to ſea, it runs with equal rapidity to the ſouth. This current probably moves eddywiſe: having run as far as its moving cauſe impels it, it naturally paſſes back again where it has leaſt reſiſtance. The ignorance of this double current, made the navigation of the South Sea originally very uncertain and fatiguing; but as it is now perfectly known, the courſe for thoſe who paſs from Chili to Peru is, to keep in towards the ſhore in their paſſage to Callao, and in their return to ſtand out a great many leagues to ſea, and to take the ſouthern current homewards. The ſame method, but reverſed, is obſerved in the voyages between Panama, the other northern countries, and the ports of Peru.

The productions of Peru for exportation may be reduced to five articles: gold and ſilver, quickſilver, Vigonia wool, Jeſuits bark, Agi or Cayenne pepper.

Of the nature of mines, and the different ways of procuring and refining the precious metals, an account has been given in the deſcription of New Spain. The mines of gold in Peru are almoſt all in the northern part, not very remote from Lima; thoſe of ſilver, almoſt wholly in the ſouthern. At firſt the gold mines tempted the avarice of the greater number of adventurers; but fatal experience ſoon diſcouraged thoſe, whom paſſion had not blinded. They clearly ſaw, that, for ſome enormous fortunes raiſed of a ſudden, great numbers who poſſeſſed moderate ones were totally ruined. The gold mines ſunk into ſuch diſcredit, that, in order to prevent them from being abandoned, the government was obliged to take the twentieth part of their produce, inſtead of the fifth, which it at firſt received.

The mines of ſilver were more common, more equal, and more rich, and therefore were worked to more advantage. Of theſe the moſt famous is that of Potoſi, which was diſcovered in 1545. An Indian, called Hualpa, purſuing ſome wild animals up the mountain of that name, and coming to a ſteep place, laid hold of a ſhrub to aſſiſt his aſcent. That, yielding to his weight, came up by the roots, and diſcovered a maſs of ſilver. At the ſame time he obſerved lumps of this metal adhering to the roots of the plant. With theſe firſt fruits of his diſcovery Hualpa haſtened home, ſeparated the ſilver from the foreign ſubſtances, and made uſe of it; repairing occaſionally, when his ſtock was exhauſted, to his perpetual treaſury. The change that had happened in his circumſtances was remarked by his countryman Guanca, to whom he avowed the ſecret. The two friends could not keep their own counſel, and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; and the indiſcreet confident diſcovered the whole to his maſter Villaroel, a Spaniard that was ſettled in the neighbourhood. On this the mine became known, was worked with im-

* Ulloa, vol. vii. c. 7.

menſe

menſe advantage, and a great many others ſcarce leſs rich, were found in the ſame mountain.

The fame of theſe important diſcoveries drew people from all parts to Potoſi, and a town was ſoon built at the foot of the mountain, containing ſixty thouſand Indians and ten thouſand Spaniards. Though the adjacent country is remarkably barren, producing neither grain, fruits, herbs, or other eſculents, the town is amply ſupplied, both with the neceſſaries and the luxuries of life. Some provinces ſend thither the beſt of their grain and fruits; others their cattle and manufactures; and thoſe who trade in European goods reſort to Potoſi, as to a market where there is a great demand, and no want of ſilver to give in exchange for them*. Induſtry, which every where follows the current of money, could not ſearch for it with ſo much ſucceſs as at this ſource.

In purifying gold and ſilver, as already obſerved, the Spaniards make uſe of mercury. The demand for this mineral in Peru is great, and is amply ſupplied by the mine of Guanca Velica, which was diſcovered in 1564. This mine, which is not found to diminiſh, is dug in a prodigious large mountain, ſixty leagues from Lima. In its profound abyſs are ſeen ſtreets, ſquares, and a chapel, where the myſteries of religion, on all feſtivals, are celebrated. Millions of flambeaux are continually kept to enlighten it. The earth, which contains the quickſilver, is of a whitiſh red, like burnt brick. It is pounded and put into an earthen kiln, the upper part of which is a vault like an oven, ſomewhat of a ſpherical form, extended an on iron grate covered with earth, under which a gentle heat is kept up with the herb *icho*, which is fitter for this proceſs than any other combuſtible matter, and the cutting of which, on that account, is prohibited for twenty leagues round the mine. The heat, which penetrates this earth, makes the pounded mineral ſo hot, that the quickſilver iſſues out of it volatiliſed in ſmoke. But as the upper part of the kiln is cloſely ſtopped, the ſmoke finds no vent but by a ſmall hole, which has a communication with a ſeries of little round earthen veſſels, or retorts, the necks of which are inſerted into each other. There the ſmoke circulates, and condenſes by means of a little water at the bottom of each veſſel, into which the quickſilver falls in a pure heavy liquid.

Private people work this mine at their own expence, and of courſe might be expected to reap the profits ariſing from it on paying a certain duty. But the caſe is otherwiſe. They are obliged to deliver to government, at a ſtated price, all the mercury they extract; and as ſoon as they have procured the quantity, which the demands of one year require, the work is ſuſpended. Part of the mercury is ſold on the ſpot, and the reſt is ſent to the royal magazines throughout all Peru, whence it is delivered out at eighteen pounds ſeven ſhilling and ſixpence per hundred weight, the ſame price it is ſold for in Mexico. This regulation, from which the crown of Spain raiſes a conſiderable revenue, has been con-

* Voyage de Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 13. The produce of the mines is ſomewhat diminiſhed, but ſtill very conſiderable. Before the year 1638, they are ſaid to have yielded 21,255,043 dollars per annum. Id. ibid.

ſidered

BOOK II.

ſidered by an eminent political writer * in the ſame light as a tax upon the implements of huſbandry :—and in one ſenſe it may be regarded as ſuch. But as it is obſerved † that the paſſion of ſearching for the precious metals is ſo violent in the Spaniſh colonies, as to overturn all ſober plans of induſtry; to make every other bounty of nature be neglected, and to bury in the earth, in viſionary projects, great part of that treaſure which is extracted from it, any regulation which tends to reſtrain ſuch an exceſs muſt be conſidered as truly political; more eſpecially if it contributes to the ſupport of government.

The mine of Guanca Velica generally affects thoſe who work in it with convulſions. This and the other mines are all worked by the natives. Theſe unfortunate victims of an inſatiable avarice are crowded together, and plunged naked into thoſe abyſſes, the greater part of which are deep, and all exceſſively cold. Their ſervice is only for ſix months at a time; but ſuch as ſurvive that term, which, as formerly obſerved, is often protracted under various pretences, having loſt the ſweetneſs of their former connections, generally ſettle in the neighbourhood of the mine, and become ſlaves for life. The effects of that ſervitude, more deſtructive than ſword or peſtilence, would yet be more fatal were it not for the uſe of coca. The coca is a ſhrub, which hardly ever riſes higher than from three to four feet. Its fruit is depoſited in bunches; and is red when it begins to ripen, and black when it has attained its maturity. Its leaf, which is ſoft, and of a pale green, reſembling that of the myrtle, is the delight of the Peruvians. They chew it, after having mixed it with a white earth, which they call *mambis*. Its qualities ſeem to be of the opiate kind, and to have ſome ſimilitude to thoſe of tobacco, for it produces a kind of ſtupid compoſure. It is an antidote againſt poiſons and poiſonous effluvia, and makes thoſe who uſe it ſubſiſt a long time without food. If the unhappy wretches, who are buried in the mines, are in want of it, they ceaſe working, and no means whatſoever can compel them to reſume their labour, nor would they be able without it to continue their exertions. Their oppreſſors therefore furniſh them with as much as they require, ſubſtracting the price of it from their daily wages. It is produced in great quantities in the ſouthern provinces of Peru, where it is cultivated by the Indians, but that growing wild in the neighbourhood of Cuzco is accounted the beſt ‡.

Vigonia wool, one of the moſt valuable commodities of Peru, is ſhorn from a ſpecies of animals peculiar to the country, and in other reſpects beneficial to man; namely, the Llama, the Pacos, the Guanaco, and Vicuna.

The llama is about four feet high, and five in length, of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head, reſembling that of the camel, is well made, with large eyes, a long ſnout, and thick lips. Its mouth has no inciſors in the upper jaw. Its feet are cloven like thoſe of the ox, but furniſhed with a ſpur behind, which enables it to faſten itſelf in the ſides of ſteep places, where it delights to climb. The wool is ſhort on its back, but long on its ſides. The llamas were employed by the ancient Peruvians as beaſts of burden, and they are ſtill uſed as ſuch by

* Raynal. † See book ii. c. 2. of this work, and Robertſon, b. viii.
‡ Ulloa, lib. vi. c. 3. This coca is exactly the ſame with the betel of the Eaſt-Indies. Id. ibid.

the modern natives of the country. The carry about an hundred weight, and move with a ſlow but firm pace, at the rate of four or five leagues a day, in roads that are impracticable to other animals; deſcending through gullies, and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they reſt of their own accord for twenty-four hours. Nature ſeems to have formed them for the people of the climate where they are produced, mild and phlegmatic, moderate and prudent, like the Peruvians. When they ſtop, they bend their knees and incline their body in ſuch a manner as not to diſcompoſe their burden. As ſoon as they hear their driver whiſtle, they riſe with the ſame care, and proceed on their journey. They browſe on the graſs they find in their way, and chew the cud at night; even when aſleep, reclining on their breaſt, with their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither diſpirited by faſting nor drudgery, while they have any ſtrength remaining; but, when they are totally exhauſted, or fall under their burden, it is to no purpoſe to harraſs or beat them. They will continue obſtinate; ſtriking their heads againſt the ground, firſt on one ſide then on the other, till they kill themſelves. They never defend themſelves either with their feet or teeth; but, in the height of their indignation, content themſelves with ſpitting in the face of thoſe who inſult them.

The pacos is to the llama what the aſs is to the horſe, a ſubordinate ſpecies, ſmaller in ſize, with ſhort legs, and a flat ſnout, but of the ſame diſpoſition, the ſame peculiarities, and the ſame conſtitution; formed, like the llama, to carry burdens, but more obſtinate in its caprices, perhaps becauſe it is weaker. Theſe animals are ſo much the more uſeful to man, as their ſervice coſts him nothing. Their thick coat ſupplies the place of a pack-ſaddle; the little graſs, which they find along the road, ſuffices for their food, and furniſhes them with a plentiful and freſh ſaliva, which exempts them from the neceſſity of drinking.

The guanaco is a wild ſpecies of the llama, ſtronger, more ſprightly, and more nimble than the domeſtic llamas; running like the ſtag, and climbing like the wild goat, covered with ſhort wool, and of a fawn-colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds, ſometimes to the number of two or three hundred. If they ſee a man, they at firſt ſurvey him, with a look of greater aſtoniſhment than curioſity, then ſnuffing up the air, and neighing, all run together to the ſummit of the mountain. Theſe animals ſeek the cold, travel on the ice, and ſojourn within the regions of ſnow, dreading the heat of the low lands. They are found vigorous, and in vaſt numbers on the Sierras, which are of the ſame height with the Cordeleras; but they are both ſmall and ſcarce in the heaths at the foot of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither men nor dogs can keep ſight of them.

The Vicuna, a ſpecies of wild pacos, is ſtill fonder of the ſummits of the mountains, of the ſnow, and of the ice. Their wool is longer, thicker ſet, and much finer, than that of the guanaco. Its colour reſembles that of dried roſes, and is ſo fixed by nature, that it cannot be altered in the hands of thoſe who are employed in working it, and never changes by any accidents of weather, which

BOOK II.

renders it of great value. It is almoſt as delicate as ſilk *. The vicunas are ſo timid, that their fear itſelf makes them an eaſy prey to the hunter. A company of men ſurround them, and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which are ſuſpended pieces of cloth, or linen rags, on cords, raiſed three or four feet from the ground. Theſe rags being agitated by the wind, ſtrike ſuch terror into the vicunas, that they ſtand crowded, and ſqueezed one againſt another, ſuffering themſelves to be killed rather than fly; but if there happens to be among them a guanaco, which, being more adventurous, leaps over the cords, they follow it and eſcape.

All theſe animals belong ſo peculiarly to South America, and eſpecially to the higheſt Cordeleras, that they are never ſeen on the ſide of Mexico, where the height of theſe mountains is conſiderably diminiſhed. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but without ſucceſs. The Spaniards, without reflecting, that theſe animals, even in Peru itſelf, ſought the coldeſt parts, tranſported them to the burning plains of Andaluſia. They might poſſibly have ſucceeded at the foot of the Alps or the Pyrenees †. The fleſh of the llamas, when they are young, is good eating. The ſkin of the old ones ſerves the Indians for ſhoes, and the Spaniards for harneſs. The guanacos alſo might be eaten; but the vicunas are only ſought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar that they produce.

The wool of the llamas, pacos, guanacos, and vicunas, was in general uſefully employed by the Peruvians before the conqueſt. The inhabitants of Cuzco made tapeſtry of it for the uſe of the court, in which flowers, birds, and trees were pretty well imitated. It ſerved alſo to make mantles which were worn over a ſhirt of cotton. After the conqueſt, all the natives were obliged to wear cloaths. As the oppreſſion under which they groaned did not allow them to exerciſe their former induſtry, they contented themſelves with the coarſer cloaths of Europe, for which they were made to pay an exorbitant price. When the gold and ſilver, which had eſcaped the rapacity of the conquerors, were exhauſted, and the government a little more ſettled, they attempted to eſtabliſh their national manufactures, and with ſucceſs; but theſe were ſome time after prohibited, on account of the deficiency which they occaſioned in the exports of the mother-country. The impoſſibility, however, which the Peruvians found of purchaſing foreign ſtuffs, and paying their taxes, occaſioned permiſſion to be given at the end of ten years for their re-eſtabliſhment. They have not ſince been diſcontinued, and have been brought to as great a degree of perfection as it is poſſible under a continual tyranny. With the wool of the vicuna, the Peruvians make at Cuzco, and in its territory, ſtockings, handkerchiefs, and ſcarfs. The ſame wool, mixed with that of the ſheep, introduced from Europe, but which has exceedingly degenerated, ſerves alſo for carpets, which are admirable, and makes tolerably fine cloth; and fleeces of an inferior

* Probably the famous ſheep of Cachemir, of whoſe wool they make the little white cloths, ſo much valued in India, may be of this ſpecies. *Europ. Set. Amer. par. II. c.* 9. To this conjecture another may be added that *vigonia* is probably a corruption of *vicuna* wool.

† Buffon, Hiſt. Nat. Raynal, Hiſt. Philoſ. et Politiq.

quality, as well as what are ſhorn from the llama, guanaco, and pacos, are employed in ſerges, druggets, and all kinds of coarſer ſtuffs. Theſe manufactures would have been multiplied, notwithſtanding the oppreſſions under which the people labour, if the ſpirit of deſtruction had not fallen upon animals as well as upon men. The vicuna, in particular, has been hunted down, and its valuable wool exported annually, both to New and Old Spain, to a very conſiderable amount.

The next great article of exportation, no leſs peculiar to South America, is Jeſuits bark; ſo well known in medicine, as a ſpecific in intermitting diſorders, and an antidote againſt mortification, beſides many other valuable purpoſes which experience daily finds it to anſwer. The tree that bears it is about the common ſize of a cherry-tree: its leaves are long and indented; and it bears a long reddiſh flower, from which ariſes a ſort of huſk that envelopes a flat white kernel, not unlike an almond. This tree grows principally in the mountainous parts of Peru, and is found in the greateſt plenty and perfection in the province of Quito. M. Condamine informs us, that it grows on the hither ſide of the Andes, nowiſe inferior to the Peruvian in quantity or goodneſs. The beſt is produced on the high and rocky grounds, as appears to be the caſe with moſt medicinal plants, whoſe juices are more powerful and efficacious when elaborated in ſuch ſituations.

This bark was firſt introduced into Europe by the Jeſuits, whence it had its name of Jeſuits Bark. Its medicinal virtue is ſaid to have been diſcovered by the following accident. An Indian lingering under an intermitting fever, being parched with thirſt, happened to drink of the water of a lake into which ſome of the trees had fallen, and was cured as if by miracle. The Jeſuits, with their uſual ſagacity, took advantage of this circumſtance: they made experiments with the bark; found it to anſwer, and preſerved it for ſome time as a ſecret, in order to increaſe the wealth and conſequence of their fraternity. At length Juan de Vega, phyſician to one of the viceroys of Peru, who had proved its ſalutary effects, eſtabliſhed it in Spain as an article of commerce, in 1640, at the enormous price of an hundred peſos a pound. The price is now comparatively inconſiderable; but as the conſumption of it is greater, the bark ſtill forms a very valuable article in the trade of Spaniſh America.

Agi, or Cayenne pepper, is alſo a conſiderable article in the trade of Peru. It is produced in the greateſt quantity in the vale of Arica, whence it is exported to the annual amount of ſix hundred thouſand peſos *. The diſtrict that produces this pepper in ſuch abundance is but ſmall, and naturally barren. It owes its fertility in pepper as well as in grain to a very extraordinary manure, brought from an iſland on the coaſt, named Iquiqua. This is a ſort of yellowiſh ſubſtance of a fœtid ſmell, and is generally ſuppoſed to be the dung of ſea fowls, vaſt numbers of which are continually ſeen on that and the adjacent iſlands. But whether we conſider it as the dung of theſe fowls, or a particular ſpecies of earth, it is almoſt equally difficult to conceive how the ſmall iſland of Iquiqua, not above two miles

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 12.

in

BOOK II.

in circumference, can furniſh ſuch immenſe quantities; and after ſupplying the diſtant parts during two centuries, with upwards of twelve ſhip-loads annually, beſides a much greater quantity, for the uſe of the neighbourhood, ſhould continue apparently undiminiſhed in height or otherwiſe. Theſe, however, are inquires that do not properly belong to this work, and require a more perfect knowledge of all the circumſtances relative to their object, than can be gathered from travellers.

This manure, which was known, as formerly obſerved, to the ancient Peruvians, is made uſe of by the Spaniards in other cultures beſides that of pepper, ſeveral of which, introduced from Europe, have been carried to a conſiderable degree of perfection. The vine thrives ſufficiently on the ſandy coaſts of Peru, at Ica, Piſca, Naſca, Moquequa, and Truxillo, to furniſh the colony with wine and brandy adequate to its wants. Olives thrive ſtill better, and yield abundance of oil, which is greatly ſuperior to that of the mother-country. The ſugar cane ſucceeds ſo well, that none of any other growth can be compared to thoſe produced, though in no great quantity, on this coaſt, where it never rains. Wheat and barley are cultivated in the inland country, but not with remarkable ſucceſs. The natives, as formerly, live chiefly upon maize.

According to the order hitherto purſued, we ſhould now proceed to an account of Peru, and of all the Spaniſh dominions in South America, as divided into audiences, and of theſe, as again ſubdivided into provinces or diſtricts; but the vaſt extent of the countries ſubject to the crown of Spain in this ſection of the American continent, makes a new method neceſſary. In order to preſerve the unity of the ſubject, which would otherwiſe be broken into an infinitude of minute parts, we ſhall attempt a moral and commercial ſurvey, inſtead of a geographical deſcription; a picture, rather than a chart. We ſhall endeavour to place the chief objects in a conſpicuous point of view, and throw the reſt into ſhade. Towns and provinces remote in ſituation, but connected by commerce, by an union or oppoſition of intereſts, will therefore often follow in ſucceſſion, that the reader may be enabled to form a diſtinct judgment of the wealth and power of the whole Spaniſh empire to the ſouth of the iſthmus of Panama, in place of poſſeſſing only a vague idea of its ſeparate, involved, and widely ſpreading branches.

In proceeding towards the low country from Potoſi, which we have ſeen riſing out of the deſart, as if by magical incantation, at the waving of the potent rod of the god Mammon, the firſt object that claims our attention is Cuzco, the ancient capital of Peru, and the ſeat of the Incas. It ſtands as formerly on a very irregular ground on the ſides of the mountains, there being no ſituation more convenient near it, and is ſtill a conſiderable city. The number of its inhabitants are not mentioned by Ulloa, but Correal and Laet make them amount to between three and four thouſand Spaniards, and twelve thouſand Indians. *. The natives who, in general have the greateſt averſion againſt living

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII.

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in cities, becauſe inhabited by their oppreſſors, ſtill voluntarily chuſe to reſide at Cuzco: they love to behold that venerable place, from which thoſe holy laws originated that rendered their anceſtors ſo happy. The remembrance of theſe inſpires them with an elevation of ſoul; hence they are found to be more ingenious on this celebrated ſpot, than in any other part of their ancient empire. Beſides the woollen manufactures already mentioned, they have alſo ſome of cotton, and work largely in leather in all its branches, but particularly in painting and gilding fit for ornamentin grooms. Other artiſts are employed in making with wood or ivory pieces of inlaid work and ſculpture, and in delineating figures on the marble that is found at Cucuca, or on linen imported from Europe. The drawing of theſe is not bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. If the Indians, who invent nothing, but are excellent imitators, had able maſters, and proper models, they would make at leaſt good copyiſts. Towards the cloſe of the laſt century, the works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. James, were carried to Rome, and the connoiſſeurs diſcovered marks of genius in them. The city of Cuzco is well built. Moſt of the houſes are of ſtone, happily contrived, and covered with tiles, whoſe lively red gives them an elegant appearance. The apartments are ſpacious, and finely decorated; the mouldings of all the doors are gilt; the other ornaments are no leſs rich, and the furniture correſponds with that magnificence, both in elegance and ſumptuouſneſs *.

On a hill to the north of Cuzco, are the ruins of a famous fort built by the Incas for their defence. From thoſe ruins it appears, that the deſign of the Incas was to encloſe the whole mountain with a prodigious wall, of ſuch conſtruction as to render the aſcent of it impracticable to an army, in order to prevent all approach to the city. This wall was entirely of freeſtone, and ſtrongly built, like all the other works of the Incas, but ſtill more remarkable for its dimenſions, and the largeneſs of the ſtones, which are of different magnitudes and figures. Thoſe compoſing the principal parts of the work are of ſuch prodigious ſize, that it is difficult to conceive how it was poſſible for the ſtrength of man, unaſſiſted by machines, to have brought them thither from the quarries. The interſtices formed by the irregularities of theſe enormous maſſes are filled with ſmaller, and ſo cloſely joined as not to be perceived without a very narrow inſpection †. Some leagues to the north of this fortreſs lies the valley of Yucay, where the Incas and great men of the empire had formerly their country-houſes. The greater part of that delicious retreat, which ſtill preſerves its reputation, belongs to the biſhop of Cuzco; and the reſt is poſſeſſed by the principal citizens, who think there is ſomething deficient in their ſyſtem of happineſs till they can purchaſe a piece of ground there. The ſick uſually repair thither in ſearch of health, and it rarely happens but they find it ‡.

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 12. † Id. ibid. ‡ Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII.

BOOK II.

About half way between Cuzco and Lima, ſtands the city of Guamagna, founded for the conveniency of carrying on trade between the ancient and the modern capital of Peru. It is ſituated on the declivities of ſome mountains of a moderate height, which, extending ſouthward, incloſe a ſpacious plain to the eaſtward of the town. This plain is watered by a ſmall river deſcending from the neighbouring mountains; but the ground on which the city ſtands being higher than the bed of the river, the inhabitants are obliged to provide themſelves with fountains. In the center of the town live at leaſt twenty noble families, in ſpacious houſes of a conſiderable height, built partly with ſtone, and covered with tiles. All theſe have extenſive gardens and orchards; though it is no ſmall trouble to keep them in order, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of water. The large Indian ſuburbs round this city add greatly to its extent; and the houſes there, though low, being chiefly of ſtone, and roofed, very much augment the general appearance *.

The next city that claims our attention in this quarter of South America is Arequipa, delightfully ſituated in the valley of Quilca, twenty leagues from the ſea, and near a hundred ſouth of Lima. It is one of the largeſt towns in Peru. The houſes are handſomely built of ſtone, and vaulted. Though not all of an equal height, they are generally lofty, commodious, finely decorated on the outſide, and neatly furniſhed within. The temperature of the air here is ſo remarkably mild, that there is never an exceſs either of heat or cold: hence the ſurrounding fields are perpetually covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers; and the inhabitants in conſequence of this perpetual ſpring, are exempted from the diſeaſes which flow from the intemperature of the ſeaſons. What farther contributes to the health of the inhabitants, is their care in keeping the ſtreets clean by means of canals which extends to a river near the city, by which all the filth is ſwept away. But theſe pleaſures and advantages are allayed by the dreadful ſhocks of earthquakes, to which, in common with all the low country of Peru, Arequipa is ſo ſubject, that it has been three times laid in ruins by theſe terrible convulſions of nature. It is ſtill, however, very populous, and numbers among its inhabitants, many noble families; the fertility of the ſoil and the goodneſs of the air as well as the vicinity of the port of Aranta, inducing many of the Spaniards to ſettle upon this ſpot. Aranta is only twenty leagues diſtant from Arequipa, communicates with it by means of the river already mentioned, and is the next port to Callao, in point of excellence of any on this coaſt of the South Sea †.

Callao is the port of Lima, at about five miles diſtance, extending along the ſea-coaſt, on a low flat point of land. The Spaniards have no harbour in the South Sea worthy to be compared with it in beauty, conveniency, or ſecurity. The largeſt veſſels may lie with perfect ſafety in the road of Callao, the water being extremely deep, and the port ſhielded from the winds by the iſland of St. Lawrence, which alſo breaks the ſurges rolling from the ſouth weſt. From the

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 12. † Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 12. Hiſt. Gen. de Voyages, tom. XIII.

ſea,

ſea, the town makes a tolerable figure, having ſeveral public edifices, churches, and monaſteries, though the number of inhabitants are but inconſiderable. The Spaniards have expended large ſums in giving this important harbour all the advantages of ſtrength that art could beſtow; and the town is actually conſidered by their countrymen as little leſs than impregnable, though in fact both the garriſon and fortifications are very trifling. The latter conſiſted of an incloſure flanked by ten baſtions on the land ſide, and ſeveral redans and plain baſtions on the edge of the ſea, together with four ſtrong batteries to command the port and road *; but theſe being demoliſhed by the laſt great earthquake, have never ſince been thoroughly repaired, the money appropriated for that purpoſe by the court having been expended in other works, more agreeable to the deſigns of thoſe intruſted with the viceroyalty of this part of the Spaniſh empire.

Lima, the ſeat of the viceroy, and the modern capital of Peru, is ſituated in a delicious plain, about two leagues from the ſea, and nearly at an equal diſtance from the equator and the ſouthern tropic, ſo as to unite, as it were, all the riches and delights of South America. The proſpect from it on one ſide extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it commands a diſtance of forty leagues, as far as the Cordeleras. A river of the ſame name waſhes the walls of Lima; and, when not ſwelled by the torrents from the mountains, is eaſily fordable. But as at other times it is equally rapid and deep, an elegant and ſpacious ſtone bridge is thrown over it, having at one end a ſuperb gate, the architecture of which has been much admired. This gate forms the entrance into the city, and leads to the great ſquare, which is very extenſive, and richly ornamented. In the centre of this ſquare is a fountain, equally remarkable for its beauty and grandeur; out of the middle of which riſes a bronze ſtatue of Fame, and on the angles are four ſmall baſons. The water is ejected through the trumpet of the ſtatue, and alſo through the mouths of eight lions that ſurround it. The eaſt ſide of the ſquare is filled by the cathedral and the archiepiſcopal palace, which riſe above all the buildings in the city. The front of the palace, its columns, pilaſters, and principal foundations, are of hewn ſtone. The cathedral, which reſembles that of Seville, is adorned with a magnificent facade, or frontiſpiece, in the middle of which is the grand portal, ſet off by two handſome towers. Round the whole runs a ſpacious gallery, with a balluſtrade of wood, reſembling braſs in colour; and at proper diſtances are ſeveral pyramids which greatly augment the magnificence of the ſtructure. On the north ſide of the ſquare is the viceroy's palace, in which are the ſeveral courts of juſtice, together with the offices of the revenue, and the ſtate priſon. This was formerly a very noble building, both in regard to its ſize and architecture, but the greater part of it being thrown down by the dreadful earthquake that viſited the city in 1687, it has never regained its former ſtateline ſs.

The form of Lima is triangular; the baſe, or longeſt ſide, extending two miles along the banks of the river. Its greateſt breadth, from north to ſouth,

* Voy. de Frezier.

BOOK II.

is about a mile. It is ſurrounded with a brick wall, and flanked by thirty-four baſtions, but without platforms or embraſures, the purpoſe of the fortifications being merely to defend it againſt any ſudden attack of the natives. On the oppoſite ſide of the river is the ſuburb called St. Lazaro, all the ſtreets of which, like thoſe of the city, are broad, parallel, or at right angles, and form ſeveral ſquares of houſes, each an hundred and fifty yards in front. The buildings of Lima, are generally low, but extremely commodious. They are ſlight with all the appearance of ſolidity; and that they may the better ſupport the ſhocks of earthquakes, of which this city has had ſuch frequent, and fatal experience, the principal parts are compoſed of wood, mortiſed into the rafters of the roof. Thoſe parts which ſerve for walls, are lined both within and without with wild canes and oſiers plaſtered over with clay, and white waſhed, ſo that none of the wood is to be ſeen. The fronts are painted in imitation of free ſtone: cornices and porticos are alſo added, painted of a ſtone-colour. Thus the whole impoſes on the ſight, and ſtrangers ſuppoſe the houſes to be built with thoſe materials which they only imitate.

Superſtition, which appears with the utmoſt pomp over all Spaniſh America, may be ſaid to have erected her throne in Lima. The number and the riches of the churches and monaſteries is altogether incredible. Ulloa enumerates no leſs than forty of the latter, and tells us that all the churches, both conventual and parochial are large, conſtructed partly of ſtone, and adorned with paintings and other decorations of great value; particularly the cathedral, and the churches of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Auguſtin, and the Fathers of Mercy, which ſurpaſs all deſcription. But the wealth and pomp that is diſplayed on ſolemn occaſions exceeds even imagination, an idea being only to be formed of it by the ſight. The altars from their very baſes to the borders of the paintings, are covered with maſſive ſilver, wrought into various kinds of ornaments. The walls alſo of the churches are hung with velvet, or tapeſtry of equal value, bordered with gold and ſilver fringes, and adorned with moveable pieces of plate curiouſly faſhioned. If the eye is directed from the pillars, walls, and ceiling, to the lower part of the church, it is equally dazzled with glittering objects, which preſent themſelves on all ſides. Among theſe are candleſticks of maſſive ſilver, ſix or ſeven feet high, placed in two rows along the nave of the church; emboſſed tables of the ſame metal, ſupporting ſmaller candleſticks; and in the intervals between them pedeſtals, on which ſtand the ſtatues of angels, all of the ſame metal. The whole church, in a word, is covered with plate, or ſomething equal to it in value: but how much more coſtly are the materials, and the ornaments of ſuch things as are more immediately employed in the ſervice of religion!—In the richneſs of theſe there is a ſort of emulation between the ſeveral churches. The gold of the chalices, oſtenſoriums, and other ſacred veſſels and utenſils, are covered with pearls and diamonds in ſuch profuſion as to blind the ſpectator with their luſtre; and the gold and ſilver ſtuffs for veſtments and other decorations, are always the richeſt and moſt elegant of thoſe brought over by the regiſter ſhips *.

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 3.

Such

Such was Lima, before the year 1746, when two thirds of the city were laid in ruins by a terrible earthquake, the eleventh by which it has ſuffered, and its port of Callao entirely ſwallowed up. It is now in a great meaſure reſtored to its former ſplendour, and ſaid to be conſtructed nearly in the manner here deſcribed; but as no traveller has yet publiſhed an account of its buildings in their preſent ſtate, this is not intended to be impoſed upon the world as ſuch. With reſpect to other particulars we are leſs at a loſs. Lima is ſtill the ſeat of government, as well as the great ſcene of buſineſs and amuſement, and is ſuppoſed to contain ſixty thouſand inhabitants of all colours and conditions; Spaniards, Negroes, Indians, Meſtizos, and other caſts, proceeding from a mixture of the former.

The Spaniſh families in Lima are very numerous, that city containing at leaſt twelve thouſand whites, among whom are reckoned a third or fourth part of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobility of Peru; particularly forty-five counts and marquiſes, and a proportionable number of knights belonging to the military orders of Spain. Beſides theſe, there are many families no leſs reſpectable, though without titles, that poſſeſs large eſtates, and live with equal pomp. They all keep a great number of ſlaves and other domeſtics; and thoſe who affect diſtinction keep coaches, while others content themſelves with calaſhes or chaiſes, which are ſo common in Lima, that no family of any ſubſtance is without one. The calaſhes, which are drawn by a ſingle horſe or mule, are very ſlight and airy; but on account of the gildings and other decorations, they ſometimes coſt a thouſand peſos. The number of them is ſaid to amount to five or ſix thouſand.

The Negroes, mulattoes, and their deſcendants, form the greater number of the inhabitants. By them the mechanical arts are chiefly exerciſed; but this circumſtance does not prevent Europeans from following the ſame employments, which are not here, as in ſome parts of Spaniſh America, accounted diſgraceful. Gain, at Lima, is the univerſal paſſion, and the inhabitants purſue it by means of any trade, intereſt preponderating over every other conſideration. No prejudice is allowed to interfere with it. The third and laſt claſs of the inhabitants are the Indians and Meſtizos; but theſe are very few in proportion to the populouſneſs of the city, and the multitude of the ſecond claſs. They are employed in agriculture, in making earthen-ware, and bringing all kinds of proviſions to market; domeſtic ſervices being performed by Negroes and mulattoes, either ſlaves or freemen, though generally by the former.

The dreſs of the men at Lima does not differ eſſentially from that of Spain, except by an exceſs of gaiety, which reigns among perſons of all conditions. Every one having a right to wear what he can purchaſe, unreſtrained by law or cuſtom, it is not unuſual to ſee a mulatto, or any common mechanic, dreſſed in a tiſſue, equal to what can be worn by Spaniards of the firſt diſtinction. It may therefore be ſaid, without exaggeration, that the richeſt ſtuffs, made in countries which are always inventing ſomething new, are more generally ſeen at Lima than in any other place, either in the Old or New World. But in this article of luxury, the men are greatly exceeded by the women, whoſe dreſs is ſo rich and ſingular as to merit a particular deſcription.

In the choice of laces, more eſpecially, the women of Lima carry their taſte to a prodigious exceſs. Nor is this taſte confined to women of quality: it has ſpread through perſons of all ranks, except the loweſt claſs of negroes. Theſe laces are all of Flanders manufacture, no woman of faſhion condeſcending to look upon any thing elſe. They are ſowed to the linen of the women, which they entirely cover, and whoſe whole dreſs is perfectly different from the European. It conſiſts of a pair of ſhoes, a ſhift, a petticoat of dimity, an open petticoat, and a jacket, which in ſummer is of linen, in winter of ſtuff: to this ſome add a mantelette, that the former may hang looſe. The petticoat, which is uſually tied below the waiſt, does not reach lower than the calf of the leg; thence nearly to the ancle, hangs a border of very fine lace, ſewed to the bottom of the under petticoat, through which the ends of the garters are diſcovered, embroidered with gold or ſilver, and ſometimes ſet with pearls. The upper petticoat, which is of velvet, or ſome rich ſtuff, is fringed all around, and crowded with the richeſt ornaments. Be theſe ornaments what they will, whether of ribbands, lace, or embroidery, they are always exquiſitely fine. The ſhift ſleeves, which are a yard and a half in length, and two yards in width, when worn for ornament, are covered with rolls of laces, variegated in ſuch a manner as to render the whole truly elegant. Over the ſhift is worn the jacket, the ſleeves of which are exceſſively large, of a circular figure, and conſiſt of rows of lace, or ſlips of cambric or lawn, with lace diſpoſed betwixt each, as are alſo the ſhift ſleeves, even of thoſe that do not affect exceſſive ornament. The body of the jacket is tied on the ſhoulders with ribbands faſtened to the back of the ſtays; and the round ſleeves of it being tucked up to the ſhoulders, are ſo diſpoſed, together with thoſe of the ſhift, as to form what may be termed four wings. If the jacket be not buttoned or claſped before, it is agreeably faſtened on the ſhoulders. Thoſe who uſe a cloſe veſt, faſten it with claſps, but wear over it the looſe jacket already deſcribed; and over the petticoat is an apron of the ſame ſubſtance as the ſleeves of the jacket, hanging down to the bottom of it.

One particular, on which the ladies of Lima chiefly value themſelves, is the ſmallneſs of their feet, which is eſteemed a particular beauty. From their infancy they are accuſtomed to wear tight ſhoes, that their feet may not grow beyond the ſize eſteemed handſome. In general, they do not exceed five or ſix inches in length. Their ſhoes, which have little or no ſole, are faſtened with diamond buckles, or ſomething very brilliant, in proportion to the circumſtances of the wearer, as ornament is their only purpoſe; for the ſhoes are ſo made that they never looſen of themſelves, nor do the buckles hinder them from being taken off. Their ſtockings are of white ſilk, delicately thin, that the leg, which is almoſt entirely diſplayed to view, may appear to more advantage.

The head-dreſs is ſtill more agreeable, becauſe it is perfectly natural. Of all the gifts which Heaven has beſtowed upon the women of Lima, their hair is the moſt diſtinguiſhed. It is generally black, and ſo thick and long, that it might ſerve as a veil for modeſty, being capable of reaching below the girdle. They tie it up behind in ſix braided locks, through which a golden bod-

kin a little bent is inſerted, having a cluſter of diamonds at each end. On this bodkin the braided locks are ſuſpended ſo as to touch the ſhoulders, while thoſe treſſes which are not attached to the head fall ſtill lower in waving ringlets. Theſe they never attempt to ornament, leaſt they ſhould rob them of their native beauty; but on the front, and upper part of the head, they wear diamond aigrets, and the hair is formed into little curls, which deſcend from the beginning of the temples to the middle of the ear, and on each temple is a patch of black velvet. The ear-rings are of brilliants, intermixed with tufts of black ſilk covered with pearls. Their bracelets, rings, necklaces, are all remarkably rich, and from the centre of the boſom is ſuſpended a plate of gold encruſted with diamonds, more ſuperb than all the reſt. A woman of condition, in a word, though undignified with titles or nobility, ſeldom appears full dreſſed without diſplaying in lace and jewels to the value of thirty or forty thouſand peſos; and what more ſurpriſes ſtrangers, is the indifference ſhe affects for all theſe riches. Faſhion makes it neceſſary that ſhe ſhould loſe, or let fall ſome of her jewels, without taking notice of it, that ſhe may always have ſomething to replace or to add. Here, as at Mexico, a lady never walks abroad, except when attended by three or four negroe or mulatto ſlaves, dreſſed in livery like pages, and adorned with lace as their miſtreſſes *.

The charms of the women of Lima are ſtill more worthy of admiration than the richneſs of their dreſs. A fair and freſh complexion, without the help of art, eyes ſparkling with vivacity, a countenance full of life and ſprightlineſs, and a handſome ſhape render them altogether captivating. Theſe ladies are remarkably fond of perfumes. They are never without amber: they ſcent their linen and their cloaths with it, and even their noſegays, as if there was ſomething wanting to the natural fragrance of flowers. With flowers, of which they are no leſs fond, they adorn their ſleeves, and ſometimes their hair, like ſhepherdeſſes. The approach of a woman is announced by the delicious odours which ſhe exhales. To this paſſion for flowers may be aſcribed that vaſt profuſion which are every morning exhibited in the great ſquare of Lima, which has the appearance of a ſpacious garden. There the ladies are ſeen in gilt calaſhes, purchaſing whatever ſtrikes their fancies, without regard to price; while the men ſtand by in crowds, adoring and contemplating whatever nature has produced moſt charming to embelliſh and enchant the dream of life.

Where can all the delights of ſenſe be enjoyed in greater perfection than in Peru?—It is there the proper province of the women to feel and communicate them. Among other pleaſures, muſic holds a chief place in the affections of the women of Lima. Nothing is heard in every quarter, but the ſound of voices and inſtruments. They have frequent balls, where they dance with a degree of levity that is altogether aſtoniſhing. They neglect the motions of the arms to attend to the agility of the feet, and eſpecially to the inflexions of the body; which are images of the true emotions of voluptuouſneſs, as the expreſſion of the

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 5. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII.

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BOOK II.

countenance is the true accompaniment of dancing. The arms conſpire to give grace to the attitude, but the ideas of pleaſure are more ſtrongly expreſſed by the body; hence in countries where theſe ſenſations are moſt ſtrongly felt, dancing agitates the feet and the body more than the arms. Such is the caſe at Lima.

Among the many expedients which the women here practiſe to heighten and preſerve their charms, they have one which the lovers of delicacy muſt wiſh they would conſent to abandon, namely the uſe of *limpion*. This term is applied to ſmall rolls of tobacco, four inches long, and nine lines in diameter, wrapped in the whiteſt thread, which they untwiſt as the tobacco waſtes. The ladies put one end of the limpion into their mouth, and chew it for a moment, with an intention to keep the teeth clean, as its name imports *. This maſtication is particularly uſed in public aſſemblies, where the women receive company. There is a drawing-room, along one ſide of which runs an alcove half a foot high, and five or ſix feet broad; and here it is that, careleſly ſeated, with croſs-legs on carpets and ſuperb cuſhions, the ladies paſs whole days without changing their poſture even to eat. They uſe little tables, placed before them for any work with which they chuſe to amuſe themſelves. The men whom they admit to their converſation ſit on elbow chairs, unleſs their adorers, from greater intimacy, are permitted to deſcend into the alcove, which is as it were the ſanctuary of worſhip and of the idol.

Yet theſe goddeſſes love rather to be affable than haughty; and baniſhing ceremony, play on the harpſichord and guitar, and ſing and dance when they are ſolicited. Their huſbands are not the chief objects of their complaiſance. As the greater part of the moſt conſiderable citizens of Lima are devoted to their courtezans, the rich heireſſes are chiefly reſerved for ſuch Europeans as come over to America. The advantage which they have of making the fortunes of their huſbands, naturally prompts them to exert an authority over them; but let them only have the ſway of which they are ſo jealous, and they will prove conſtantly faithful †. So cloſely is virtue connected with a certain degree of pride!

The greater part of the inhabitants, however, to uſe their own expreſſion, "marry behind the church;" that is to ſay, live in a ſtate of concubinage. If the children who iſſue from this commerce are acknowledged by their parents, they inherit, and their birth incurs no ſtain. The biſhop anathematizes every year at Eaſter, all who are connected by ſuch illicit bonds: but what power have theſe vain terrors againſt the impulſe of amorous deſires, which are ſanctified by cuſtom! againſt the toleration or example of eccleſiaſtics of the ſecond order! and againſt the climate, which is continually contending, and at laſt proves victorious over all the civil and religious laws that oppoſe its influence?

The climate of Lima is indeed remarkably favourable, and its territory abounds with whatever can heighten the enjoyment of life. It experiences the

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 10. † Ibid, lib. vii. c. 4.

variety

variety of the ſeaſons, without feeling their ſeverity. The country contiguous to the city is covered with gardens, which produce in the greateſt perfection all the herbs and fruits known in Europe, beſides thoſe which are common to America. Lima alſo enjoys another ſingular advantage. The whole year may be conſidered as a ſummer in regard to the plenty and freſhneſs of fruits. As the ſeaſons of the year vary alternately in the vallies and the mountains, when the fruit ſeaſon is over in the vallies, it begins in the mountains; and their diſtance from Lima not being above twenty-five leagues, the fruits are brought thither in ſuch quantities as to afford a conſtant ſupply at all ſeaſons.

Beſides the gardens, orchards, and cultivated fields, with which the country round Lima is ſo delightfully varigated, there are other ſpots where nature herſelf furniſhes beautiful proſpects to the inhabitants, and plenty of excellent food for their cattle. Such are the hills of St. Chriſtoval and Amancaes, whoſe perpetual verdure diverſified in the ſpring with elegant flowers, ſeems to invite the citizens to a nearer enjoyment of the beauties which it preſents at a diſtance to their view. Other parts in the neighbourhood are equally alluring; accordingly many families reſort thither for the change of air, and the tranquility of rural amuſements. The hills called Amancaes, have their name from a certain flower that grows on them. It is yellow, and of the campanula form, with four pointed leaves. Its colour is remarkably brilliant, and in that wholly conſiſts its value, being totally void of fragrance. Beſides theſe delightful retreats, Lima has a public walk in the ſuburb of St Lazaro, called Alameda, conſiſting of rows of orange and lemon trees; and a long the banks of the river is another called the Acho, to which there is a daily reſort of coaches and calaſhes *.

The fertility of the ſoil, the goodneſs of the climate, and the convenient ſituation of Lima, concur to maintain in it a conſtant plenty. The ſea is not leſs bountiful than the land, affording fiſh both in great variety and quantity. But nothing ſo much contributes to that abundance which is ſo generally enjoyed at Lima as its commerce. It could never have attained ſuch a degree of ſplendor, if beſides being the ſeat of the viceroy, it had not been alſo the chief mart of the trade of Peru. The opulence of its merchants, and the conveniency of its ſituation, make it the center of all the products and manufactures of the other provinces, together with thoſe of Europe imported by the regiſter ſhips. It ſupplies, as their common mother, all the other towns and cities in this part of South America. The produce of the ſales in the inland parts of the kingdom is ſent to Lima in bars of ſilver, which is coined at the mint in that city. The remittances made during the intervals of the regiſter ſhips, are laid out in the manufactures of the country, great quantities of which come from Quito.

Beſides this commerce, which is the moſt valuable, and tranſacted wholly by the capital, Lima has alſo its particular trade with the provinces both of

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 8.

BOOK II.

North and South America. The moſt conſiderable article imported from the former is ſnuff, which is brought from the Havana to Mexico, and after being there improved, is forwarded to Lima, and thence diſtributed through all the provinces of Peru and Chili. Lima alſo receives from the ports of New Spain naphtha, tar, iron, and ſome indigo for dying. The kingdom Tierra Firma ſends to Lima leaf-tobacco and pearls, which here find a good market; for beſides the limpions uſed by the ladies, and in much greater quantities by women of inferior condition, the cuſtom of ſmoking tobacco is univerſal among the men, and pearls are worn by females of all caſts and conditions. The timber uſed in building houſes at Lima, or refitting ſhips, and building barques at Callao, is brought from Guayaquil, together with cacao; but the conſumption of the latter is here very ſmall, the tea made of the herb of Paragua being more generally in uſe than chocolate. Wine, brandy, raiſins, olives and oil are ſent from the coaſts of Naſco and Piſco; and Lima is ſupplied from Chili with flour, wheat, lead, leather, cordage, wines, dried fruit, and ſome gold. Copper and tin in bars are brought from Coquimbo, from the mountains of Caxamarca, and Chacapoyas; canvaſs made of cotton for ſails, and other ſtuffs of that kind, from Pita. From the ſouthern provinces is ſent vicuna wool for making hats, and ſome ſtuffs of a peculiar fineneſs, chiefly from Cuzco; and laſtly from Paragua, the herb of that name, of which there is an amazing conſumption, it being not only uſed in great quantities at Lima, but diſtributed among the other provinces as far as Quito. In a word, there is no province in Peru that does not remit to Lima its products and manufactures, and ſupply itſelf from that city with the neceſſary commodities. Hence Lima is the emporium to which people reſort from all parts, and trade being always in a conſtant circulation, beſides the acceſſion which it receives from the perpetual reſort of ſtrangers, the families of rank are enabled to ſupport the expences of that ſplendour already deſcribed; whereas without ſuch aſſiſtance, they muſt either contract their expences, or fall victims to their oſtentation.

From a commerce ſo extenſive and important it might naturally be expected that vaſt fortunes would be acquired by individuals, eſpecially as every branch of trade is attended with great profits; but the caſe is otherwiſe. A few inſtances excepted, very few merchants in Lima poſſeſs enormous wealth. This may partly be accounted for from the expenſive mode of living, and partly from the equal manner in which trade is diffuſed, no man being allowed to engroſs too large a ſhare, or to monopolize any valuable article. Hence reſults, what is extremely deſirable in every country, and more eſpecially in every commercial city, ſuch a diſtribution of the goods of fortune as prevents any one from being left deſtitute. Nor is this equality the effect of any commercial regulations or ſtatute laws, but of an emulation which inſpires every one to perfect himſelf in the art of trade, for which the inhabitants of Lima in general have a peculiar aptitude. They both penetrate into the fineſſes of the ſeller, and artfully draw the purchaſer into their views. They are bleſt with a remarkable talent for perſuaſion, as well as of artfully eluding objections, at the ſame time that they are

incapable of being perſuaded except by their intereſt. They affect to ſlight what they are moſt deſirous of purchaſing, and by that means often make very advantageous bargains, which few can obtain from them. But notwithſtanding all theſe precautions and evaſions in buying and ſelling, for which they are ſo much diſtinguiſhed, no ſet of traders are more punctual and honourable in performing their contracts than thoſe of Lima *.

From Lima we naturally tranſport ourſelves to Guayaquil. This city, which was built as early as the year 1534, ſtands at the diſtance of ſix leagues from the ſea, on the banks of a river that has its ſource in the Cordeleras. It is defended by three forts, lately erected, and only garriſoned by the inhabitants. Theſe forts are built with large pieces of wood, diſpoſed in the form of paliſades. The nature of this wood, which is proof againſt water, ſuits the moiſture of the ſoil. It is mentioned in the relations of ſome Spaniſh philoſophers, that, in this coaſt, as well as that of Guatimala, is found the *murex*, which yields that purple ſo much celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have imagined was loſt. The ſhell that contains it adheres to the rocks which are waſhed by the ſea. It is of the ſize of a large walnut. The liquor of this animal may be extracted two ways. Some kill it, after they have drawn it out of the ſhell; then preſs it with a knife from head to tail, ſeparate from the body the part where the liquor is collected, and throw away the reſt. When this operation, after being repeated on ſeveral of theſe animals, has afforded a certain quantity of fluid, the thread intended to be died is dipped in it, and the proceſs is finiſhed. The colour, which is at firſt of the whiteneſs of milk, becomes afterwards green, and is not purple till the thread is dry. Thoſe who diſapprove of this method draw the fiſh partly out of the ſhell; and then ſqueezing it, make it yield a fluid, which ſerves for dying. They repeat this experiment four times, at different intervals, but each time with leſs ſucceſs. If they continue it the fiſh dies, by their deſtroying that which is the firſt principle of its life, and which it is no longer able to renew. No colour at preſent known can be compared to that which is dyed with the murex, either as to luſtre, livelineſs, or duration. It ſucceeds better with cotton than with wool, linen, or ſilk.

Beſides this object of curioſity, Guayaquil furniſhes the inland country of Peru with oxen, mules, ſalt, and ſalt-fiſh; and it ſupplies Europe and Mexico with a great quantity of cacao, but Lima, as already obſerved only with a ſmall quantity, as there the herb of Paragua is generally preferred. It is the univerſal dock yard of the South Sea, and might partly become that of the mother-country, as no territory on the face of the globe abounds equally in wood for ſhip-building, and maſts, either as to quantity or quality. Hemp and pitch, of which it is deſtitute, might eaſily be furniſhed by Chili and Guatimala.

But what renders Guayaquil of ſtill more importance, is the advantage it poſſeſſes of being the neceſſary mart and bond of communication of the moun-

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 11.

tains

tains of Peru with its vallies, with Panama, and with Mexico. All the commodities which theſe countries exchange paſs through the hands of its merchants. The largeſt veſſels ſtop at the iſland of Puna, which is ſituated at the entrance of the bay, and others go up the river about forty leagues. Notwithſtanding ſo many ſources of proſperity, the people of Guayaquil, whoſe numbers amount to about twenty thouſand, are far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants have ſucceſſively been deſtroyed; nine times by fires, aſcribed to the diſſatisfactions of the negroes, and twice by pirates, who have ſacked the town. Thoſe fortunes which have been acquired ſince theſe fatal periods have not continued in the country. A climate where the wet is intolerable the whole year, and the rains inceſſant for nine months; where dangerous and noiſome inſects allow no tranquility; where diſeaſes of the moſt oppoſite degree of temperature appear to be united; where people live in perpetual dread of loſing their ſight, is by no means proper to fix the reſidence of its inhabitants. Such perſons are only ſeen here as have not acquired eſtates to enable them to remove elſewhere, and ſpend their days in indolence and pleaſure. A taſte, which predominates in South America, induces the moſt opulent to reſide at Lima, which, before the abolition of the galleons, communicated chiefly with Europe by the way of Panama.

Panama is built on an iſthmus of the ſame name, the coaſt of which is waſhed by the South Sea. This ſea, as we have already ſeen, was originally diſcovered in 1513, by Nugnez de Balboa, who took poſſeſſion of it for the crown of Caſtile. A ſettlement was eſtabliſhed at Panama, which ſignifies a place abounding with fiſh, in the year 1518, by Pedrarias Davila, governor of Caſtilla del Oro, the name then given to Tierra Firme; and in 1521, the emperor Charles V. conſtituted it a city with the proper privileges. Being the gate through which an entrance was opened to Peru, it ſoon roſe into great proſperity; but in 1670 it had the misfortune to be ſacked and burnt by John Morgan, the famous Engliſh buccanier. Morgan had before taken Porto Bello and Moracab; and returning to the Weſt India iſlands, he every where publiſhed his deſign of going to Panama, on which a great number of the deſperate adventurers, who at that time infeſted thoſe ſeas joined him. He firſt ſailed for Chagre, where he landed ſome of his men, and at the ſame time battered the caſtle with his ſhips: but his ſucceſs was owing to a very extraordinary accident, which deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity.

Finding his ſtrength conſiderably diminiſhed, by the great numbers killed and wounded by the ſhot from the fort, Morgan began to think it adviſable to retreat, when an arrow, ſhot from the bow of an Indian, lodged in the eye of one of his companions. The perſon wounded being rendered deſperate by the pain, drew the arrow from the wound; and with a remarkable firmneſs and preſence of mind, wrapping one of its ends in cotton or tow, put it into his muſket, which was ready loaded, and diſcharged it into the fort, where the roofs of the houſes were of ſtraw, and the ſides of wood, according to the cuſtom of that country.

country. The arrow fell on the roof, and immediately ſet it on fire. This was not at firſt obſerved by the beſieged, who were buſy in defending their walls, but the ſmoke and flames ſoon informed them of the inevitable deſtruction of the fort, and the magazine of powder which the flames muſt ſoon reach. Such an unexpected accident filled them with terror and confuſion: the courage of the ſoldiers degenerated into tumult and diſobedience; and every one being eager to ſave himſelf, the works were ſoon abandoned. Few were willing to encounter the double danger of being either burnt or blown up. The governor, however, willing to do all in his power, ſtill defended the place, with ſixteen or twenty ſoldiers who adhered to him even in that extremity. At laſt, covered with wounds, he fell a victim to his loyalty. The Buccaniers, encouraged by this event, puſhed their attack with the utmoſt vigour; and the ſmall number of defendants who remained, were obliged to ſurrender the fort, which the violence of the flames ſoon laid in aſhes. Having ſurmounted this difficulty, Morgan and the greater part of his followers purſued their voyage up the river in boats and launches, leaving their ſhips at anchor for the defence of their new conqueſt. The detachment landed at Cruces; marched towards Panama; and on the Sabona, a ſpacious plain before the city, ſeveral ſmart ſkirmiſhes took place between the Engliſh and Spaniards, in which Morgan and his followers had always the advantage. In conſequence of theſe ſucceſſes, he made himſelf maſter of the city, but found it almoſt deſerted, the inhabitants on ſeeing their troops defeated having retired into the woods. Morgan now plundered Panama at his leiſure; and after having ſpent ſome days in collecting his booty, agreed for a conſiderable ranſom to evacuate it, without damaging the buildings. But after the payment of the money, the city was ſet on fire; whether by chance or deſign is doubtful, as the hatred of the Buccaniers againſt the Spaniards was no leſs violent than their deſire of plunder. Morgan, however, affirmed it was by accident, and the Engliſh writers in general repreſent it in that light *.

In conſequence of this misfortune, Panama was removed to its preſent ſituation, which is diſtant about a league and a half from the former, and much more convenient. Being ſtill, however, in a great meaſure built of wood, it was again conſumed by fire in 1737; and as all kinds of materials for building are found here in the greateſt abundance, the houſes are now chiefly conſtructed of ſtone. The city is alſo ſurrounded by a free-ſtone wall, and garriſoned with a large body of regulars. Its harbour is formed by the ſhelter of ſeveral iſlands, particularly Iſla de Naos, de Perico, and Flamencos. The anchoring place is before the ſecond, and thence called Perico. Ships here lie very ſafe. Their diſtance from the city is about two leagues and an half, or three leagues.

Panama is the ſeat of a royal audience, and the capital of the kingdom of Tierra Firma. Great hopes were originally entertained from the gold mines diſcovered in the two provinces which compoſe this petty kingdom; namely, thoſe of Panama and Darien. But that gleam of proſperity vaniſhed inſtantly. The richeſt of theſe

* Oexmelin, Hiſt. Freeboot. Ulloa, lib. iii. c. 2.

BOOK II.

mines were in the province of Darien, whence the Spaniards were expelled by the Indians, who have recovered their liberty; and the mines of the other province yield gold in ſuch ſmall quantities, and of ſo poor a quality, that they are very little worked. Panama, however, has a conſiderable trade in pearls, which are found in great quantities in the iſlands of its bay. Theſe iſlands, to the number of forty-three, form a ſmall archipelago; and in the fiſhery there eſtabliſhed the inhabitants of Panama, and thoſe of the neighbouring country, employ the greater part of their negroes. As the manner of conducting this fiſhery is not generally known, it ſhall be here deſcribed.

Eight, ten, or twenty negroes go out in a boat, under the command of an officer, to ſuch parts as are known to produce pearls, and where the depth of the water is not above ten, twelve, or fifteen fathoms. Here they come to an anchor; and the negroes having a rope faſtened round their bodies, the other end of which is made tight to the ſide of the boat, they carry with them a ſmall weight to accelerate their ſinking, and plunge into the water. On reaching the bottom they take up an oiſter, which they put under the left arm; the ſecond they hold in their left hand, and the third in their right. With theſe three oiſters, and ſometimes another in their mouth, they riſe to breathe, and put them in a bag. When they have reſted themſelves awhile, and recovered their breath, they dive a ſecond time; and thus continue, till they have either compleated their taſk, or their ſtrength fails them.

Every one of theſe negro divers is obliged to deliver daily to his maſter a certain fixed number of oiſters. Thoſe in which there are no pearls, or in which the pearl is not entirely formed, are not reckoned. What any negro can collect beyond the ſtipulated number, however large or beautiful, are his own property, and he may diſpoſe of them to whom he pleaſes, though the maſter generally purchaſes them at a very ſmall price *.

Beſides the fatigue of this fiſhery, it is remarkably dangerous, by reaſon of the ſea-monſters which abound about thoſe iſlands where the pearls are found. Some of theſe, ſuch as the ſharks and tintoreras, devour the divers in an inſtant; and the *manta* fiſh, which derives its name from its figure, namely, that of a quilt, ſurrounds them, rolls them under its body, and ſqueezes them to death. In order to defend themſelves againſt ſuch enemies, every diver is armed with a knife or poinard; with which, the moment he perceives any of thoſe voracious creatures, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. The officer alſo keeps a watchful eye on the divers, and pulls the rope fixed to them, to put them on their guard, when he perceives them in danger. All this, however, is not ſufficient to prevent many of the negroes from being deſtroyed or maimed †.

The pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water. Some of them are even remarkable for their ſize and figure. Theſe were formerly ſent to Europe; but ſince art has imitated them, and the general paſſion for diamonds farther dimi-

* Ulloa, lib. iii. c. 5. † Id. ibid.

niſhed

niſhed their value, they have found a new market, more advantageous than the firſt. They are carried to Lima, where, as we have ſeen, they are in high eſtimation. This branch of trade, however, has leſs contributed to give reputation to Panama than the advantage which it long enjoyed of being the mart for all the productions of Peru, that were deſtined for the old world. Theſe riches, which were brought thither by a ſmall fleet, were carried, ſome on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, ſituated on the northern ſide of the iſthmus that ſeparates the two ſeas.

This name, as we have formerly had occaſion to obſerve, was given by Columbus to a harbour in the Gulph of Darien, becauſe of its beauty and conveniency. Thither in 1584 was removed the town of Nombre de Dios, on account of the inſecurity of its former ſituation. Porto Bello is diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, on the declivity of a mountain that ſurrounds the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was very well defended by forts that admiral Vernon deſtroyed in 1739, and which are but imperfectly rebuilt, affords an entrance twelve hundred yards broad, but ſo ſtraitened by rocks, even near the ſurface of the water, that it is reduced to a very narrow channel. Veſſels can only be towed into it, as they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm; but, once entered, they enjoy perfect ſecurity.

The intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is ſo notorious, that it has been termed the *Grave of the Spaniards*. The galleons have more than once been left here, becauſe they had loſt the greater part of their crew. The Engliſh ſquadron which blocked it up in 1726, would not have been able to return to Jamaica, if they had continued a few days longer. The native inhabitants themſelves do not live long, and have all a weak conſtitution. It is rather conſidered as a diſgrace to be obliged to reſide here, and muſt certainly be the ſource of miſery. Augmented by the ſituation of the town, which is ſurrounded by high mountains, without any intervals for the winds, the heat of Porto Bello is exceſſive. The trees on the mountains ſtand ſo thick as to intercept the rays of the ſun, and conſequently prevent the earth under their branches from being dried; hence ariſe copious exhalations, which form large clouds, and precipitate themſelves in violent torrents of rain. Theſe are no ſooner over, than the ſun breaks forth anew, and ſhines with his former ſplendour; but ſcarce has the ardour of his rays dried the ſurface of the ground not covered by the trees, than the atmoſphere is again crowded with another collection of thick vapours, which afreſh diſcharge themſelves in a deluge of water. In this manner it continues through the whole day, and the night is ſubject to the like viciſſitudes, but without any diminution of the heat. Theſe torrents of rain are accompanied with ſuch ſtorms of thunder and lightning as muſt appal the ſtouteſt heart, and followed by ſuch a multitude of venemous reptiles as has induced the inhabitants to believe, that each drop of rain is transformed into a toad *. Their number is indeed ſufficient to fill the ſoul with horror. When it has rained in the night, the

* Ulloa, lib. ii. c. 5.

ſtreets

BOOK II.

ſtreets and ſquares in the morning ſeem paved with theſe odious and noiſome reptiles, whoſe common ſize is ſix inches long *.

The number of inhabitants in Porto Bello, as might be expected from this account of its climate, are very inconſiderable, and the greater part of thoſe are negroes and mulattoes. The white families do not exceed thirty, and theſe are only ſuch as are fixed to it by their employments. The garriſon itſelf, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty men, does not continue in the place more than three months at a time. Before the beginning of the preſent century, no woman durſt lie in here: ſhe would have thought it devoting both herſelf and her child to death. This prejudice was removed by a woman of diſtinction, whoſe affection for her huſband, confined to the ſpot by his office, led her to make the experiment. The event proved fortunate, and others have followed her example with equal ſucceſs. Another opinion no leſs common, and ſeemingly better founded is, that the domeſtic animals of Europe, which have prodigiouſly multiplied in all other parts of the New World, loſe their fruitfulneſs on coming to Porto Bello. It is at leaſt certain, that no horſes or aſſes are bred here, and that horned cattle decline ſo much in a few months after their arrival, though they do not want plenty of good paſture, as ſcarce to be eatable †. Even the plants introduced into this fatal region have never proſpered.

Theſe inconveniencies, however, did not prevent Porto Bello from becoming for a time the theatre of the richeſt commerce that ever was tranſacted on the face of the earth; while the gold, ſilver, and other productions of Peru and Chili were brought annually thither from Panama, to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe, and the galleons arrived from Spain laden with every article of neceſſity, accommodation, and luxury. Then Porto Bello was immediately filled with people, its ports crowded with ſhips, and the neighbouring fields covered with droves of mules, laden with the precious metals. Inſtead of poverty, ſilence, and ſolitude, nothing was to be ſeen in the ſtreets and ſquares, but buſtling multitudes, bales of goods, and cheſts of treaſure. As ſoon as the galleons were unloaded, and the merchants of Peru, together with the preſident of Panama arrived, the fair came under conſideration. For that purpoſe the deputies of the ſeveral parties repaired on board the admiral's ſhip, where the prices of the different commodities were ſettled, in preſence of the commander of the galleons and the preſident of Panama; the former on the part of the Europeans, the latter on that of the Peruvians and other Americans. The eſtimate was not adjuſted according to the intrinſic value of each article, but by its ſcarcity or plenty; and the ability of the agents conſiſted in forming their combinations ſo judiciouſly, that the cargo imported from Europe ſhould abſorb all the treaſures that were ſent from Lima. It was regarded as a bad market, when goods were found neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In the firſt of theſe caſes, and in that only, the Spaniſh merchants were permitted to go and traffic in the South Sea, and in the latter only the Peruvian merchants might make remittances to Spain for the purchaſe of goods ‡.

* Id. ibid. † Ulloa, lib. ii. c. 4. ‡ Ulloa, lib. ii. c. 6.

CHAP. III.

The prices were no ſooner ſettled than the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult: it was conducted with that ſimplicity and confidence, which accompanies extenſive commerce. No bale of goods was ever opened, no cheſt of treaſure was examined: both were received on the credit of the perſons to whom they belonged; and thoſe exchanges were made with ſo much honeſty, that this liberal confidence was never deceived. Cheſts of gold were found more than once mixed among cheſts of ſilver, and in the bales, articles not entered on the invoice; but all was exactly accounted for on the return of the galleons. There happened, however, one inſtance of fraud, which might have occaſioned a more ſuſpicious mode of dealing. In the year 1654, all the coined ſilver which was brought from Porto Bello to Europe, was found to have one fifth of alloy. The Spaniſh merchants, with their uſual integrity, ſuſtained the whole loſs, and indemnified the foreigners by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected; and as the treaſurer of the mint at Lima, who was publicly burnt for his villany, was found to be the author of it, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no ſtain *.

The fair of Porto Bello was limited to forty days, on account of the noxious qualities of the air; after which term the galleons returned to Spain, by the way of Cuba, with often four millions ſterling and upwards, in money and goods. In what manner this rich commerce was ruined we have already ſeen; and ſince the final abolition of the galleons, the trade of Panama and Porto Bello has ſunk almoſt to nothing. Theſe two towns, formerly called the keys of communication between the North and South Sea, between Spain and her moſt valuable colonies, now only ſerve as a paſſage for the negroes that are carried to Peru, and ſome other inconſiderable branches of decaying traffic.

The Province of Darien is ſeparated from that of Carthagena by a deep gulph to which it gives its name. The eaſtern coaſt of this gulph receives the Atrato, a conſiderable river, by which the Spaniards bring to the ſmuggling veſſels which come thither part of the produce of the mines of Choco. At the diſtance of about twenty-five leagues from this river, towards the north-weſt, is ſituated a tolerable good port, that has preſerved the name of *Caledonia*, which the Scots gave to the ſurrounding diſtrict in 1698. They diſembarked there twelve hundred men furniſh with every thing neceſſary for eſtabliſhing a ſettlement, and built a fort to which they gave the name of *New Edinburgh*. Their deſign was to gain the confidence of the natives, whom the Spaniards could not ſubdue, and with whom they were then at war; to ſupport them againſt a people they deteſted; to plant a colony on their territory; to break off the communication between Carthagena and Porto Bello; to intercept the galleons; and to unite their forces with thoſe of Jamaica, in order to acquire a deciſive ſuperiority in this part of the New World.

That plan, which had nothing chimerical in it, diſpleaſed Lewis XIV. who offered to the court of Madrid a fleet to fruſtrate the attempt. It diſpleaſed the

* Ulloa, Retabliſſ. de Manufac. l. ii.

BOOK II

Dutch, who had reaſon to be afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the ſmuggling trade, which they monopolized in thoſe latitudes. It was yet more diſagreeable to Spain, which threatened to confiſcate the effects of the ſubjects of Great Britain, who traded in her dominions. It was alſo alarming to the Engliſh, who foreſaw that their coloniſts would abandon their northern ſettlements, to go and reſide in a territory teeming with gold; and that Scotland, growing rich, would emerge from that dependence in which it had hitherto been held by its poverty. This violent and univerſal oppoſition determined king William to revoke a permiſſion which his favourites had extorted from him. He likewiſe prohibited all his colonies in the New World from furniſhing either arms, proviſions, or ammunition, to a riſing ſettlement, whoſe ruin would inſure the public tranquility. Thus was ſtifled in its infancy a colony, the greatneſs of which did not appear to be remote, and which muſt ſoon have been very conſiderable.

On the eaſtern ſide of the gulph of Darien begins the government of Carthagena, whoſe ſea coaſt extends from ſouth-weſt towards the north for about eighty leagues. It is bounded on the eaſt, for near the ſame length, by the great river de Magdalena, which hardly leaves it more than forty leagues for its greateſt breath; and theſe, near its northern extremity, are reduced to ſixteen or ſeventeen. On the ſouthern ſide it borders upon the New Kingdom of Granada. The Magdalena, which has a courſe of about two hundred leagues, and whoſe mouth is much frequented by ſmugglers, ſerves to bring to Carthagena, the capital of this diſtrict, the grain, gold, and other productions of the interior provinces. After ſeveral days navigation, the boats enter a narrow channel, which, having been enlarged about the middle of the laſt century, leads to the ſea at a ſmall diſtance from that city. In thoſe ſeaſons when this channel wants water, and through the negligence of government it will ſoon be without it in all ſeaſons, the goods are diſembarked at three days journey from the capital, to which they are afterwards carried by land. The productions of Popayan and Choco come down the river Cauca, whoſe ſource, in common with that of the Magdalena, is in the lake Papas, near the eighth degree of ſouth latitude, and which, about thirty leagues from Carthagena, falls into the laſt mentioned river, after a courſe of an hundred and ſixty leagues, nearly in the ſame direction.

This part of America was ſubjected to the crown of Spain about the year 1532, by Pedro de Heredia, who founded the city of Carthagena, on the extenſive and ſecure bay of the ſame name. In a ſituation ſo advantageous commerce ſoon began to flouriſh. As early as 1544, when it was pillaged by ſome French pirates, Carthagena appears to have been a town of ſome note. Its proſperity proved again fatal to it in 1585, when it was pillaged and burnt by Sir Francis Drake, that celebrated ſcourge of the Spaniſh ſettlements. It was hardly rebuilt, when in 1697, M. Pointis with a fleet of French privateers, took, ranſomed, and afterwards pillaged it. The booty is ſaid to have amounted to upwards of two millions ſterling. From that era, it had ſufficient time to recruit its ſtrength,

as it was not attacked till 1741, when admiral Vernon found himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of it, though undertaken with an Engliſh ſquadron of twenty-five ſhips of the line, ſix fire-ſhips, two bomb-ketches, and as many land forces as were ſufficient to have conquered all South America.

After all the revolutions and hoſtile attempts to which it has been expoſed, Carthagena continues in ſplendour. It is ſeated on a peninſula, or ſandy iſland, which is joined to the continent by two artificial necks of land, the broadeſt of which is not above ſeventy yards. Its fortifications are regular, and after the modern manner. Nature has placed at a little diſtance a hill of a middling height, on which the citadel of St. Lazarus is built, that commands the town and harbour. The garriſon, in time of peace, conſiſts of ten companies of regulars, containing ſeventy-ſeven men each, beſides ſeveral companies of militia. Carthagena is one of the beſt built, beſt laid out, and beſt fortified cities in the American dominions of Spain. The ſtreets are broad, ſtraight, and well paved. The houſes are moſtly of ſtone, and elegant, tho' only one ſtory high. The cathedral, the palaces of the governor and biſhop, the town-houſe, and the cuſtom-houſe, are magnificent buildings. It is divided into the higher and lower town. The higher town is upon the iſthmus itſelf; and the lower, called alſo the ſuburbs, is upon a neck of land which becomes an iſland at high water, and communicates with the continent by means of a wooden bridge. Both towns are ſuppoſed to contain twenty-five thouſand inhabitants. Of this number the Spaniards form about a ſixth part: the Negroes, Indians, Mulattoes, Meſtizos, and an infinite variety of races compoſed of mixtures from theſe, make up the remainder *.

This mixture is more common at Carthagena than in any other of the Spaniſh ſettlements. A multitude of adventurers without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually reſorting thither. In a country where they are totally unknown, no perſon can venture to repoſe any confidence in their ſervices: they are therefore doomed to ſubſiſt wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lie in the corner of a ſquare, or the portico of a church. If the afflictions which they experience in this ſtate, as is frequently the caſe, bring ſome violent diſeaſe upon them, they are commonly aſſiſted by the mulatto or free negro women, whoſe care and kindneſs they requite by marrying them. Such as have not the fortune to be in a ſituation ſufficiently diſtreſsful to excite the compaſſion of the women, are obliged to retire to ſome village, and live there by cultivating the ground, which the haughty lazineſs of the Spaniſh inhabitants makes them conſider as the utmoſt ignominy. Indolence, in a word, is carried ſo far at Carthagena, that the opulent of both ſexes paſs the greater part of the day in ſwinging in hammocks, which they ſeldom quit for any time †.

This inactivity is, in ſome degree, the effect of the climate. The heat is exceſſive and continual at Carthagena; and the torrents of water, that are inceſ-

* Ulloa, lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. † Ibid. lib. i. c. 4.

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BOOK II.

ſantly pouring down from May to November, have this ſingularity, that they never cool the air, which is ſometimes a little moderated in the dry ſeaſon, by the north-eaſt winds. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perſpiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid appearance of ſick perſons. Their actions correſpond with their colour. All their motions, languid and ſluggiſh, indicate a relaxed ſyſtem. This languor manifeſts itſelf even in their ſpeech, which is ſoft and ſlow, and their words generally broken or interrupted. Notwithſtanding all theſe appearances of ſickneſs and debility, the natives enjoy a good ſtate of health, and often live to a great age*; but ſtrangers from Europe, on their arrival here, are expoſed to the moſt fatal diſtemper with which humanity is afflicted. This diſtemper, the nature of which is little known, manifeſts itſelf by vomiting, accompanied with ſo violent a delirium, that the patient muſt be confined to prevent him from tearing himſelf in pieces. He often expires in the midſt of theſe agitations, which ſeldom laſt above three or four days. Thoſe who have eſcaped this danger once, have nothing, however, to fear for the future: they enjoy the ſame ſtate of health as the natives, even though they ſhould not lead the moſt temperate lives†.

The inhabitants of Carthagena and its territory, natives as well as ſtrangers, are ſubject to another dreadful diſorder, namely the leproſy. Some phyſicians have aſcribed this calamity to the too frequent uſe of pork, without reflecting that it is unknown in other countries of America, where that food is no leſs common; it muſt therefore be referred to ſome latent quality of the climate. In order to prevent the progreſs of this malady, an hoſpital has been founded in the country; where all perſons ſuppoſed to be infected with it are ſhut up, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. But the benefit of ſo wiſe an inſtitution is loſt thro' the avarice of the governors; who, without regarding the intention of the eſtabliſhment, permit the poor to go in and out to beg. Hence the number of lepers never decreaſes, and is at preſent ſo great, that the incloſure of their hoſpital is of immenſe extent. It reſembles a little town. There every one enjoys a ſpot of ground, which is marked out for him on his admiſſion. On that he builds a dwelling ſuitable to his fortune, in which he ſpends the remainder of his days. Theſe are often many, though wretched; and as it is found that this malady powerfully excites the deſire of coition, the infected are permitted to intermary, by which means it is rendered hereditary ‡. Neceſſity only can juſtify this indulgence.

Notwithſtanding theſe terrible diſtempers, and other inconveniencies ariſing from the climate, Spain hath always ſhewn a particular predilection for Carthagena, on account of its harbour, the ſafeſt in her American dominions, and one of the beſt any where known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a deep and excellent bottom. There is leſs agitation in it than on the moſt calm river. The entrance to it formerly was ſolely by the channel of Bocca Chica, ſo narrow that only one ſhip could paſs at a time, under the croſs batteries of forts erected on

* Ulloa, lib. i. c. 5. † Id. ibid. ‡ Ut ſupra.

both

both ſides. The Engliſh, in 1741, having deſtroyed the fortifications that defended this channel, it was ſhut up by the Spaniards, and an ancient canal opened, which is diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that it will not be eaſy for an enemy's ſquadron to force it. Through this paſſage all veſſels now enter the harbour *.

At the time that the trade of Peru was carried on by the galleons, theſe ſhips ſailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and viſited it again on their return. In the firſt voyage, they depoſited the merchandize that was neceſſary for the interior provinces, and received the price of it in the ſecond. This arrangement diſpleaſed the merchants of Lima, who complained, that, on their return from Panama and Porto Bello, they found their country ſupplied, by the way of Quito, with the ſame kind of commodities, which they had gone to purchaſe at ſuch a diſtance. They petitioned the court, and obtained an order, that Carthagena ſhould not be ſupplied till after Porto Bello. In conſequence of this regulation, the merchants of Carthagena, and the provinces of Santa Fè, Popayan, and Quito, were reduced either to draw what they wanted, at a great expence and hazard, immediately from the fair itſelf, or to content themſelves with the refuſe of it. Theſe inconveniencies were ſo ſtrongly felt that, in 1730, a ſcheme was deviſed for the accommodation of all parties. It was agreed, that things ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed on their old footing; but that, on notice being given of the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena, all commerce, in regard to European commodities, ſhould ceaſe between Quito and Lima, and the places within their juriſdiction.

This new arrangement, though ſeemingly equitable, was not productive of the good effects that might have been expected from it. During the former prohibition, trade had taken another direction. The interior provinces had found the means of ſupplying themſelves with European commodities without the aſſiſtance of Spain. Nor did the ſuppreſſing of the galleons make any change in this matter. The regiſter ſhips do not take annually at Carthagena above a million of peſos. The contraband trade, which is tranſacted at an hundred places on this coaſt, carries away the greater part of the riches of Choco and Popayan, in exchange for foreign manufactures, in which the mother country has no intereſt. Carthagena however will, in all probability, continue to be a city of great importance, as the wealth now collected there muſt find or create employment for itſelf, and may be turned with advantage into ſome new channel.

The country about Carthagena is ſo luxuriant, that it is impoſſible to view without admiration the rich and perpetual verdure of the woods, and the plants which it naturally produces. But theſe, as already obſerved, are advantages of which the inhabitants make little uſe; their innate ſloth and indolence not allowing them to cultivate the gifts of nature, which ſeem to have been dealt out with a laviſh hand. The trees here are large and lofty, their variety admirable, and entirely different from thoſe of Europe. The principal of theſe, in regard to ſize, are the caobo, the cedar, the maria, and the balſam tree. Of the firſt

* Ulloa, lib. i. c. 3.

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BOOK II.

are made the canoes, and other veſſels, for the coaſt and river trade within the province. The wood of theſe trees is compact, fragrant, and beautiful. The cedar is of two kinds, white and rediſh. The laſt is moſt eſteemed. The maria and balſam trees, beſides the uſefulneſs of their timber, diſtil thoſe admirable drugs called Maria Oil, and Balſam of Tolu; ſo named from a village, in the neighbourhood of which it is produced in the greateſt quantity, and of peculiar excellency *.

Among the variety of vegetables, which grow under the ſhade of trees, and along the ſunny borders of the woods, the moſt common is the *ſenſitive plant*; on touching one of the leaves of which, all thoſe on the ſame branch immediately cloſe againſt each other. After a ſhort interval, they begin gradually to open, and ſeparate from one another, till they are again perfectly expanded. This plant is about a foot and an half, or two feet in height, with a ſlender ſtem, and the branches proportionally weak and tender. The leaves are long, and ſtand ſo cloſe together, that all thoſe on one branch appear as a ſingle leaf, four or five inches in length, and ten lines in breadth; which, being ſubdivided into its diſtinct parts, forms in each of them the true leaf, about four or five lines in length, and not quite one in breadth. On touching one of theſe ſmall leaves, they all inſtantly quit their horizontal poſition, and fly into a perpendicular direction, cloſing their inward ſuperfices; ſo that thoſe which, before this ſenſitive motion, made two leaves, now make but one. The vulgar name of this plant at Carthagena is too groſs to be mentioned. By the better ſort of people it is more decently called *la vergonoza*, the baſhful; or, *la donçella*, the maiden †.

The province of Carthagena produces ſugar, cotton, and cacao, all in the greateſt perfection, but neither in ſuch quantity as to become an article of exportation. What chiefly ſtrikes the eye of a ſtranger is the vaſt variety of pompous trees and plants, in a manner emulating each other, through the whole year, in producing the moſt beautiful and delicious fruits; ſome introduced from Europe, others peculiar to the country. Among the latter the preference doubtleſs belongs to the pine-apple, whoſe beauty, ſmell, and taſte, have acquired it the appellation of *the queen of fruits*. The ananas or pine-apple, ſo called from its ſimilarity to the cones of the European pine-tree, is produced by a plant nearly reſembling the aloe; except that the leaves of the ananas are longer, but not ſo thick, and moſt of them ſtand near the ground in an horizontal poſition; but as they approach nearer the fruit, they diminiſh in length, and become leſs expanded. This plant ſeldom grows to above three feet in height, and terminates in a flower, like the lily in form, but of ſo elegant a crimſon colour as even to dazzle the eye. The pine-apple makes its firſt appearance in the centre of the flower, about the ſize of a nut; and as this increaſes, the luſtre of the flower fades, and the leaves expand themſelves to make room for it, and ſecure it, both as a baſe and ornament. On the top of the apple itſelf, is a crown or tuft of leaves, like thoſe of the plant, and of a very lively green. This

* Ulloa, lib. c. 6. † Id. ibid.

crown grows in proportion with the fruit, till both have attained their utmoſt magnitude; and hitherto they differ very little in colour: but as ſoon as the crown ceaſes to grow, the fruit begins to ripen, and its green changes to a bright ſtraw-colour. During this gradual alteration of colour, the fruit exhales ſuch abundant fragrance as makes it known, though concealed from ſight. While the pine-apple continues to increaſe in ſize, it ſhoots forth on all ſides little thorns; but theſe, as it approaches towards maturity, dry and ſoften, ſo that the fruit is gathered without the leaſt inconveniency *.

The ſingularities which concentrate in this rare production, this queen of the vegetable kingdom, cannot fail to ſtrike a contemplative mind with admiration. The crown, which was to it a kind of apex, while growing in the woods, becomes itſelf, when ſown, a new plant, and the ſtem, after the fruit is cut, dies away as if ſatisfied with having anſwered the intention of nature in ſuch a rich produce; but the roots ſhoot forth freſh ſtalks, for the farther increaſe of ſo valuable a fruit †. The taſte of the pine-apple, and the manner of eating it, are too well known to require a particular deſcription. Its general length, in this country, is from five to ſeven inches, and the diameter near its baſe from three to four, diminiſhing regularly as it approaches to its apex. The rind infuſed in water, after a proper fermentation, produces a very cooling liquor, and ſtill retains all the qualities of the fruit ‡.

Between the great river Magdalena and Cape de Vela, lie the provinces of Santa Martha and Rio de la Hacha, which differ in nothing eſſentially from the territory of Carthagena, except in the healthfulneſs of their climate, the air being cooler and more pure. The province contiguous to theſe on the eaſt, was firſt viſited by Alonſo de Ojeda, in the year 1499; and the Spaniards on landing there, having obſerved ſome huts of an Indian village built upon piles, in order to raiſe them above the ſtagnated water which covered the plain, were led to beſtow upon it the name of Venezuela, or little Venice, by their uſual propenſity to find a reſemblance between what they diſcovered in America and the objects that were familiar to them in Europe. They made ſome attempts to ſettle there, but with little ſucceſs. The final reduction of the province was accompliſhed by means very different from thoſe to which Spain is indebted for her other acquiſitions in the New World.

The ambition of Charles V. often engaged him in operations of ſuch variety and extent, that his revenues were not ſufficient to defray the expence of carrying them into execution. Among other expedients for ſupplying the deficiency of his funds, he had borrowed large ſums from the Velſers of Augſburg, the moſt opulent merchants at that time in Europe. By way of retribution for theſe, or in hopes perhaps of obtaining a new loan, he beſtowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief of the crown of Caſtile, on condition that, within a limited time, they ſhould make themſelves maſters of the country, and eſtabliſh a colony there. Under the direction of ſuch perſons it might have

* Ulloa, lib. i. c. 8. † Id, ibid. ‡ Ut ſupra.

been

BOOK II.

been expected that a ſettlement would have been eſtabliſhed on maxims very different from thoſe of the Spaniards, and better calculated to encourage ſuch uſeful induſtry, as they might have known to be the only certain ſource of proſperity and opulence. But unfortunately, they committed the execution of their plan to ſome of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune with which Germany abounded in the ſixteenth century. Theſe adventurers, impatient to amaſs riches, that they might ſpeedily abandon a ſtation which they found to be very uncomfortable, inſtead of planting a colony that might have cultivated and improved the country, wandered from diſtrict to diſtrict in ſearch of mines, plundering the natives with unfeeling rapacity, or oppreſſing them by the impoſition of intolerable taſks. In the courſe of a few years, their avarice and exactions, in compariſon with which thoſe of the Spaniards were moderate, deſolated the province ſo completely that it could hardly afford them ſubſiſtence; and the Velſers relinquiſhed a property, from which the atrocious conduct of their agents left them no hope of ever deriving any advantage *.

When the wretched remainder of the Germans deſerted Venezuela, the Spaniards again took poſſeſſion of it; but unfortunately the ſcenes of horror, which the Germans had exhibited, were renewed by Carvajal, who was appointed to the government of this unhappy country. His barbarities rendered the depopulation ſo complete, that as early as 1550, a great number of negroes were imported from Africa, on whom the hopes of an unbounded proſperity were founded. But the habit of tyranny made the Spaniards treat theſe ſlaves with ſo much ſeverity that they revolted. Their rebellion was aſſigned as a reaſon for maſſacring all the males; and this province once more became a deſert, in which the aſhes of negroes, Spaniards, Indians, and Germans, the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed, were intermingled. Nor has Venezuela ever yet emerged from that ſtate of languor and unproductive obſcurity, which has ſo long involved the greater part of the provinces that lie between the Magdalena and the Orinoco, though their extent, as well as the excellence and variety of their ſoil might have invited the mother country to derive ſeveral very valuable productions from them.

From this reproach muſt be exempted the province of Caraccas, in the centre of that extenſive coaſt, which furniſhes an article of very conſiderable importance in the trade of Spain. Among the new taſtes which the people of Europe have acquired, in conſequence of their intercourſe with the natives of thoſe countries which they conquered in America, that for chocolate is one of the moſt univerſal. The uſe of this liquor, made with a paſte formed of the nut, or almond of the cacao-tree, compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards firſt learned of the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to other European nations, ſo palatable, ſo nouriſhing, and ſo wholeſome, that it has become an article in commerce of great value. The cacao tree is cultivated ſucceſsfully in ſeveral diſtricts of America, and even grows ſpontaneouſly in

* Oviedo, Hiſt. de Venezuela. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. Book vii.

others,

others, but it ſucceeds no where ſo well, nor are the nuts any where of ſo good a quality, as thoſe produced in the rich plains of Caraccas.

This tree, which is generally from twelve to twenty feet high, is propagated from ſeeds which are ſown at certain diſtances. When it begins to ſhoot, it divides into three, four, five, or ſix ſtems, according to the vigour of the root. In proportion as it grows, its branches, which are always very diſtant from each other, bend towards the earth. The length of the leaf is between four and ſix inches, and its breadth three or four: it is ſmooth, ſoft, and terminates in a point, like that of the orange-tree, but is of a leſs vivid green. From the ſtem, as well as the branches, grow the pods which contain the cacao. The firſt appearance is a white bloſſom, not very large, whoſe piſtil contains the embryo of the pod. This pod, which incloſes between twenty and thirty ſmall almonds, grows to the length of ſix or ſeven inches, and four or five in width, reſembling a cucumber in ſhape, and ſtriated in a longitudinal direction, but deeper than the cucumber. It is green during its growth, but when arrived at full perfection, it gradually changes to yellow. The yellowneſs of the pod indicates that the cacao begins to feed on its ſubſtance, to acquire a greater conſiſtence, and that the ſeeds begin to fill; the colour gradually fading till that proceſs is fully completed, when the dark brown colour of the huſk, into which the yellow has deviated, indicates that it is proper time to gather it. The thickneſs of the huſk is now about two lines, and each ſeed or almond is found incloſed in one of the compartments, formed by the traverſe membranes of the pod. After gathering, the fruit is opened, and the ſeeds taken out and dried *.

The cacao tree, which begins to reward the labour of the planter at the end of two or three years, requires a moiſt ſoil. If it wants water, it produces no fruit, withers and dies. A ſhade to defend it from the vertical rays of the ſun, is no leſs neceſſary. Accordingly it is always placed near other larger trees, under whoſe ſhelter it may flouriſh. The farther culture which it requires is neither laborious nor expenſive. It is ſufficient to extirpate the ſurrounding weeds, which would deprive it of its nouriſhment. The plantations are called Cacao-Walks, and yield two crops in a year, equal in quantity and quality †.

In conſequence of the acknowledged ſuperiority in the quality of the cacao of Caraccas, and the communication of this province with the Atlantic, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of cacao here is more extenſive than in any diſtrict of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of their ſettlements in the ſmall iſlands of Curazoa and Buen-Ayre, to the coaſt of Caraccas, gradually ingroſſed the greateſt part of the cacao trade. The traffic with the mother-country for this valuable commodity ceaſed almoſt entirely; and ſuch was the ſupine negligence of the Spaniards, or the defects in their commercial regulations, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies, and which they uſe more than any

* Ulloa, lib. iv. c. 8. † Id. ibid.

BOOK II.

people in Europe, at an exorbitant price. In order to remedy an evil, no leſs diſgraceful than pernicious to his ſubjects, Philip V. granted to a body of merchants, in the year 1728, an excluſive right to the commerce with Caraccas, and the neighbouring province of Cumana, on condition of their employing at their own expence, a ſufficient number of armed veſſels to clear the coaſt of interlopers.

This ſociety, diſtinguiſhed ſometimes by the name of the company of Guipuſcoa, from the province of Spain in which it is eſtabliſhed, and ſometimes by that of the company of Caraccas, has carried on its operations with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce, which ſhe had ſuffered to be wreſted from her, and is plentifully ſupplied with an article of extenſive conſumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent-ſtate, but the colony of Caraccas has derived great advantages from this inſtitution; for although, at the firſt view, it may appear to be one of thoſe monopolies, whoſe tendency is to check the ſpirit of induſtry, inſtead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner by ſeveral ſalutary regulations, framed upon foreſight of ſuch bad effects, and on purpoſe to obviate them. The planters of Caraccas are not left to depend entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities, or the ſale of their productions. The inhabitants of the Canary iſlands have the privilege of ſending thither annually a regiſter ſhip of conſiderable burden; and from Vera Cruz in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended in the charter of the company. In conſequence of this, there is ſuch a competition, that, both with reſpect to what the two colonies purchaſe and what they ſell, the price ſeems to be fixed at its natural and equitable rate.

The increaſe of culture, population, and of live ſtock, has accordingly been very conſiderable in the province of Caraccas, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the company. It is computed that the plantations of cacao produce annually more than one hundred thouſand fanegas, of an hundred and ten pounds each. Of theſe the new kingdom of Granada conſumes twenty thouſand, New Spain a little more, the Canaries a ſmall cargo, and Europe from fifty to ſixty thouſand. The fanega of cacao ſells in Spain for forty peſos, or about nine pounds ſterling †.

Caraccas has two fortified towns on the coaſt, namely Puerto Cabelo and La Guayra. The firſt is towards the weſtern extremity of the province, near to Golfo Trieſte; the ſecond is ſituated twenty-ſeven leagues to the eaſt of this, between Cape Blanco and Cape Codera, and though it has only an open road, is the chief place for the trade of the Guipuſcoa company. The town is ſeated at the foot of a very high mountain, and the narrow ſhore along which it extends, is defended by an entrenchment well furniſhed with artillery, and commanded by two forts on the declivity of the mountain. Admiral Knowles made an un-

* Notic. de Real Compan. de Caraccas. † Campomanes.

ſucceſsful

ſucceſsful attack in 1743, on La Guayra and Puerto Cabelo; a miſcarriage no leſs ſurpriſing than the attempt was unimportant, as theſe towns are only peopled with ſailors and factors, the rich inhabitants reſiding chiefly at Leon, the capital of the province. Leon is ſituated ſix leagues more to the ſouth, on the other ſide of the mountains. The valley in which it ſtands is a ſavanna or meadow, well watered and very healthy, about three leagues long, and one broad in the middle. This valley is bordered on the eaſt by mountains of an immenſe height; ſo that thoſe on the weſt and ſouth, though very high, appear comparatively moderate. The city is near a mile long: the houſes are handſome, and elegantly ornamented; the ſtreets regular, ſtraight, and broad, cutting each other at right angles, and terminating at a magnificent ſquare in the center. The number of inhabitants are about four or five thouſand, moſt of them owners of the plantations of cacao, which are cultivated by twelve or thirteen thouſand negroes.

Beyond the province of Caraccas lie thoſe of Cumana and Paria, both but little cultivated, and thinly peopled; though Cumana, which, as already obſerved, is included in the charter of the Guipuſcoa Company, exports ſome tobacco and hides. From theſe provinces, which border on the Orinoco, we are naturally led in aſcending its ſtream, to the New Kingdom of Granada. This, which is entirely an inland country, and of vaſt extent, was ſubjected to the crown of Spain about the year 1536, by Sebaſtian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Queſada, two of the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed officers employed in the conqueſt of America. The former, who commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the ſouth; the latter made his invaſions from Santa Martha, on the north. As the original inhabitants of this region were farther advanced in improvement, than any people in America except the Mexicans and Peruvians, they defended themſelves with great reſolution and good conduct. The abilities of Benalcazar and Queſada however ſurmounted all oppoſition, though not without encountering many dangers, and at laſt reduced the country to the form of a Spaniſh province *. But before we proceed to ſpeak of it as ſuch, a few words will be neceſſary in regard to its ancient ſtate.

In the territory of Bogota, where Santa Fè, the capital of the New Kingdom of Granada is ſituated, there was ſettled a nation, that, at the time of the conqueſt, had made conſiderable progreſs in the various arts of life. They ſubſiſted chiefly by agriculture: the idea of property was introduced among them; and its rights were ſecured by laws, handed down by tradition, and obſerved with great care. They lived in large towns; they were cloathed in a decent manner; and their houſes might be termed commodious, when compared with thoſe of the rude people around them. The effects of this uncommon civilization were conſpicuous: government had aſſumed a regular form; a juriſdiction was eſtabliſhed, which took cognizance of different crimes, and puniſhed them with rigour; a diſtinction of ranks was known; and the lord of Bogota, to whom the Spaniards gave the title of king, and who merited that

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. iii. c. 3, 4.

name

BOOK II.

name on account of his ſplendour as well as power, reigned with abſolute authority. He was attended by officers of various conditions: he never appeared in public without a numerous retinue: he was carried in a ſort of palanquin with much pomp, and harbingers went before him to ſweep the road, and ſtrew it with flowers. This magnificence was ſupported by preſents or taxes received from his ſubjects, to whom their prince was ſuch an object of veneration, that none preſumed to look him directly in the face, or ever approached him but with an averted countenance *. The people of Tunja, a neighbouring diſtrict, were ſcarcely leſs civilized.

The new kingdom of Granada is ſo far elevated above the level of the ſea, that though it approaches almoſt to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. The fertility of its vallies is not inferior to the richeſt diſtricts in America, and its higher grounds yield gold and precious ſtones of various kinds. It is not by digging into the bowels of the earth that this gold is found; it is mingled with the ſoil near the ſurface, and ſeparated by repeated waſhing with water, in the manner already deſcribed. This operation is carried on wholly by negro ſlaves; for although the chill ſubterraneous air has been found by experience to be ſo fatal to them, that they cannot be employed in the deep ſilver mines, they are more capable of performing the other ſpecies of labour than the Indians: and as the natives in the new kingdom of Granada, in conſequence of this practice, are exempt from that ſervice which has waſted their race ſo remarkably in other parts of America, it is very populous.

Some diſtricts yield gold in vaſt profuſion. It is found in *pepitas*, or grains, which manifeſt the abundance in which it is produced. On a riſing ground near Pampeluna, ſingle labourers have collected in a day what was equal in value to a thouſand peſos †. A late governor of Santa Fè brought with him to Spain a lump of virgin gold, eſtimated to be worth ſeven hundred and forty pounds ſterling ‡. But without founding any calculation upon what is rare and extraordinary, or pretending to mention any ſum, we may ſafely affirm that the value of the gold uſually collected in this country, particularly in the provinces of Popayan and Choco, is of conſiderable amount. Its towns are populous and flouriſhing ‖; the number of inhabitants in almoſt every part of the country daily increaſes; and cultivation and induſtry, of various kinds, begin to be encouraged, and to proſper. A conſiderable trade is carried on with Carthagena; the produce of the mines, and other commodities, particularly corn, being conveyed down the great river Magdalena to that city, though a much greater quantity of gold, as already obſerved, is diſperſed in the contraband trade on the coaſt. The new kingdom of Granada has alſo a communication with the Atlantic by the river Orinco; but as the country which ſtretches along its banks towards the eaſt

* Herrera, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. 4. Piedrahita, Hiſt. del Neuv. Reyn. de Granad.

† Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. b. vii. from a manuſcript in his poſſeſſion.

‡ Id. ibid.

‖ As no account of theſe towns has been publiſhed by any late traveller, the author cannot pretend to deſcribe them. They were not viſited by Ulloa.

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is little known, and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards, almoſt no advantage is derived from this means of intercourſe.

The province of Quito, which has in ſome meaſure been incorporated with the New Kingdom of Granada, by being comprehended within the government of Santa Fè, forms the beſt known and moſt agreeable part of it. Nothing, for example, can be compared to the valley formed between the double chain of the Cordeleras, which is all that can properly be ſaid to be peopled, and actually ſubject to the Spaniſh government. In this valley, which extends from the juriſdiction of the town of St. Miguel de Ibarra to that of Loxa, though in the centre of the torrid zone, and even immediately under the equator, all the beauties of ſpring are inceſſantly enjoyed. The mildneſs of the air, the equality of day and night, yield a thouſand delights in a country which the ſun ſurrounds with a girdle of fire. It is preferred to the climate of the temperate zones, where the change of the ſeaſons produces ſenſations too oppoſite not to be inconvenient, from that very inequality. Nature has combined a variety of circumſtances to produce this happy medium. The principal of theſe are, the elevation of the globe in this ſummit of its ſphere; the vicinity of mountains of immenſe height, always covered with ſnow; and cooling winds, which blow continually, but never with violence, and refreſh the country the whole year, by abating the force of the perpendicular rays of the ſun *.

This deſcription is more particularly applicable to the territory of the city of Quito, which, were ſo many advantages not counterbalanced by ſome inconveniencies, might be conſidered as the moſt agreeable ſpot on the face of the earth. A bright ſun, a ſerene and clear ſky, are generally there ſeen till one or two in the afternoon; but then the vapours begin to ariſe, and the heavens are involved in clouds, which are ſuddenly changed into ſtorms. The whole atmoſphere is illuminated, and ſeems to be ſet on fire by lightning, while the thunder makes the mountains reſound, and even tremble to their baſe. The clouds diſcharge themſelves in ſuch torrents of rain that the level country reſembles a lake, and the ridges between the eminences ſo many rivers. That dreadful ſcene commonly continues till near ſun-ſet, when the ſky clears up, and nature again puts on the beautiful appearance of the morning †. This variation, however, is by no means regular and univerſal: four, five, ſix, or even eight fine days, often ſucceed each other without interruption ‡.

The fertility of the ſoil is anſwerable to the mildneſs of the climate. The moiſture, and the action of the ſun being continual, and always ſufficient to unfold and ſtrengthen the ſhoots, the agreeable picture of the three moſt beautiful ſeaſons of the year is conſtantly preſented to the eye. As ſoon as the verdure of the fields is ſeen to fade, freſh verdure ſprings up; and while ſome flowers are loſing their beauty, others are blowing to continue the enameled proſpect. When the fruits have attained their maturity, and the leaves begin to change their colour, freſh leaves, bloſſoms, and fruits, are ſeen in their proper gradations on

* Ulloa, lib. v. c. 6. † Id. ibid. ‡ Ut ſupra.

BOOK II.

the ſame tree. This progreſſive fertility, inceſſantly renewed, is no leſs remarkable in the corn. At one view may be ſeen the new ſown ſeed ſpringing up; ſome more advanced in the blade; ſome ſpiked with ears; ſome turning yellow, and ſome under the reaper's ſickle. The whole year is ſpent in a perpetual round of ſowing and reaping, within the compaſs of the ſame landſkip. That conſtant variety ariſes from the different ſituations of the ground; compoſed of mountains, eminences, plains, and vallies *.

This extraordinary fecundity in the ſoil is naturally productive of excellent fruits, corn, cattle, and plenty of every kind. The beef, mutton, veal, and pork of Quito, are not inferior to thoſe of Europe, and remarkably cheap. The only production of which there is any ſcarcity here is pulſe, the deficiency in which is amply ſupplied by roots. All kinds of European fruits are here cultivated with the greateſt ſucceſs; and the country yields, in the higheſt perfection, others peculiar to the New World, or at leaſt to the torrid zone, which deſerve a particular deſcription. The chief of theſe are the Chirimoya, Aguacate, and Granadilla.

The chirimoya is univerſally allowed to be the moſt delicious fruit known in any quarter of the globe. Its dimenſions are various, being from one to five inches in diameter. Its figure is imperfectly round, being flatted towards the ſtalk, where an excreſcence is formed, but all the other parts are nearly circular. It is covered with a thin ſoft ſhell, which adheres ſo cloſely to the pulp as not to be ſeparated without a knife. The outward coat, during its growth, is of a dark green, but on attaining its full maturity it becomes ſomewhat lighter. This coat is variegated with prominent veins, forming a kind of net-work all over it. The pulp is white, intermixed with ſeveral almoſt imperceptible fibres, concentrating in the core, which extends from the hollow of the excreſcence to the oppoſite ſide. As they have their origin near the former, ſo in that part they are larger and more diſtinct. The fleſh contains a great quantity of juice, reſembling honey. Its taſte is ſweet, mixed with a gentle acid, and of a moſt exquiſite flavour. The ſeeds are formed in ſeveral parts of the fleſh, and are about ſeven lines in length, and three or four in breadth. They are alſo ſomewhat flat, and ſituated longitudinally.

The tree that bears this fruit is high and tufted, full of elliptical leaves, terminating in a point; and the ſtem is large and round, but with ſome inequalities. The length of the leaf is about three inches and an half, and the breadth two, or two and an half: but the moſt remarkable circumſtance relative to this tree is, that it every year ſheds and renews its leaves. The bloſſom, in which is the embryo of the fruit, differs very little from the leaves in colour, which is a darkiſh green; but when arrived at is full maturity, it is of a yellowiſh green. It reſembles a caper in figure, though ſomewhat larger, and is compoſed of four petals. It is far from being beautiful; but that deficiency is abundantly made up by its incomparable fragrance. This tree is obſerved to be very parſimonious of its

* Ulloa, lib. v. c. 7.

bloſſoms;

bloſſoms; producing only ſuch as would ripen into fruit, did not the extravagant paſſion of the ladies induce them to purchaſe thoſe bloſſoms at any price, on account of the excellence of their perfume *.

The aguacate may alſo be claſſed among the choiceſt fruits of this country. Its figure in ſome meaſure reſembles that calabaſh of which ſnuff-boxes are made; that is to ſay, the lower part is round, and tapers away gradually towards the ſtalk, whence to its baſe, the length is generally between three and five inches. It is covered with a very thin gloſſy ſmooth ſhell, which when the fruit is thoroughly ripe, is detached from the pulp. The colour, both during its growth, and when arrived at perfection, is green, but turns ſomewhat pale as it ripens. The pulp is ſolid, but yields to the preſſure of the finger; the colour, white tinged with green, and the taſte ſo ſimple, as to require ſalt to give it an agreeable reliſh. The tree that produces this fruit is lofty and full of branches; and the leaf, both in dimenſions and figure, reſembles that of the chirimoya †.

The granadilla reſembles a hen's egg in ſhape, though larger. The outſide of the ſhell is ſmooth and gloſſy, and of a faint carnation colour. The inſide is white and ſoft. This ſhell, which is about a line and an half in thickneſs, and pretty hard, contains a viſcous and liquid ſubſtance, full of very ſmall and delicate grains, leſs hard than thoſe of the pomegranate. This medullary ſubſtance is ſeparated from the ſhell by an extremely fine and tranſparent membrane. The fruit is of a delightful ſweetneſs, blended with acidity; very cordial and refreſhing, and ſo wholeſome that there is no danger in indulging the appetite ‡. The granadilla is not the produce of a tree, but of a plant, the bloſſom of which is the celebrated paſſion flower, ſo much admired in Europe, and ſtiled the pride of the garden. This plant bears no fruit in England, by reaſon of the coldneſs of the climate.

The city of Quito is built on the declivity of the famous mountain of Pichincha, among the clefts and ridges which form the eminences of the Cordeleras. Some of theſe clefts are of a conſiderable depth, and run quite through the city, ſo that great part of the buildings ſtand upon arches. This ſituation renders the ſtreets extremely irregular and uneven, ſome being on the aſcents, and others on the ſummits of the ridges. Quito, with regard to magnitude, may be compared to a city of the ſecond order in Europe. Near it are two ſpacious plains: one on the ſouth called Turu-bamba, three leagues in length; the other on the north, termed Inna-quito, about two leagues in length. Both are interſperſed with villas and cultivated fields, which greatly add to the beauty of the proſpect from the city; and that is ſtill farther heightened by the lively verdure of the plains and neighbouring hills, always enameled with flowers. This delightful ſcene is diverſified by flocks of ſheep on the eminences, and large droves of cattle in the low grounds, where the herbage is ſo luxuriant as to afford them a conſtant ſupply, without ſeeming ever to experience any decreaſe. Theſe two plains contract as they approach the city, and at their junction form a neck of

* Ulloa, lib. v. c. 7. † Id. ibid. ‡ Ut ſupra.

land,

BOOK II.

land, covered with thoſe eminences on which part of Quito ſtands. It may appear ſtrange that a ſituation ſo inconvenient ſhould be choſen, when two ſuch beautiful plains were contiguous; but the firſt founders appear to have had leſs regard for conveniency and beauty than for preſerving the memory of their conqueſt, by building on the ſite of the ancient capital of the Indians, who probably ſelected ſuch a ſpot from its being better adapted to defence.

The principal ſquare in Quito is very ſpacious, and has an elegant fountain in the middle. On one ſide ſtands the cathedral, on the oppoſite the epiſcopal palace; the third is occupied by the town-houſe, and the fourth by the palace of the audience, which is in a ruinous condition. The four ſtreets, which terminate at the angles of the ſquare are ſtraight, broad, and handſome; but at the diſtance of three or four hundred yards, begin the troubleſome declivities. Theſe deprive the inhabitants of the uſe of coaches, or any other wheel-carriages. Perſons of rank, however, to diſtinguiſh themſelves, are attended by a ſervant carrying an umbrella, and the ladies are carried in ſedans. Except the four ſtreets above mentioned, all the reſt are crooked, and deſtitute of ſymmetry or beauty.

Beſides the great ſquare, Quito has two others of conſiderable extent, and ſeveral ſmaller ones. In theſe the convents are chiefly ſituated, and make an elegant appearance, the fronts and portals being adorned with all the embelliſhments of architecture; particularly the convent of the Franciſcans, which is built wholly of free-ſtone, and equal to the moſt admired buildings in Europe. The principal houſes are large, and ſome of them have ſpacious and well contrived apartments, but the doors and windows are intolerably ſmall; a mode of building very extraordinary in a warm climate, and which ſeems to have owed its origin to a blind imitation of the ancient practice of the Indians. The houſes are only one ſtory high, and have generally a balcony towards the ſtreet. The common materials for building are unburnt bricks, cemented together with a ſpecies of mortar called *ſangagua*, which makes them laſt a long time *.

Quito contains between fifty and ſixty thouſand inhabitants, of all ages and ſexes, caſts, colours, and conditions. Of theſe the Spaniards, or whites form about a ſixth part; the Indians, a third; the Meſtizos, another third; and the caſts, conſiſting of various races compoſed of a mixture from Spaniards, Indians, and negroes, a ſixth. If the Spaniards, who here as elſewhere, engroſs all public offices, are the moſt eminent among thoſe claſſes for riches, rank, and power, they are alſo comparatively the moſt poor and miſerable; for they decline the proſecution of any mechanical employment, conſidering it as a diſgrace to that quality on which they ſo highly value themſelves—on not being black, brown, or of a copper colour! The Meſtizos, whoſe pride is regulated by prudence, readily apply themſelves to arts and trades, but choſe thoſe of the higheſt repute, as painting, ſculpture, and the like, leaving the meaner ſort to the Indians. Many of the Meſtizos are highly ingenious; but both they and

* Ulloa, lib. v. c. 4.

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the Indians are remarkably indolent, ſpending whole days in loitering about the ſtreets inſtead of following their particular callings. From this idleneſs, which is in ſome meaſure occaſioned by the cheapneſs of proviſions, reſult gaming, drunkenneſs, and debauchery of every ſpecies*; the manners of the inhabitants of Quito being more thoroughly corrupted than thoſe in any other of the Spaniſh colonies, though many of them are diſtinguiſhed by the moſt enormous exceſſes in all kinds of ſenſuality.

To this licentiouſneſs Spain imputes the loſs of thoſe gold and ſilver mines that were opened here at the time of the conqueſt, and the neglect of ſuch as have been ſince diſcovered. This province, it has been aſſerted, might apply to that kind of induſtry with ſo much the more ſucceſs, as it is better peopled with Indians and Spaniards than any other province in South America, and derives from itſelf abundance of excellent proviſions; which, in other parts, where mines are worked, muſt be brought from a great diſtance, and purchaſed at an enormous price. But the Spaniards born at Quito, as well as ſuch as are ſent from Spain to take upon themſelves the government of it, find theſe reproaches ill founded. Their general opinion is, That the mines of this province are not ſufficiently rich to defray the charge of working them. A foreigner cannot pretend to decide this point; but if we reflect on the ardour which the Spaniards have always manifeſted for that ſpecies of wealth, which is earned without any labour on their part, and coſts them little beſides the blood of the natives, we may venture to conclude, that nothing but an entire impoſſibility, confirmed by repeated experience, could determine this colony to deny itſelf the purſuit of its natural inclinations, accompanied with the earneſt ſolicitations of the mother-country.

The province of Quito has endeavoured to make up the deficiency of its mines by the produce of its manufactures. A prodigious quantity of hats, common cloths, light ſtuffs, and baize is made here; particularly in the diſtricts of Riobamba, Cuenza, and Loxa, the capitals of which are conſiderable towns. Excluſive of its own conſumption, this province exported annually for a long time, manufactures to the amount of a million of peſos. By means of theſe it was enabled to pay for its wines, brandies, and oils, which it was never permitted to draw from its own territory; for the dried and ſalted fiſh, which was brought from the coaſts; for the ſoap which is made at Truxillo (a town on the ſea-coaſt of Peru) from the fat of goats, which have exceedingly multiplied there; for the iron uſed in all its works of agriculture, and for all thoſe luxuries with which it was ſupplied from the old world. But this traffic has of late diminiſhed more than one half. At all times the principal inhabitants of the province kept up the pride of dreſſing in European cloth, known throughout all Spaniſh America by the name of the cloth of Caſtile. This taſte is become general, ſince the regiſter ſhips have been ſubſtituted in place of the galleons. The facility of being continually ſupplied with theſe cloths, and of getting

* Ulloa, lib. v. c. 5.

BOOK II.

them at a lower price than formerly, has ruined the manufactures of Quito, which is likely to be reduced to extreme wretchedneſs.

This province will never emerge from its poverty by its connexions with Spain, to which it furniſhes nothing but Jeſuits Bark. It was originally believed that the tree which yields the bark was found only in the territory of Loxa; but it has been lately diſcovered in equal perfection, in the neighbourhood of Riobamba, Cuenza, and ſome other places in the province of Quito, from which the exportation is very conſiderable; the inhabitants being diligent in diſtinguiſhing the good from the bad, and alſo intelligent in the uſe of that admirable ſpecific. They have not paid equal attention to an object of no leſs importance; namely, the culture of cochineal, which is found in the territory of Loxa, equal to that of New Spain. It is only cultivated in ſuch quantity as to ſupply the manufactures of Loxa and Cuenza; which owe to that circumſtance, eſpecially their carpets, a ſuperiority that procures them a ready ſale *. If the people of Quito can ever be roufed ſo far from their inactivity as to purſue this ſpecies of induſtry, they will open to themſelves a new commerce with Europe, which they may enlarge, if they pleaſe, by the culture of cinnamon.

Towards the eaſtern ſide of the Cordeleras, are ſituated the countries of Quixos and Macas, which were ſubdued in 1559, by Ramirez Davalos, and annexed to the province of Quito. Theſe colonies, which are ſo thinly peopled as ſcarce to deſerve the name of ſettlements, are of no uſe to the mother-country. Both, however, produce the canela or cinnamon tree, the bark of which is in common uſe both in Peru and the province of Quito. This cinnamon is inferior in quality to that of the Eaſt-Indies, but in every other particular reſembles it. The ſmell is nearly the ſame; the colour is ſomewhat browner: but the moſt eſſential difference lies in the taſte, that of Quixos being more pungent. The leaf is entirely ſimilar, and has all the delicate ſmell of the bark: the flower and ſeed ſurpaſs even thoſe of the Eaſt; the former in particular being of incomparable fragrance, from the great abundance of aromatic parts it contains. There is good reaſon therefore to believe, that this tree duly cultivated, might here yield cinnamon equal in every reſpect to that of the iſland of Ceylon †.

The diſtrict which on the ſouth limits the juriſdiction of the audience of Quito, and follows next to Macas, is that of Jean Bracamoros, which was diſcovered and ſubdued in 1538, by Pedro de Vargara. This country was at firſt in high repute on account of its rich mines; but the wealth ariſing from theſe was ſoon brought to a period by the revolt of the Indians, whom the oppreſſions of the Spaniards drove to deſpair, and who have ever ſince maintained their independency. The diſtrict of Jean Bracamoros, however, is ſtill famous for its tobacco, the cultivation of which is the chief employment of the inhabitants. It is

* Ulloa, lib. vi. c. 4.

† Ulloa, lib. vi. c. 4. This opinion is confirmed by a cinnamon-tree planted either by accident or deſign near the city of Macas, the bark of which both in taſte and fragrance, is thought, to exceed that of the Eaſt. Id. ibid.

exported

exported to Peru, all over the Province of Quito, and to the kingdom of Chili, where it is in great requeſt, no other being uſed in ſmoking *. In this country is found the Maca, a very ſingular ſnake, which the Indians diſtinguiſh by the name of Curi-mullinvo; it having a ſhining ſpotted ſkin, like that of the tiger, and curi in the Indian language ſignifies gold. It is wholly covered with ſcales, and makes a frightful appearance. Its head is out of all proportion to the ſize of its body: it has two rows of teeth, and fangs like thoſe of a large dog. The wild Indians, as an oſtentatious mark of their ferocity, and to give them a more terrible appearance, paint on their targets the figure of this ſnake, the bite of which is incurable, and which never lets go its hold, when it has ſeized either on man or beaſt; a characteriſtic which the Indians would alſo intimate by their device †.

Contiguous to the diſtricts of Quixos and Jean Bracamoros lies that of Maynas, which forms the eaſtern boundary of the province of Quito. In this diſtrict are the ſources of thoſe rivers, which, after traverſing a vaſt extent of country, form, by their conflux, the Maragnon or great river of the Amazons. The ſtream of the Maragnon, and of many other rivers, which pay it the tribute of their waters, environ and pervade the territory of Maynas. The limits of this territory, towards the north and ſouth, are little known, being far extended among the poſſeſſions of the wild Indians. Towards the eaſt it joins the dominions of the Portugueſe, from which it is divided by the famous line of demarcation, that ſeparates the claims of the crown of Spain from thoſe of Portugal.

The diſtrict of Maynas has nothing to entitle it to attention as a Spaniſh colony, but its connexion with the ſources of the Maragnon offers to our contemplation a noble object of human curioſity; the riſe and progreſſive courſe of the greateſt river on our globe, in compariſon with which the Nile and the Ganges are but inconſiderable ſtreams.

Among the vaſt number of roots by which nouriſhment is conveyed to a ſtately tree, it is difficult, from the great length of ſome, and the magnitude of others, to aſcertain preciſely that from which the plant originally ſprung. A like difficulty occurs in tracing the fountain of the Maragnon. The ſources by which this river is increaſed are ſo numerous, that properly every ſtream that iſſues from the eaſtern ſide of the Andes may be reckoned among the number: for all the ſtreams that run eaſtward from this chain of mountains, widening as they advance from their ſource, by the conflux of others, form thoſe mighty rivers that afterwards unite in the Maragnon; and though ſome traverſe a larger diſtance from their ſource, yet others, which riſe nearer, by receiving in their ſhort courſe, a greater ſupply of waters, may have an equal claim to be called the principal ſource. But the opinion moſt generally received concerning the remote ſource of the Maragnon, is that which places it in the lake of Lauricocha, near the city of Ganuco, in the eleventh degree of ſouth latitude; whence it directs its

* Ulloa, lib. vi. c. 4.

† Id. ibid.

courſe

BOOK II.

courſe ſouth almoſt to the twelfth degree, and forming inſenſibly a circuit, flows eaſtward through the country of Juaxa; where, after being precipitated from the eaſt ſide of the Andes, it proceeds northward, and leaving the juriſdictions of Mayabamba and Chacha-poyas, it continues its courſe to the city of Jean Bracamoros: thence, by a ſecond circuit, it runs towards the eaſt in a continual direction, till it falls into the ocean, after a courſe of at leaſt eleven hundred leagues, from Lauricocha, including all its circuits and windings.

The ſtream that iſſues from Lauricocha is not, however, the only one flowing from thoſe parts that contributes to ſwell the Maragnon. South of that lake, not far from Aſangara, is the ſource of the river that paſſes through Guamanga; and in the juriſdictions of Vilcas and Andaguaylas are two others, which, after running ſome time ſeparately, unite their ſtreams, and diſcharge themſelves into the river iſſuing from the lake of Lauricocha. Another riſes in the province of Chimbi-Vilcas. Still farther to the ſouth is the river Apurimac, which, directing its courſe to the northward, paſſes through the country of Cuzco, not far from Lima-Tambo; and after being joined by others, falls into the Maragnon about an hundred and twenty leagues eaſt of the junction of the latter with the river St. Jago: but here it is of ſuch a width and depth, as to leave a doubt, whether it pours itſelf into the Maragnon, or the Maragnon pays tribute to the Ucayale, as the river Apurimac is called in thoſe parts, ſince at their conflux, the impetuoſity of the latter forces the former to alter the ſtraight direction of its courſe, and form a curve.

Eaſtward of Ucayale, the Maragnon receives the Yabari, and afterwards four other rivers; namely, the Yutay, Yurua, Tefe, and Coari, all running from the ſouth, where they have their ſource nearly in the ſame Cordeleras as that of the Ucayale, but the countries through which the latter paſſes being inhabited by wild Indians, and conſequently but little known to the Spaniards, its courſe before its junction with the Maragnon, cannot be aſcertained. Beyond the river Coari eaſtward, the Cuchibara, alſo called the Purus, joins the Maragnon, and afterwards the Madera, one of the largeſt rivers that unite their waters with it. In 1741 the Portugueſe ſailed up the Madera, till they found themſelves not far from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, between the ſeventeenth and eighteenth degree of ſouth latitude. From this river downwards the Maragnon is known to the Portugueſe by the name of the River of the Amazons: upwards they give it the name of the River of Solimoes. Within a ſmall diſtance from the influx of the Madera, follows the river of Topayas, likewiſe very conſiderable, which has its ſource among the mines of Brazil. After theſe, the Maragnon is farther joined by the rivers Zingu, dos Bocas, Tocantines, and Muju, all iſſuing from the mines and mountains of Brazil; and on the eaſtern ſhore of the latter, ſtands the city of Gran Para *.

Having thus given an account of the moſt diſtant branches of the Maragnon, and of the principal ones that join it from the ſouth, we ſhall proceed to thoſe iſſuing from the Cordeleras, the ſources of which are nearer, and alſo ſuch as

* Voyage de la Condamine. Ulloa, lib. vi. c. 5.

join it from the north. In the mountains of Loxa and Zamora riſe ſeveral little rivers, the conflux of which forms that of St. Jago; and from thoſe of Cuenza others, which unite in the Paute: but this, on its union with the former, loſes its name, being abſorbed by the St. Jago, ſo called from a city of that name near which it joins the two others from Lauricocha and Apurimac. From the lofty deſerts of Sangay iſſues the river Morona, which paſſing very near the city of Macas, runs in a ſouth-eaſt direction, till it loſes itſelf in the principal channel of the Maragnon, at the diſtance of about twenty leagues eaſt of Borja, the capital of the diſtrict of Maynas.

In the mountains of the juriſdiction of Riobamba, thoſe of Latacunga, and of the town of San Miguel de Ibarra, are the ſources of the rivers Paſtaza and Tigre; and from Cotopaxi, and its Cordelera, iſſue the firſt branches of the rivers Coca and Napo. Theſe, though their ſources are at no remarkable diſtance, run to a vaſt extent before they unite; and retaining the name of Napo, fall into the Maragnon, after a courſe of above two hundred leagues in a direct line from eaſt to weſt. From the mountains of the juriſdiction of San Miguel de Ibarra, iſſues the river Putu mayo, called alſo Ica; which, after running ſouth-eaſt about three hundred leagues, joins the Maragnon more eaſtward than the Napo. Laſtly, in the juriſdiction of Popayan, the river Caqueta has its ſource. This river becomes divided into two branches. The weſtern branch, called Yupura, diſembogues itſelf into the Maragnon like another Nile, through ſeven or eight mouths, which are at ſuch diſtance from each other, that the intermediate ſpace between the firſt and the laſt is not leſs than an hundred leagues; and the other branch, which runs to the eaſtward is no leſs famous under the name of Negro.

The breadth and depth of the Maragnon are anſwerable to its vaſt length; and in the pongos or ſtraits, where its breadth is contracted, its depth is augmented proportionally. In other parts it diſplays its whole grandeur, dividing itſelf into ſeveral large branches, including a multitude of iſlands; particularly in the intermediate ſpace between the mouth of the Napo and that of the Coari, which lies ſomething to the weſtward of the river Negro, where dividing itſelf into many branches, it forms an infinite number of iſlands. At the influx of the river Chuchunga, the place where the Maragnon becomes navigable, and where M. de la Condamine firſt embarked on it, it is two hundred and ſeventy yards broad, and above thirty fathom in depth. The iſlands formed by the Maragnon eaſt of the Napo, terminate at the river Coari, where it again reunites its waters, and flows in one ſtream. Here its breadth is about half a league, and its depth upwards of an hundred fathoms. About one hundred leagues below the mouth of the Negro, the ſhores of the Maragnon begin to approach each other, near the afflux of the river Trumbetas. At this part, which is called the Eſtrecho de Pauxis, and where the breadth of the Maragnon is near eighteen hundred yards, the effect of the tides may be perceived, though the diſtance from the ocean is not leſs than two hundred leagues *.

* Id. ibid.

BOOK II.

After flowing through ſuch a vaſt extent of country, and receiving the tribute of other rivers precipitated from the Cordeleras, or gliding in a more gentle courſe from remote provinces; after forming many circuits, cataracts, and ſtraits; dividing itſelf into various branches, and forming a multitude of iſlands of different magnitudes, the Maragnon at length, from the mouth of the river Xingu, directs its courſe north-eaſt, and enlarging its channel in a prodigious manner, as it were to enter the ocean with more majeſty, forms in this aſtoniſhing ſpace, ſeveral large and fertile iſlands; the chief of which is that of Joanes, formed by a branch of the great river that, under the name Tagiparu, ſeparates from it twenty-five leagues below the mouth of the Xingu, and bending its courſe to the ſouthward, in a direction oppoſite to that of the principal ſtream, opens a communication between the Maragnon and the river Dos Bocas, which is compoſed of the united waters of the Guanapu and Pacayas, and flows into this branch through a mouth of about two leagues in breadth. Theſe are afterwards joined by the river Tocantines, the outlet of which is ſtill broader than the former. The river Muju, on the eaſt ſide of which ſtands the city of Gran Para, diſcharges its waters into the ſame ſtream, which afterwards receives the river Capi, that waſhes the city of the ſame name. The river Dos Bocas, after joining that of Tagiparu, runs eaſtward, forming an arch, as far as the river Tocantines, from which it continues its courſe north-eaſt like the Maragnon, leaving in the middle the iſland of Joanes, which is nearly of a triangular figure, and about an hundred and fifty leagues in length. This iſland divides the Maragnon into two mouths, by which it diſembogues itſelf into the ſea. The principal of theſe mouths is about forty-five leagues broad, and the other twelve *.

By following the courſe of this vaſt body of waters, we have been inſenſibly conducted to the Portugueſe ſettlements; but before we deſcribe theſe, or the Indian tribes on the banks of the Maragnon, we muſt complete our account of the Spaniſh dominions in South America. For this purpoſe, it is neceſſary to leave the ſhores of the Atlantic, to croſs the ridge of the Andes, and tranſport ourſelves once more to the coaſts of the South Sea. There we find Chili, the moſt important province that depends on the viceroyalty of Lima, extending from the frontiers of Peru to the Straits of Magellan, and eaſtward as far as the government of Buenos Ayres.

The Incas had eſtabliſhed their dominion in ſome of the ſouthern diſtricts of this extenſive region; but in the greater part of the country, its gallant and high ſpirited inhabitants maintained their independency. Allured by the fame of its opulence, the Spaniards early attempted the conqueſt of Chili, under Diego Almagro, and afterwards under Pedro de Valdivia. Both met with fierce oppoſition. The reaſons that induced the former to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, and the diſaſtrous fate of the latter, who was cut off with a conſiderable body of troops under his command, have been already related †. The ſpirited conduct

* Ut ſupra.

† Book I. c. ix. p. 288, 301.

of

of Franciſco de Villagra, Valdivia's lieutenant, checked the progreſs of the Chileſe, and ſaved the remainder of the Spaniards from deſtruction. By degrees all the champaign country along the coaſt was ſubjected to the Spaniſh dominion. The mountainous country is ſtill poſſeſſed by the Puelches, Araucos, and other tribes of its original inhabitants, who are formidable neighbours to the Spaniards; and with whom, during the courſe of two centuries, they have been obliged to maintain perpetual hoſtilities, ſuſpended only by a few intervals of inſecure peace.

The firſt ſtep, after war is reſolved on among the Chileſe, is to give notice to the different tribes for aſſembling. This they call *ſhooting the arrow*;—the ſummons being ſent from village to village with the utmoſt ſilence and celerity. In theſe notices they ſpecify the night when the irruption is to be made; and though advice of it is tranſmitted to the Indians who reſide in the Spaniſh territories, nothing tranſpires. Nor is there a ſingle inſtance, among all the Indians who have been taken up on ſuſpicion, that one ever made a diſcovery; and as few preparations are neceſſary in this kind of war, the ſame tree from which they gather their food ſupplying them with lances and darts, their deſigns continue impenetrable till the terrible executions withdraw the veil *.

The members of the ſeveral tribes being aſſembled, a general is choſen, with the title of Toqui; and when the night fixed on for their bloody purpoſe arrives, the Chileſe who live among the Spaniards riſe and maſſacre them; after which they divide themſelves into ſmall parties, and deſtroy the villas, farm houſes, and villages, murdering all the inhabitants without diſtinction, except the white women, whom they carry off. Theſe parties afterwards unite, and in a body attack the larger ſettlements of the Spaniards; beſiege the forts, and commit every kind of hoſtility: and their numbers and valour, rather than their diſcipline, have enabled them, on ſeveral occaſions, to carry on their enterpriſes with ſucceſs, notwithſtanding all the meaſures taken by the Spaniſh government to obſtruct them. They are ſo conſtantly ſupplied with reinforcements, that they are not ſenſible of their loſſes; but if theſe prove ſo conſiderable as to oblige them to deſiſt, they retire to the diſtance of a few leagues, whence, after concealing themſelves for ſome days, they make a ſudden aſſault upon ſome other place; and when they find themſelves in danger from the enemy, they abandon their huts, and retire into the more diſtant parts of the mountains. Being joined there by other tribes, they return with recruited ſtrength, and take poſſeſſion of their former dwellings, to diſpute which would be the height of temerity †. It is this alternate ſucceſſion of flight and reſiſtance, of boldneſs and caution, which renders them invincible.

War is a kind of amuſement, or deſirable occupation to the Chileſe; all their induſtry, which conſiſts in the culture of a little ſpot of ground, and in the weaving of ſome coarſe cloths for apparel, being reſigned to the women. As it is neither expenſive nor inconvenient to them, they have nothing to apprehend from its continuance except danger, which they court with avidity: hence it is

* Ulloa, lib. viii. c. 9.

† Id. ibid.

BOOK II.

a conſtant rule with them, never to ſue for peace. The pride of Spain muſt always condeſcend to make the firſt overtures. When theſe are favourably received a conference is held; and the preſident of Chili, and the Toqui or Indian general, attended by the moſt diſtinguiſhed captains on both ſides, ſettle the terms of accommodation at a convivial meeting. The peace is ratified by a mutual exchange of preſents, after which both parties return to their reſpective habitations *.

The Chileſe are no leſs haughty in their mode of trafficking with the Spaniards. Though paſſionately fond of European toys, and though edge-tools, and other kinds of hardware are neceſſary to their conveniency, they never leave their woods and mountains to procure them; ſo that the Spaniards are under the obligation of carrying theſe things to them, or of loſing this branch of trade. Such as enter their country for this purpoſe, apply firſt to the heads of families, in whom alone reſides all public authority, the oldeſt perſon of the family being reſpected as its governor. After the trader has obtained leave to ſell, and mentioned the return he expects for his goods, he goes from village to village, diſtributing them indiſcriminately to all who offer to buy, till he has diſpoſed of his ſtock. He then returns to the village where he firſt made his appearance, giving notice to his cuſtomers that he is on his way home; on which every one brings, with the greateſt punctuality, to the chief or ſenior's hutt, the articles of exchange agreed on. Nor was there ever an inſtance of diſhoneſty in this traffic; the Chileſe being alike exact in their payments, and faithful to their engagements †.

In conſequence of this ſpirit of independency, the Spaniards have been obliged to give up all thoughts of extending their conqueſts, and reduced to the neceſſity of covering their frontier, by erecting forts at proper diſtances. Theſe precautions are taken to prevent the Indians, who have ſubmitted, from joining the independent tribes, as well as to repel the inroads of the latter. That part of Chili therefore, which may properly be denominated a Spaniſh province, is a narrow diſtrict, about nine hundred miles in length, extending along the coaſt from the deſert of Atacamas to the iſland of Chiloe. Its climate is the moſt delicious in the New World, and is hardly equalled by that of any region on the face of the earth. Though bordering on the torrid zone, it never feels the extremity of heat, being ſcreened on the eaſt by the Andes, and refreſhed from the weſt by cooling ſea-breezes. The temperature of the air is ſo mild and equable, that the Spaniards give it the preference to the ſouthern provinces of their native

* Ut ſupra.

† Ulloa, lib. viii. c. 9. So delicate a ſenſe of juſtice in a whole people, who are almoſt ſtrangers to government, and ſavage in their manners, muſt appear a very ſingular phænomenon in morals, to ſuch as regard every virtue as the effect of culture: but thoſe who conſider juſtice as no leſs natural to the mind than reaſon, and reaſon as much a part of man's nature as ſenſation or appetite, will not be ſurpriſed to find that a people who are ſtrangers to fear, ſhould alſo be ſtrangers to fraud; that a people jealous of their independency, ſhould alſo be jealous of their honour; or that the ſame reaſon which tells them no man has a right to infringe on their liberty, or deprive them of the produce of their induſtry, ſhould likewiſe teach them to reſpect the property of others, with whom they are not engaged in hoſtility.

country.

country. The fertility of the ſoil correſponds with the benignity of the climate, and is wonderfully accommodated to European productions. The moſt valuable of theſe, corn, wine, and oil, eſpecially the two former, abound in Chili, to a degree that is altogether incredible. The corn harveſt is reckoned a bad one, when it does not yield an hundred fold *. Oranges and lemons excepted, all the fruits introduced from Europe attain their full maturity here. The animals of our hemiſphere not only multiply, but improve in this delightful region. The horned cattle are of a larger ſize than thoſe of Spain; and its breed of horſes ſurpaſſes, both in beauty and ſpirit, the famous Andaluſian race, from which they ſprung †. Nor has nature exhauſted her bounty on the ſurface of the earth, ſhe has ſtored its bowels with riches. Valuable mines of gold, of ſilver, of copper, and of lead, have been diſcovered in various parts of Chili.

A country diſtinguiſhed by ſo many bleſſings, one might be apt to conclude, would early become a favourite ſtation of the Spaniards, and muſt have been cultivated with peculiar predilection and care. On the contrary, great part of it remains unoccupied. In all this extent of territory, there is not above ſixty thouſand white inhabitants, and about three times that number of negroes and people of a mixed race. Nor are there above five towns deſerving the name of ſettlements; namely, Valdivia, Conception, Valparaiſo, and Coquimbo or La Serena, all ſea-ports, and St. Jago, the capital, an inland town. Except in the neighbourhood of theſe, there is little culture, and ſcarce any habitation. The moſt fertile ſoil in America lies waſte, and ſome of its moſt promiſing mines remain unwrought. Strange as may appear this neglect of the Spaniards to avail themſelves of advantages, which ſeem to court their acceptance, the cauſes of it are by no means inexplicable.

The only intercourſe of Spain with her colonies on the South Sea, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, was carried on during two centuries by the annual fleet to Porto Bello. All the produce of the colonies was ſhipped in the ports of Callao or Arica, for Panama, and carried thence acroſs the iſthmus; all the commodities which they received from the mother-country, were conveyed from Panama to the ſame harbours: thus both the exports and imports of Chili paſſed through the hands of the merchants of Peru. Theſe had of courſe, a profit on each: in both tranſactions the inhabitants of Chili felt their own ſubordination: having no immediate communication with the parent ſtate, they depended upon another province for the diſpoſal of their productions, as well as for the ſupply of their wants. Under ſuch diſcouragements population could not flouriſh, and induſtry was deſtitute of one chief incitement, a ready return for the fruits of its exertions. But ſince Spain, in conſequence of the new ſyſtem which we have examined, now carries on her commerce with the colonies on the South Sea, by ſhips that go round Cape Horn, a direct intercourſe is opened between Chili and the mother-country; and as the gold, the ſilver, and other commodities of the province, are exchanged in its own harbours for the manufactures of

* Id. ibid. † Ut ſupra.

BOOK II.

Europe, Chili may probably riſe to that degree of importance among the Spaniſh colonies to which it is entitled by its own natural advantages. It may become the granary of Peru, and the other provinces along the Pacific Ocean: it may ſupply them with wine, with cattle, with horſes, with hemp, and many other articles for which they depend upon Europe. Though the new ſyſtem has been fully eſtabliſhed only a few years, the beneficial effects of it begin already to be obſerved in the articles here ſpecified *; and if it ſhall be adhered to with any ſteadineſs for half a century, one may venture to foretel, that population, induſtry and opulence, will advance in this province with rapid progreſs.

St. Jago, the capital of Chili, is ſituated in the middle of a delightful plain, twenty-four leagues in extent, through which the river Mapocha flows in meanders, and runs ſo near the city as to ſupply it abundantly with water, by means of conduits. St. Jago is about a mile in length, and two thirds of a mile in breadth. On the oppoſite bank of the river, which waſhes the north ſide of the city, is a large ſuburb called Chumba, and on the eaſt ſide is a mountain, called St. Lucia. The ſtreets are wide, ſtraight, handſomely paved, and all croſs one another regularly; running either directly eaſt and weſt, or north and ſouth. In the centre of the city ſtands the great ſquare, the middle of which is adorned with a beautiful fountain. The north ſide is occupied by the palace of the royal audience; the weſt ſide, by the cathedral and the biſhop's palace; the ſouth ſide by ſhops, and the eaſt by private houſes. The other parts of the city are divided into inſulated ſquares, regular, well built, and commodious. Every houſe has a court before, and a garden behind it, and is plentifully ſupplied with water from the river; a circumſtance which greatly contributes to the health and convenieney of the inhabitants, as well as to the elegance of the city. St. Jago is ſuppoſed to contain about five thouſand families, of which nearly one half are Spaniards †. Valdivia, Valparaiſo, and Conception, are conſiderable towns; and the two firſt are well garriſoned and fortified, eſpecially Valdivia.

To the eaſt of the Andes, the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata border on Chili, and like it were dependent on the viceroyalty of Peru, before the new government was eſtabliſhed at Buenos Ayres, the juriſdiction of which has been already mentioned. Theſe regions of immenſe extent, ſtretch in length from north to ſouth above thirteen hundred miles, and in breadth more than a thouſand. This vaſt country naturally forms itſelf into two great diviſions; one on the north, and the other on the ſouth of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the famous miſſions of the Jeſuits, and ſeveral other diſtricts; the latter contains the governments of Tucuman and Buenos-Ayres, of which we ſhall firſt ſpeak.

The Spaniards entered this part of America by the river De la Plata; and though a ſucceſſion of cruel diſaſters befel them in their early attempts to eſtabliſh their dominion here, they were encouraged to perſiſt in the deſign, at firſt by the hopes of diſcovering mines in the interior country, and afterwards by the

* Campomanes. † Ulloa, lib. viii. c. 7. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII.

neceſſity

neceſſity of occupying it, in order to prevent any other nation from ſettling there, and penetrating by this route into their rich poſſeſſions in Peru. But except Buenos-Ayres, they have made no ſettlement of any conſequence in all this extenſive country. There are indeed ſcattered over it a few places on which they have endeavoured to add ſome dignity by erecting them into biſhopricks; but they are, after all, no better than paltry villages, each with two or three hundred inhabitants. One circumſtance, however, which was not originally foreſeen, has contributed to render this diſtrict, though thinly peopled, of conſiderable importance. The province of Tucuman, together with the country to the ſouth of the Plata, inſtead of being covered with wood like other parts of America, forms one vaſt plain, almoſt without a tree *. The ſoil is a deep fertile mould, watered by many ſtreams deſcending from the Andes, and cloathed in perpetual verdure. In this rich paſturage the horſes and cattle imported by the Spaniards from Europe have multiplied to a degree that almoſt exceeds belief. This has enabled the inhabitants not only to open a lucrative trade with Peru, by ſupplying it with horned cattle, horſes, and mules, but to carry on a commerce no leſs beneficial, by the exportation of hides to Europe.

From both theſe, the colony has derived great advantages; but its commodious ſituation for carrying on the contraband trade, has been the chief ſource of its proſperity. While the court of Madrid adhered to its ancient ſyſtem, with reſpect to its communication with America, the River de la Plata lay ſo much out of the courſe of Spaniſh navigation, that interlopers, almoſt without any

* This is alſo the caſe with Patagonia, and the whole Terra Magellanica. There the Spaniards have eſtabliſhed no ſettlements, and the country is too little known to require a particular deſcription; but the famous Patagonians, who form part of the inhabitants, and have during two centuries and a half, afforded a ſubject of controverſy to the learned, and an object of wonder to the vulgar, muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Their proper ſtation is in that part of the interior country, which lies on the banks of the river Negro; though in the hunting ſeaſon, they often roam as far as the ſtraits which ſeparate Terra del Fuego from the main-land. The firſt accounts of this people were brought to Europe by the companions of Magellan, who deſcribed them as a gigantic race, above eight feet high, and of ſtrength in proportion to their enormous ſize. Accounts of a ſimilar nature have been given at different times, by various navigators, who have viſited the Magellanic regions; and latterly by Commodore Byron and his crew, who ſailed through the Straits in 1764, according to whoſe Narrative the common ſize of the Patagonians was eſtimated to be eight feet, and many of them much taller. By the Captains Wallis and Carteret, who actually meaſured them in 1766, they were found to be from ſix feet to ſix feet five or ſeven inches in height. Theſe ſeem to have been the very people whoſe ſize had been ſo much overrated in 1764, (and who were probably beyond the common ſtandard); for ſeveral of them had beads and red baize of the ſame kind with what had been put on board Captain Wallis's ſhip, and be naturally concluded that they had got theſe from Mr. Byron. Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. I. They were again meaſured in 1767, by M. Bougainville, whoſe account agrees nearly with that of Captain Wallis. Mr. Falkner, who reſided as a miſſionary forty years in the ſouthern parts of America, ſays, that "the Patagonians, or Puelches, are a large-bodied people; but I never heard of that gigantic race which others have mentioned, though I have ſeen perſons of all the different tribes of ſouthern Indians." Introd. Deſcript. Patagonia. Theſe teſtimonies, it is hoped, will be ſufficient to baniſh the idea of a race of giants, inhabiting the extreme parts of South America.

BOOK II.

risk of being observed or obstructed, could pour in European manufactures in such quantities, as not only supplied the wants of the colony, but were conveyed into all the eastern districts of Peru. When the Portuguese in Brazil extended their settlements to the banks of Rio de la Plata, a new channel was opened, by which prohibited commodities flowed into the Spanish territories, with still more facility and in greater abundance. This illegal traffic, however detrimental to the parent state, contributed to the increase of the settlement which had the immediate benefit of it, and Buenos-Ayres became gradually a populous and opulent town. What may be the effect of the alteration lately made in the government of this colony, cannot yet be determined; but if the viceroy attends to his duty, a check will certainly be given to the contraband trade with the Portuguese, which was become so extensive as must have put a final stop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her southern colonies.

The city of Buenos-Ayres, founded in 1535, by Don Pedro de Mendoza, stands on the south side of the Rio de la Plata, at a place called Cape Blanco, seventy leagues from the sea, and close by a small river. The situation, as it regards the ground, is in a large plain, rising by a gentle ascent from the small river; and is truly paradisaical, whether we regard the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, or that beautiful verdure which overspreads the whole face of the country, of which the inhabitants have an uninterrupted prospect, as far as the eye can reach. The city is of considerable extent, and is supposed to contain sixteen thousand inhabitants, of which the whites may make one fourth. The rest are either Indians or a mixed race. The houses, which had formerly only mud walls, and were thatched with straw, are now built of more durable materials, and generally tiled. They have commonly one story, besides the ground floor. The principal square is very spacious, and the cathedral is an elegant building. Both the American and European fruits come to full perfection here, and are in great plenty, as are all kinds of provisions *. Buenos-Ayres, however, labours under many inconveniences as a commercial city. Its distance from the sea is of itself a considerable disadvantage, and that is augmented by the dangerous navigation of the Plata, and the rocks and shoals which prevent ships of burden from coming up to it. As a remedy for these evils, a settlement has been founded, on an excellent harbour, in the bay of Maldonado, near the mouth of the great river. This, which may at present be considered as the port of Buenos-Ayres, will in all probability soon become its rival, and the staple of the trade of Paraguay, as the register-ships sailing to or from the South Sea, will here find a safe port, and all the refreshments they may want. Maldonado is defended by a strong fort, and a garrison of two hundred men. Buenos Ayres has also a good fortification for its security, and a garrison of one thousand regulars †.

The only district worthy of attention in the northern division of the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata, is that of Paraguay, the capital of which is Assump-

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 15. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII. † Id. ibid.

tion.

tion. This city as it is pompouſly called, is ſmall and irregular; in a word, a petty village, and the other Spaniſh ſettlements are ſtill leſs conſiderable. But Paraguay, though unimportant as a colony, is entitled notwithſtanding to particular notice in a general hiſtory of America, on account of that ſingular ſyſtem of policy eſtabliſhed there by the Jeſuits.

Towards the beginning of the laſt century, thoſe fathers repreſented to the court of Madrid, that their want of ſucceſs in their miſſions was owing to the ſcandal which the immorality of the Spaniards never fail to give, and to the hatred which their inſolent behaviour cauſed in the Indians, wherever they came. They inſinuated, that but for theſe impediments, the empire of the goſpel might, by their labours, have been extended into the moſt unknown parts of America; and that all thoſe countries might be ſubjected to the dominion of his Catholic Majeſty without expence, and without violence. This remonſtrance was liſtened to with attention: the ſphere of the labours of thoſe pious champions was marked out; an uncontrouled liberty was given to them within the preſcribed limits; and the governors of the adjacent provinces had orders not to interfere, or ſuffer any perſon to enter this pale, without the conſent of the fathers; who, on their part agreed to pay a certain capitation tax, in proportion to their flock, and to ſend a certain number of Indians to the king's works whenever they ſhould be demanded, and the miſſions become populous enough to furniſh them.

On theſe terms the Jeſuits entered upon the ſcene of action, and opened their campaign with the ſpiritual conqueſt of the Guaranies, an Indian nation inhabiting the banks of the rivers Uraguay and Parana. Twelve thouſand of theſe were removed into Paraguay, in order to ſave them from the incurſions of the Portugueſe, who regardleſs of the progreſs of the goſpel, carried off the new converts as ſlaves to labour in the mines of Brazil. A like number of inhabitants was alſo brought from Tappi, and formed into communities. Theſe ſuddenly became conſiderable towns, the number of which, in 1734, amounted to thirty-two, and were ſuppoſed to contain forty thouſand families. About the ſame time the Chiquitos, another Indian nation, who embraced Chriſtianity towards the end of the laſt century, had formed ſeven towns, each of which contained above ſix thouſand inhabitants *. By the increaſe of theſe, and the acquiſition from other Indian tribes, the Jeſuits are ſaid to have had upwards of three hundred thouſand families under their ſpiritual government in 1760.

The nature of that government, and the means by which ſuch a multitude of wandering ſavages were collected, and brought to ſubmit to civil regulations and religious obſervances, require an attentive examination. With no arms but thoſe of perſuaſion, the Jeſuits freely mingled with the moſt barbarous tribes. They acquired their language, and by all thoſe arts of addreſs and inſinuation, for which they have ſo long been famous, they gained the confidence of the wild Indians. They engaged to protect them from the violences of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, as well as to ſecure them againſt thoſe inconveniencies to which they were expoſed

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 14, 15.

BOOK II.

in their foreſts, provided they would agree to live in ſociety, and contribute to ſupply each other's wants, according to the inſtructions that ſhould be given them. As ſoon as they had got together a certain number of families, they began to procure them all the advantages they had promiſed them; and when, by making them happy, they had rendered them tractable, they unfolded to them the doctrines of the goſpel: they did not pretend to make them Chriſtians, before they had made them men.

The Indians, who had already experienced every thing they had reaſon to expect from their pious legiſlators, in regard to the conveniencies of this world, doubted not what was told them of the next: they eagerly embraced the doctrine of immortality. They formerly reſpected, they now adored the Jeſuits; and that politic body did not fail to take the proper ſteps for rendering perpetual the influence which they had acquired. They reſerved to themſelves all civil and religious authority, and in a manner all property, by having the abſolute diſpoſal of every thing belonging to the community. But that matter can only be underſtood by a particular deſcription.

This deſcription ſhall be framed without any regard to the abolition of the Jeſuits as a religious order, or the changes that may have taken place in Paraguay in conſequence of their diſgrace at the court of Spain, as it would otherwiſe be impoſſible to form any diſtinct idea of that extraordinary commonwealth which they had eſtabliſhed.—Over each of the miſſions, or diſtricts of Paraguay, a Jeſuit preſides in chief. He is ſupreme in all cauſes, civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical, and governs not only with the ſway of a ſovereign, but with the reputation of an oracle. In every town, however, magiſtrates are ſettled, anſwerable to thoſe in the Spaniſh cities. Theſe are choſen by the Indians from among their own body, but they muſt be confirmed by the preſiding Jeſuit, who reſerves to himſelf a power of rejecting ſuch as are unqualified for their function; and in order, as is pretended, to prevent the abuſe of authority, no magiſtrate is permitted to proceed to the execution of any ſentence, without previouſly acquainting the prieſt with the ſtate of the matter, that he may compare the offence with the decree. The perſon found really guilty is delivered up to puniſhment, which generally conſiſts in impriſonment for a certain number of days, to which ſometimes faſting is added; but if the offence be very heinous, the delinquent is whipt, which is the moſt ſevere puniſhment they inflict, murder, robbery, and ſuch atrocious crimes being almoſt unknown among the converts in Paraguay *.

The practice of confeſſion, indeed, anſwers in a great meaſure the end of penal laws, by maintaining a purity of manners. Religion brings the guilty perſon to the feet of the magiſtrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorſe makes him aggravate it; inſtead of endeavouring to elude his puniſhment, he implores it on his knees. The more public and ſevere it is, the more doth it contribute to quiet the conſcience of the criminal, by ſtifling the pangs of remorſe. Before the execution of the ſentence, in judicial caſes, a diſcourſe is pronounced

* Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 15.

by

by the prieſt, repreſenting with the greateſt ſoftneſs and ſympathy, the nature of the offence, and the vengeance denounced againſt it by Heaven; ſo that the delinquent receives the chaſtiſement to which he is ſubjected with all humility and reſignation, as a brotherly correction neceſſary to his eternal welfare *. Theocracy, in a word, would be the moſt excellent of all governments if it were poſſible to preſerve it in its purity; but to effect this, it would be neceſſary that it ſhould always be under the direction of virtuous men, deeply impreſſed with the real principles on which it is founded: it would be neceſſary that religion ſhould teach nothing but the duties of ſociety; that it ſhould conſider nothing as a crime but what violates the natural rights of mankind; that its precepts ſhould not ſubſtitute prayers in place of labour, vain ceremonies inſtead of works of charity, or imaginary ſcruples for juſt remorſe.

It can hardly however be expected, that Jeſuits educated in Spain or Italy ſhould not have tranſmitted to Paraguay the monaſtic notions and practices of Rome or Madrid. But if it is allowed that they have introduced ſome abuſes, it muſt alſo be confeſſed, that theſe are accompanied with ſo many advantages, that perhaps no ſociety upon earth could have eſtabliſhed ſuch a number of ſalutary regulations with ſo few of a contrary tendency. Nothing is omitted in Paraguay that can contribute either to the conveniency or the ſecurity of the community, or fill individuals with that emulation which is neceſſary to unfold the powers of the human mind. Every town has a particular armoury, in which are kept all the fire-arms, ſwords, and other weapons, uſed by the militia, when they take the field, whether to repel the inſults of the Portugueſe, to which they were long expoſed, or of any ſavage tribe; and that they may be more dexterous in the management of their weapons, they are exerciſed on the evening of every Sunday and holiday in the market places of the towns. All perſons in every town capable of bearing arms are divided into companies, and have their proper officers who owe this diſtinction to their military talents. Their uniform is richly laced with gold or ſilver, according to their rank, and embroidered with the devices of their towns. In this dreſs they always appear on holidays, and at the times of exerciſe. The magiſtrates have alſo very magnificent habits of ceremony, which they wear on ſolemn occaſions; a numerous retinue, and every thing that can contribute to exalt them in their own opinion, or in the eyes of their countrymen.

All other things correſpond to this parade. The houſes of the Indians are built with ſo much ſymmetry and conveniency, and ſo completely and elegantly furniſhed, as to excel thoſe of the Spaniards in this part of America. The churches are large, and well built, and with regard to decorations, not inferior to the richeſt in Peru. Each has its band of muſic, conſiſting of a great number of vocal and inſtrumental performers, and divine ſervice is celebrated in them with all the pomp and ſolemnity of the Romiſh cathedrals †. The Jeſuits have found the happy ſecret of making their worſhip amuſive without rendering

* Id. ibid. Murat. Relat. des Miſs. de Parag.

† Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 15.

BOOK II.

it an indecent farce; of blending pleaſure with the exerciſe of piety. It is in Paraguay that religion is amiable, and that the people firſt love it in its miniſters. Nothing can equal the purity of manners, the mild and tender zeal, and the paternal tenderneſs of the Jeſuits in this country. Every miſſionary is truly the father, as he is the guide, both ſpiritual and temporal, of the people under his government. His authority is not felt; becauſe he neither commands, forbids, nor puniſhes any thing, but what is commanded, forbidden, and puniſhed, by the religion which they all reverence and love equally with himſelf.

The country occupied by the Paraguay miſſions is of very great extent; comprehending part of the government of Santa Cruz de la Sierra towards the ſouth, and reaching from Buenos-Ayres as far eaſt as the captainſhip of St. Vincent in Brazil. The air in general is moiſt and temperate, though in ſome places it is rather cold. The temperate parts abound with all kinds of proviſions. Cotton grows here in ſuch quantities, that every little village gathers annually above two thouſand arobas, and the Indians are very ingenious in weaving it into ſtuffs for exportation. A great deal of tobacco is alſo planted here; but theſe articles are far leſs advantageous to the inhabitants than the leaf known by the name of the *Herb of Paraguay*, which alone would be ſufficient to form a flouriſhing commerce in this province, it being the only one which produces it. Thence it is ſent all over Peru and Chili, where its uſe is univerſal. It is the leaf of a middle ſized tree, and is dried and infuſed in the manner of tea. Thoſe commodities are carried for ſale to the cities of Santa Fè and Buenos Ayres, where the fathers have factors; the Indians, particularly the Guaranies, wanting the ſagacity and addreſs, ſo abſolutely neceſſary to procure ſucceſs in commercial affairs. Theſe factors diſpoſe of what is conſigned to them from Paraguay; and after paying into the revenue office the capitation-tax for the Indians of each diſtrict, lay out the remainder of the money in purchaſing ſuch European goods as the miſſions are in want of. The other products of the lands, together with the cattle, are made uſe of for the ſubſiſtance of the inhabitants, among whom they are diſtributed with the greateſt regularity and œconomy *.

The miſſions of the Guaranies are all under one ſuperior, who nominates the aſſiſtant prieſts of the towns, the preſiding prieſts being collated by the provincials of the order. His reſidence is at Candelaria, which lies in the centre of all the miſſions: but he frequently viſits the other towns, in order to ſuperintend their governments; and at the ſame time to concert meaſures for ſending ſome of the fathers among the wild Indians, to conciliate their affections, and by degrees work their converſion. In this important office he is aſſiſted by two vice-ſuperiors, one of whom reſides at Parana, and the other on the river Uraguay. All theſe miſſions, though ſo numerous and diſperſed, are formed as it were into one college, of which the ſuperior may be conſidered as the maſter or head; and every town is like a family, governed by a wiſe and affectionate parent, in the perſon of the prieſt †. The miſſions of the Chiquitos have a diſtinct ſuperior,

* Ul. ibid. † Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 15.

but

but with the ſame functions as he who preſides over the Guaranies, and the prieſts alſo are on the ſame footing *.

No town is without a ſchool for teaching reading, writing, dancing, and muſic; and in the courts of the houſe belonging to the prieſt of every town, are ſhops or workhouſes for painters, ſculptors, gilders, ſilverſmiths, lockſmiths, carpenters, weavers, watchmakers, and the practicers of all other mechanic arts and trades, who work for the benefit of the whole town, under the inſpection of the prieſts coadjutors. Every town has alſo a kind of *Beaterio*, or Magdalen, where women of ill fame are placed, and which likewiſe ſerves as a retreat for married women, who have no families, during the abſence of their huſbands. For the ſupport of this houſe, as well as of orphans, widows, and thoſe who by age or any other circumſtance are diſabled from earning a livelihood, two days in each week are ſet apart, when the inhabitants of every village are obliged to cultivate and ſow a certain piece of ground called *Labor de la Comunidad*, "the Labour of the Community;" and the ſurplus of the produce is applied to procure furniture and decorations for the church, and cloathing for the widows, orphans, aged, and diſabled perſons. By this benevolent plan all diſtreſs is prevented, and them eaneſt of the inhabitants is provided with every neceſſary of life †.

It ſhould ſeem that men muſt have multiplied conſiderably under a government, where none are idle or fatigued with labour; where food is equal in wholeſomeneſs, plenty, and quality for all the citizens; where every one is conveniently lodged, and well cloathed; and where the aged and the ſick, widows and orphans, are not only aſſiſted in a manner unknown in all other parts of the world, but where every one marries from choice, and not from intereſt, and where a number of children are conſidered as a bleſſing, and can never be troubleſome:—where debauch, the neceſſary conſequence of idleneſs, which corrupts alike the opulent and the needy, never haſtens the period of natural infirmities, or tends to abridge the term of human life; where nothing ſerves to excite artificial paſſions, or to counteract thoſe which are implanted by nature and regulated by reaſon; where the people enjoy the advantages of trade, and are not expoſed to vice and luxury; where plentiful magazines, and a friendly intercourſe with perſons united in the bonds of the ſame religion, and under the ſame civil regulations, are a ſecurity againſt any ſcarcity that might happen from the inconſtancy or inclemency of the ſeaſons; where juſtice has never been reduced to the neceſſity of condemning a ſingle malefactor to death, or to any puniſhment of a long duration; where the very name of a tax or a law-ſuit, thoſe two terrible ſcourges which every where elſe afflict mankind, are unknown!—ſuch a country muſt naturally be expected to be the moſt populous in the world, and yet it is far from being ſo. The population of Paraguay has by no means increaſed in proportion to the number of the original converts, the acceſſions they have received, the time ſince their eſtabliſhment in communities, or the tranquillity and plenty in which they live.

* Id. ibid. † Ut ſupra.

BOOK II.

In order to account for this want of increaſe, it has been ſuppoſed that the Jeſuits had propagated that love of celibacy among their converts, which was ſo prevalent over Europe during the dark ages, and which is ſtill very common in Spaniſh America. But this conjecture is entirely void of foundation. The Jeſuits have never conveyed to their converts any idea of a ſuperſtition utterly inconſiſtent with their political plan, and which would have been ſufficient to prejudice the Indians againſt their beſt inſtitutions. On the contrary, they provide early for the marriage of their young people, as well to prevent diſorders as to multiply the number of their ſubjects; and as intereſt can be no motive to the union, nor any bar againſt it, where there is no property, few difficulties occur in cementing it. The lover applies to the preſiding Jeſuit, informs him of his deſire of marriage, and names the party. The girl is conſulted; and if there is no objection on her ſide, the nuptials are immediately celebrated. The young couple are ſupplied with all neceſſaries for their eſtabliſhment out of the public ſtores, and have their portion of labour aſſigned them, by which they are to make amends for what they have received, and to contribute to the common ſupport of themſelves and others *.

The want of property has alſo been aſſigned as a reaſon for the ſlowneſs of population among the Guaranies. But the inconveniencies which, in other countries ariſe from the want of property, and impede population, as well as every laudable purſuit, are not felt in Paraguay. All there are ſure of ſubſiſtence, which is every thing in a ſtate where luxury is unknown; conſequently all enjoy the great advantages of property, though deprived in a ſtrict ſenſe of the right to it. This privation therefore, whatever influence it may have upon the intellectual faculties, and of courſe on the character of the people, by depriving the mind of one of its moſt powerful incentives to action, cannot well be ſuppoſed to obſtruct the progreſs of population, which depends on the temperate indulgence of the moſt natural of all the paſſions. To the gratification of this paſſion the inhabitants of Paraguay are invited by the climate, and encouraged by their civil inſtitutions, while they are reſtrained from exceſs by their induſtrious and temperate courſe of life. The defect in population muſt be imputed to other cauſes.

The Guaranies have, at different times, ſuffered greatly from the inroads of the Portugueſe, and of the ſavage tribes that hover about their habitations, in order to ſieze their proviſions. By the firſt they have been carried into ſlavery, and by the latter they have been maſſacred, with unfeeling barbarity. Theſe calamities have been followed by another far more deſtructive. The ſmall-pox, a diſtemper every where dreadful, has proved more peculiarly terrible in America, and more fatal in Paraguay than in any other country. It deſtroys thouſands in a ſhort time, and ſcarce any recover of it. Beſides theſe cauſes of depopulation, the Guaranies are expoſed to others ariſing from the nature of their climate, which occaſions contagious diſtempers, eſpecially on the banks of the Parana, where

* Muratori, Relat. des Miſſions des Parag. Charlevoix, Hiſt. de Parag.

thick

thick and conſtant fogs, under a ſultry ſky, render the air damp and unwholeſome *.

The Jeſuits have been accuſed of augmenting thoſe evils, by obliging their ſubjects to dig for the precious metals; but the Spaniſh miniſtry, after the moſt diligent ſearch, have not been able to diſcover that a ſingle mine was ever wrought in Paraguay. The Jeſuits were too good politicians to encourage ſuch a pernicious ſpecies of induſtry. They have with more appearance of reaſon been accuſed of aſpiring at abſolute independency. It is difficult otherwiſe to account for that exceſſive care which they took to preclude all intercourſe between their ſubjects and thoſe of Spain, and that horror with which they inſpired them for ſtrangers in general. A policy which founded obedience and purity of morals on ſuch illiberal principles, muſt ſurely have been dictated by ſelfiſh jealouſy. Apprehenſions were even entertained, that this ſpiritual republic might one day attempt to overthrow that power under which it had been raiſed. But theſe have been diſpelled, by the readineſs which the Jeſuits ſhewed, on their being baniſhed by the court of Madrid, to evacuate an empire which they could ſo eaſily have defended; for their ſubjects, yet uncorrupted by luxury, would have fought with the ſame zeal that overturned ſo many monarchies, by the arms of the diſciples of Wodin and Mahomet, and which inſpired the reformers in Holland and Germany with that enthuſiaſtic courage, which ſecured to them their civil and religious liberties.

In conſequence of this conduct, the greater part of Europe has exempted the Jeſuits in Paraguay from the charge of ambition, ſo generally brought againſt them by their enemies. Philoſophy however, which, as Raynal very juſtly obſerves, looks beyond the particular intereſts of nations, will ſuſpend its judgment of theſe legiſlators, till the conduct of the inhabitants of Paraguay ſhall afford a proof either in their favour or againſt them. If thoſe Indians finally ſubmit to the tyranny of Spain, which has neither the right to govern them nor forces to enable her to do it, there will be reaſon to believe that the Jeſuits have taken more pains to teach them obedience, than to give them juſt ideas of natural equity, with which, while ſavages, they were acquainted in ſome degree; and that theſe fathers, in availing themſelves of their ignorance to bend them to ſubmiſſion, though they may have made them more happy than they were in a ſtate of nature, have yet reſerved to themſelves the power of rendering them one day or another the inſtruments of their own arbitrary will. But if the inhabitants of Paraguay, armed and diſciplined as they are, ſhould repulſe the rapacious oppreſſors of their country; if they ſhould avenge America of all the blood that Spain has ſhed; the enlightened few, who are ſuperior to vulgar prejudices, will then ſay, That the Jeſuits have laboured for the happineſs of mankind with the diſintereſted ſpirit of virtue; that they have ruled over the Indians only to inſtruct them; that while they gave them a particular religion, they left them to the fundamental principles of juſtice, which are the firſt precepts of

* Raynal, liv. viii. Ulloa, lib. vii. c. 15.

natural

BOOK II.

natural religion; and that they have chiefly impreſſed on their minds that maxim, which is the baſis of every lawful and permanent community, that it is a crime for men collected together in ſociety to conſent to any form of government, which, by abridging them of the liberty of diſpoſing of their own fate, may one day make it their duty to reſiſt their rulers.

The diſputes which have lately prevailed between the courts of Spain and Portugal, and which are not yet finally terminated, in regard to the countries north of Rio de la Plata, render it impoſſible to give any ſatisfactory account of the preſent ſtate of Paraguay. But before we conclude this chapter, it will be proper to ſay a few words concerning the general ſtate of the church, and the character of the Spaniſh clergy in America, as well as of the nature and amount of the revenues of the crown there.

The Romiſh ſuperſtition, as already obſerved, appears with its utmoſt pomp in the New World. In countries where riches abound, and the people are fond of parade, religion muſt aſſume it, in order to attract their veneration. This propenſity to oſtentation has therefore been indulged with little harm: the early introduction of monaſteries into the Spaniſh colonies, and the inconſiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with conſequences more fatal. Scarce had the Spaniards taken poſſeſſion of America, when, with a moſt prepoſterous policy, they began to erect convents, where perſons of both ſexes were ſhut up under a vow to defeat the purpoſe of nature, and to counteract the firſt of her laws, at a time that every individual ſhould have been incited to augment the ſtrength and number of the community. Influenced by a miſguided piety, which aſcribes tranſcendent merit to a ſtate of celibacy, or allured by the proſpect of that liſtleſs eaſe, which in ſultry climates is deemed ſupreme felicity, numbers crowded into theſe manſions of ſloth and ſuperſtition, and are loſt to ſociety. As none but perſons of Spaniſh extraction are admitted into the monaſteries of the New World, the evil is more ſenſibly felt, and every monk or nun may be conſidered as an active member withdrawn from civil life.

The impropriety of ſuch foundations in any country, where the extent of territory requires additional hands to cultivate it, is ſufficiently obvious; yet from a miſtaken idea of monaſtic ſanctity, religious houſes have multiplied in Spaniſh America to a degree that is truly amazing. In New Spain alone they exceed four hundred *, and the number is proportionally great in Peru. Near one third of the inhabitants may be ſuppoſed to be ſhut up in thoſe retirements. But Spaniſh America is exempted from one ſpecies of eccleſiaſtical abuſe. No diſtinction is there known between ſpiritual and temporal juriſdiction. The king is the only ſuperior; his name alone is heard: no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls are of no force there, till they have been previouſly examined, and approved of by the royal council of the Indies †. To this limitation of the juriſdiction of the apoſtolic ſee, Spain is indebted, in a great meaſure, for the uniform tranquillity that has reigned in her American dominions.

* Torquemad. Mond. Ind. lib. xix. c. 32.

† Recop. lib. i. tit. 9.

The complete eſtabliſhment of the American church in all the Spaniſh ſettlements was, in the year 1649, one patriarch, ſix archbiſhops, thirty-two biſhops, three hundred and forty-ſix prebends, two abbots, five royal chaplains, and eight hundred and forty convents *. In viewing the ſtate of colonies, where the number and influence of eccleſiaſtics is ſo great, the character of this powerful body is an object that merits particular attention. A conſiderable part of the ſecular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives of Spain. As perſons accuſtomed by their education to the retirement and indolence of an academic life are leſs capable of active enterpriſe, and leſs diſpoſed to ſtrike into new paths, than any other order of men, the eccleſiaſtical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly ſuch as, from want of merit or connexions, have little proſpect of ſucceſs in their own country. Hence the ſecular prieſts in the New World are ſtill leſs diſtinguiſhed than their brethren in Spain, for literary accompliſhments of any ſpecies; and though by the ample proviſion which has been made for the American church, many of its members enjoy that eaſe and independence, which is favourable to the cultivation of ſcience, the body of ſecular clergy has hardly during two centuries and an half, produced one author whoſe works poſſeſs ſuch a degree of merit, as to attract the notice of enlightened nations.

But the greater part of the eccleſiaſtics in the Spaniſh ſettlements are regulars. On the diſcovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monaſtic orders; and with a becoming alacrity, they immediately ſent forth miſſionaries to labour in the uncultivated wild. The firſt attempt to inſtruct and convert the Americans was by monks; and, as ſoon as the conqueſt of any province was completed, and its eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment began to aſſume ſome form, the popes, as the reward of their induſtry, permitted the miſſionaries of the four mendicant orders to accept of parochial charges in America; to perform all ſpiritual functions; and to receive the tythes, and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on the biſhop of the dioceſe, or being ſubject to his cenſures. In conſequence of this liberty, a new career of uſefulneſs, as well as new objects of ambition preſented themſelves. Whenever a call is made for a freſh ſupply, men of the moſt ardent and aſpiring minds, impatient under the reſtraint of a cloiſter—weary of its inſipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irkſome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their ſervice with eagerneſs, and repair to the New World in queſt of liberty and diſtinction. Nor do they purſue them without ſucceſs. The higheſt eccleſiaſtical honours, and moſt lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the poſſeſſion of regulars; and to them chiefly the inhabitants are indebted for any portion of ſcience that is cultivated among them.

But the ſame diſguſt with monaſtic life, to which the New World owes ſome inſtructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very different character. The giddy, the profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid

* Gil Gonzalez Davila Theatro Eccleſiaſtico de las Ind. Occident. Pref.

BOOK II.

diſcipline of a convent are intolerable, conſider a miſſion to America as a releaſe from mortification and bondage. There they ſoon obtain ſome parochial charge; and far removed by their ſituation from the inſpection of their monaſtic ſuperiors, and exempt by their character, from the juriſdiction of their dioceſan *, they are hardly ſubject to any controul. Accordingly many of the regular clergy in the Spaniſh ſettlements, are not only deſtitute of the virtues becoming ing their profeſſion, but regardleſs of that external decorum and reſpect for the opinion of mankind, which preſerve a ſemblance of worth where the reality is wanting. Some, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce, and are ſo rapaciouſly eager in amaſſing wealth, that they become the moſt grievous oppreſſors of the Indians, whom it was their duty to have protected. Others, with no leſs flagrant violation of their vow of chaſtity, indulge without diſguiſe in the moſt diſſolute licentiouſneſs †.

The revenues of the church in Spaniſh America are immenſe ‡, and thoſe of the crown are very conſiderable, notwithſtanding all the defalcations cauſed by the illicit importation of foreign commodities, or by the fraudalent arts of the inhabitants. The royal revenue ariſes from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into three principal branches. The firſt contains what is paid to the king, as ſovereign, or ſuperior lord of the New World. To this claſs belongs the duty on gold and ſilver raiſed from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians. The former is termed by the Spaniards the *right of ſigniory*, the latter the *duty of vaſſalage*. The ſecond branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce, which accompany and oppreſs it in every ſtep of its progreſs, from the greateſt tranſactions of the wholeſale merchant, to the petty vender by retail. The third includes what accrues to the king as head of the church, and adminiſtrator of eccleſiaſtical funds in the New World. In conſequence of this he receives the firſt fruits, or annats, ſpoils, and other ſpiritual revenues, levied by the apoſtolic chamber in Europe; and he is likewiſe entitled to the profit ariſing from the ſales of the bull of Cruzado. This, which is publiſhed every two years, contains an abſolution from paſt offences by the pope; and, among other immunities, a permiſſion to eat ſeveral kinds of prohibited food during lent, and on meagre days. The

* Avendano, Theſ. Indic. vol. II.

† Gage's Survey. Correal Frezier, Voyage. Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. lib. viii. It is remarkable, that all the authors who cenſure the licentiouſneſs of the Spaniſh regulars, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jeſuits. Formed under a diſcipline more perfect than that of the other monaſtic orders, or animated by that concern for the honour of their ſociety, which took ſuch full poſſeſſion of every member, the Jeſuits both in Mexico and Peru, have maintained a moſt irreproachable decency of manners. Id. ibid.

‡ The revenues of the American church ariſe in the firſt place, as already obſerved, (book II. c. 1.) from a tenth out of the produce of all lands; and that not only in ſimple culture, but in many articles manufactured, as ſugar and indigo. In the ſecond place, it conſiſts of the donatives of individuals, whoſe profuſe liberality in endowing churches and monaſteries has been carried to ſuch an height, that there is ſome reaſon to believe the clergy may one day become poſſeſſed of the whole landed property. In Peru there is ſcarce a houſe that does not hold of the church. Raynal, lib. vii.

monks

monks employed in diſperſing thoſe bulls, extol their virtues with all the fervour of intereſted eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, liſten with implicit aſſent; and every perſon in the Spaniſh colonies of European, Creolian, or mixed race, purchaſes a bull, which is deemed eſſential to his ſalvation, at the rate ſet upon it by government *!

What may be the amount of thoſe various funds, it is almoſt impoſſible to determine with preciſion. The extent of the Spaniſh dominions in America, the jealouſy of government, which renders them inacceſſible to foreigners, the myſterious ſilence which the Spaniards are accuſtomed to obſerve with reſpect to the interior ſtate of their colonies, combine in covering this ſubject with a veil which it is not eaſy to remove. But an account apparently no leſs accurate than it is curious has lately been publiſhed of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form ſome idea with reſpect to what is collected in other provinces. According to that account, the crown does not receive from all the departments of taxation in New Spain, above a million of our money, from which one half muſt be deducted as the expence of the provincial eſtabliſhment †.

Peru, it is probable, yields a ſum not inferior to this; and if we ſuppoſe that all the other regions of Spaniſh America, including the iſlands, furniſh a third ſhare of equal value, we ſhall not perhaps be far wide from the truth, if

* The price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different perſons. Thoſe in the loweſt order, who are ſervants or ſlaves, pay two reals of plate, or one ſhilling: other Spaniards pay eight reals, and thoſe in public office, or who hold encomiendos, ſixteen reals. Solorz. de Jure Ind. vol II. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an Engliſh merchant who reſided long in the Spaniſh ſettlements, the bull of Cruzado bore an higher price in the year 1570, being then ſold for four reals at the loweſt. Hakluyt, vol. III. The price ſeems to have varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls iſſued in the laſt *Predicacion* will appear from the following table, exhibited by Dr. Robertſon, which will alſo give ſome idea of the proportional numbers of the different claſſes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There were iſſued for New Spain,

Bulls at 10 peſos each	4
at 2 peſos each	22,601
at 1 peſo each	164,220
at 2 reals each	2,462,500
	2,649,325

For Peru,

at 16 peſos 4½ reals each	
at 3 peſos 5 reals each	14,202
at 1 peſo 5½ reals	78,822
at 4 reals	410,325
at 3 reals	668,601
	1,171,953

† As Villa Segnor, to whom we are indebted for this information was accomptant-general in one of the moſt conſiderable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had acceſs to proper information, his teſtimony with reſpect to this point merits great credit. Theat. Mex. vol. I.

BOOK II.

we conclude, that the net public revenue of Spain raiſed in America, does not exceed a million and an half ſterling *. This falls far ſhort of the immenſe ſums, to which ſuppoſitions founded on conjecture have raiſed the Spaniſh revenue in America. It is remarkable, however, upon one account, Spain and Portugal are the only European powers who derive a direct revenue from their colonies, as their quota towards defraying the general expence of government. All the advantage that accrues to other nations, from their American dominions, ariſes from the excluſive enjoyment of their trade: but Spain, beſides this, has brought her colonies to contribute to increaſe the power of the ſtate; and in return for protection, to bear a proportional ſhare of the common burden. Such was the purpoſe of Britain, now ingloriouſly relinquiſhed †.

* The following calculation is given by Dr. Robertſon, as the the total amount of the public revenue of Spain from America and the Philippines.

	Pef. fuert.
Alcavalas (Exciſe) and Aduanas (Cuſtoms) &c.	2,500,000
Duties on gold and ſilver	3,000,000
Bull of Cruzado	1,000,000
Tribute of the Indians	2,000,000
By ſale of quickſilver	300,000
Paper exported on the king's account, and ſold in the royal warehouſes	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other ſmall duties	1,000,000
Duty on coinage	300,000
From the trade of Acapulco and the coaſting trade from province to province	500,000
Aſſiento of negroes	200,000
From the trade of Mathè, or herb of Paraguay, formerly monopolized by the Jeſuits	50,0000
From other revenues formerly belonging to that order, in different parts of America	400,000
Total	12,000,000
In ſterling money	£. 2,700,000
Deduct half, as the expence of adminiſtration, and there remains net free revenue	1,350,000

† The author here alludes to the Conciliatory Act. He is far, however, from inſinuating that the parliament of Great-Britain has a right to tax her American colonies: that matter we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to conſider; but it is inglorious in a great people to renounce any claim which they have taken up arms to aſſert, unleſs reduced to it by the unavoidable fortune of war.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Settlements of the Portugueſe *in* Brazil.

UNDER the name of Brazil is comprehended an immenſe territory in South America, bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the ſouth by Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, on the weſt by the ridge of the Andes, which divide it from Peru, and on the eaſt by the Atlantic Ocean. The extent of the ſea-coaſt is ſuppoſed to be no leſs than twelve hundred leagues. The interior country is too little known to enable us to form any eſtimate of its extent. The climate towards the north is variable, hot, boiſterous, and unwholeſome; but towards the ſouth the air is as ſerene and healthful as in any part of the world, the country being refreſhed with the ſoft breezes of the ocean on one hand, and the cool breath of the mountains on the other.

The manner in which Brazil was diſcovered, in the laſt year of the fifteenth century, by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who took poſſeſſion of it for the crown of Portugal, and continued his voyage to India, after diſpatching a ſhip to Liſbon with the news of this fortunate accident, has been already related*. The favourable opinion which Cabral had formed of the country was confirmed by other navigators; but as no mines of gold or ſilver were there at firſt diſcovered, the attempts to eſtabliſh a colony were as feeble as they were ill directed. Two ſhips were ſent annually to Brazil to bring home parrots and woods for the dyers and cabinet-makers; and theſe ſhips carried thither from Portugal, criminals and proſtitutes†. Thus an evil diſpoſition was blended with the firſt principles of the colony, which made the ſettlement of the country infinitely difficult by the diſorders inſeparable from ſuch people, and the offence which they gave the natives.

India in thoſe days attracted all the attention of the Portugueſe. It was the road to fortune, to power, and to fame. The great exploits of the nation in the Eaſt, and the wealth brought from that quarter, inflamed the imagination of every one: the enthuſiaſm was general. No perſon went voluntarily to America; but fortunately for Brazil, thoſe unhappy men whom the inquiſition had doomed to deſtruction, were added to the convicts already tranſported thither. By the united induſtry of theſe exiles, who procured from the iſland of Madeira ſlips of the ſugar-cane, which they cultivated with great care, at the ſame time that they defended themſelves againſt the natives, by dividing the colony into captainſhips, ſugar, which had hitherto been uſed only in medicine, by reaſon of its ſcarcity, was furniſhed in ſuch plenty as to become an article of luxury. The rich and great were every where eager to procure themſelves this new ſpecies of indulgence; a taſte which proved extremely favourable to Brazil, and enabled it to extend its ſugar plantations. The court of Liſbon, notwithſtanding its pre-

* Book I. chap. ii. p. 33, 34.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

BOOK IV. judices, began to be ſenſible, that a colony might become beneficial to the mother-country without producing gold or ſilver. It now looked with leſs contempt on an immenſe region, which chance had thrown in its way, and which it had long conſidered as a place only fit to receive the refuſe of the kingdom.

Brazil which had hitherto been left to the capricious management of the ſettlers, was now thought to deſerve ſome kind of attention. Thomas de Souſa, a man of abilities, was accordingly ſent thither in 1549, by John III. in quality of governor, with orders to build a city, to which he gave the name of San Salvador. Souſa began with reducing the deſperate herd, who compoſed the greater part of the colony, into a ſtate of proper ſubordination, and bringing their ſcattered plantations cloſer together. He next applied himſelf to acquire ſome information reſpecting the natives, with whom he knew he muſt be continually engaged either in traffic or war. It was no eaſy matter to accompliſh this. Brazil was full of ſmall nations, ſome of which inhabited the foreſts; others lived in the plains, and along the rivers. Some had ſettled habitations, but the greater number led a roving life. Moſt of them had no intercourſe with each other. Thoſe who were not divided by hoſtilities, were ſo by hereditary hatred and jealouſy. Some lived by hunting and fiſhing, others by agriculture. All theſe cauſes muſt have produced a very ſenſible difference not only in the occupations but the cuſtoms of the ſeveral nations, and yet their general character was nearly the ſame.

The Brazilians are commonly of the ſame ſtature with the Europeans, tho' leſs robuſt. They are ſubject to few diſtempers, and it is no uncommon thing among them for a man to live upwards of an hundred years. Originally they wore no cloathing, but ſince they have formed a correſpondence with the Portugueſe, they generaly cover the middle of their bodies. The ornaments of the two ſexes are different, tho' thoſe of both are ſufficiently fanciful to ſuit the female character. The men wear their hair extremely long, the women theirs quite ſhort; the women wear bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the ſame; the women paint their faces, the men their bodies*. In ancient times the food of the Brazilians was very ſimple. It might have been expected to become more varied, after their acquaintance with our domeſtic animals, yet thoſe who live by the ſea continue to feed upon the ſhell-fiſh which they pick up on the ſhore. Along the rivers they ſtill live by fiſhing, and in the foreſts by hunting. When thoſe precarious proviſions fail, they feed upon ſuch roots as either grow ſpontaneouſly or require but little culture. They are averſe from all labour, and paſs their life in a continual round of gaiety, dancing, eating, and drinking †.

This gaiety is not damped by any gloomy apprehenſions of futurity; for though the Brazilians appear to have ſome rude idea of a ſupreme Being, by their occaſional ejaculations to the ſun and moon, and alſo of a ſtate after death, where they ſhall reviſit their relations‡, they are perfect ſtrangers to the doctrine of

* Voyage de Lery. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII. † Id. ibid.
‡ Voyages de Correal.

rewards

rewards and punishments. They have neither temples nor sacrifices. In a word, they are less under the influence of superstition than any people upon the face of the earth; and their ideas of government are no less faint than those of religion. They cannot conceive that any person can have the audacity to command, much less that any one should be so weak as to obey. Hence they have neither kings nor chiefs: they know no distinction of ranks; but they honour those whom years and experience have rendered respectable. They consult these fathers relative to all deliberations of a public nature; and they chuse for their leader in war, the man who has killed the greatest number of his enemies *. But though they seemingly live without laws or government, dissentions are seldom heard of in their little societies. If drunkenness, however, or any unfortunate accident should occasion a quarrel, and some life be lost, the murderer is delivered up to the relations of the deceased, who instantly sacrifice him to their vengeance. Then both families meet, and their reconciliation is sealed by a joyous and noisy festivity †.

The Brazilians, who thus live in the most unlimited freedom of the savage state, like other barbarians, shew no attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling passion in civilized states, which in good governments rises to enthusiasm, and in bad ones grows habitual, is but a factitious sentiment arising from society, and unknown in the state of nature. The moral life of the savage, is the very reverse of that of the civilized man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature unmixed, only in his infancy. As his strength increases, and his understanding unfolds itself, he loses sight of the present, and is wholly intent upon the future: hence the age of passions and pleasures, the time destined by nature for enjoyment is spent in speculation and disappointment. The heart denies itself what it wishes for, laments the indulgencies it has allowed itself, and is equally tormented with its self-denials and its gratifications. Incessantly deploring that freedom which he has sacrificed, and feeling that restraint under which he lives, the civilized man looks back with regret on his earliest years, when a succession of new objects constantly awakened his curiosity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects with pleasure the spot where he passed his infant days: the remembrance of his innocent delights endears them to his imagination, and forcibly attracts him to his native spot; whereas the savage, who enjoys, though in a more limited degree, all the pleasures and advantages peculiar to every period of his life, and does not abstain from them in expectation of greater indulgence in old age, or from any other motive except that of present danger, finds in all places, where the conveniencies of life equally abound, objects suited to his desires. He feels that the source of his pleasures is in himself, and that his country is the universe.

This digression on savage felicity naturally leads us to speak of the first social connexion. The Brazilians in general take several wives, and quit them on the smallest disgust. But notwithstanding this liberty, adultery in either sex is held in

* Voyage de Lery. † Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

BOOK II.

the greateſt deteſtation, and in the woman is puniſhed with death. Before marriage, however, women not only indulge without ſhame or reproach with freemen, but fathers offer their daughters to the firſt comer, and careſs their lovers. It ſeems to be conſidered as a kind of diſgrace to enter a virgin into the married ſtate, as ſuch a ſingularity can only be the conſequence of neglect, where all reſtraint is removed. After child-birth, the women keep their bed for a day or two; then the mother, hanging the infant to her neck in a cotton ſcarf, returns to her domeſtic occupations, without any kind of inconveniency *.

Though the Brazilians are juſtly conſidered as the moſt unfeeling ſavages in America, they receive ſtrangers with diſtinguiſhed marks of civility. As ſoon as they appear, the women croud about them, waſh their feet, and welcome them by the moſt obliging expreſſions, while the maſter of the houſe provides every thing in his power for their entertainment and accommodation. This ſpirit of hoſpitality is one of the moſt certain indications that man was born for ſociety. It is the moſt valuable diſpoſition in the ſavage ſtate; where, as it is moſt neceſſary, it is found in the higheſt perfection. The tenderneſs of the Brazilians for thoſe in diſtreſs is no leſs remarkable. They aſſiſt one another in ſickneſs with more than brotherly kindneſs; and if any one receives a wound, his neighbour immediately comes and ſucks it, and performs every other office of humanity with the ſame readineſs. They do not neglect the uſe of the healing plants, with which their foreſts and mountains abound; but, in moſt caſes, they truſt more to abſtinence than medicine, never allowing the ſick to taſte any food †.

Far from ſhewing that indifference or weakneſs, which makes us ſhun the dead, and unwilling to ſpeak of them, or remain in the place that might recal their image to our minds, the Brazilians behold their dead with tender emotions, recount their exploits with complacency, and celebrate their virtues with tranſport. They are buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceaſed was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklace, and his arms are buried with him. When a tribe removes to another place, which often happens merely for the ſake of changing, every family fixes ſome remarkable ſtones over the graves of their moſt reſpectable relations; and thoſe ſavages never approach theſe monuments of ſorrow, without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the ſhouts with which they make the air reſound, when they are ruſhing to battle ‡.

Motives of intereſt or ambition have never prompted the Brazilians to take up arms. Their wars are occaſioned only by a deſire of avenging the death of their friends or relations. To theſe hoſtilities they are animated by the ſeniors of the tribe, who are always conſulted on ſuch occaſions; who give the ſignal for arming, and exert themſelves during the march in animating the young men to deeds of heroiſm. Sometimes the progreſs of the army is even ſuſpended, in order to liſten to thoſe paſſionate harangues, which often laſt for many hours. The

* Voyage de Lery. † Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. ‡ Id. ibid.

com-

combatants are armed with a club of ebony, ſix feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. They have bows of the ſame wood, which they uſe with much dexterity. Their inſtruments of martial muſic are flutes, commonly made of the leg bones of their enemies. When they arrive on an enemy's frontier, the women, who carry the proviſions, halt, while the warriors advance through the woods. The attack is never made openly. They conceal themſelves at ſome diſtance from the habitations of thoſe on whom they deſign to wreak their fury, and there watch an opportunity of ſurpriſing them: they wait the approach of darkneſs; ſet fire to the huts; and avail themſelves of the confuſion which that occaſions to perpetrate their cruelties, which know no bounds. If they are diſcovered, and routed by ſuperior force, they hide themſelves in the deepeſt receſſes of the woods; divide into parties, and lie in ambuſh. Their courage ſeldom conſiſts in maintaining their ground *.

The ambition of the Brazilians is to make a multitude of priſoners. Theſe are brought home to the village of the conquerors, where they are ſlain and eaten with much ſolemnity. The feaſt laſts a long time, and during the continuance of it, the old men exhort the young to become intrepid warriors, that they may extend the glory of their nation, and often procure themſelves ſuch an honourable repaſt. This inclination for human fleſh, however, is never ſo prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour ſuch of their enemies as have fallen in battle: they only eat thoſe who have been taken alive, and put to death with certain ceremonies †. It ſhould ſeem as if the rancour of revenge alone could give a reliſh for food that human nature abhors.

The treatment of priſoners of war has every where varied according to the degree of perfection that human reaſon has attained. The moſt civilized nations ranſom them, exchange, or reſtore them, at the concluſion of a war. Nations leſs completely civilized, claim them as a property, and ſell them for ſlaves, or uſe them as ſuch. The common barbarians maſſacre them, without torturing them; and the moſt ferocious ſavages torture, kill, and eat them. This is their law of war. The Brazilians do not torture their priſoners: they have recourſe to a more refined ſpecies of cruelty, which deſerves to be particularly deſcribed.

The captive is conducted in triumph to the village of the victorious tribe, and lodged in the houſe of his conqueror, where he is kindly entertained, and attached to life by the moſt luxurious indulgences. He is not only treated with delicious foods, but fine women are furniſhed him for the gratification of his ſenſuality. He is even permitted the amuſements of hunting and fiſhing. Meanwhile his doom is irrevocably fixed, though the time is left uncertain. When the fatal day arrives, the in-

* Id. ibid. Voy. de Lery. This deſcription, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, is alike applicable to the natives both of North and South America; who are not more diſtinguiſhed from the Europeans by their copper colour, and the want of a beard, than by their mode of making war, and their inferiority to our barbarous anceſtors in active courage.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

BOOK II.

habitants of the village are invited to a feaſt: they ſpend ſeveral hours in dancing and drinking; and the priſoner is not only among the number of the gueſts, but though acquainted with the cauſe of the meeting, though not ignorant of his approaching fate, he affects to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his gaiety. After the dance, two ſtrong men lay hold of him, without his making the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, or diſcovering any ſigns of fear. They tie a rope about his waiſt, but leave his hands free, and in that condition lead him through the neighbouring villages. Far from ſeeming dejected, he views the ſpectators with a firm countenance: he recounts to them his exploits in a tone of exultation; particularly how often he has led in triumph thoſe of their nation, and feaſted on their fleſh. After he has ſerved for ſome time as a ſpectacle, and received the inſults and injuries which are inflicted on ſuch occaſions, the two guards retire, one towards the right, the other towards the left, to the diſtance of eight or ten feet, each keeping hold of the rope. An heap of ſtones are then laid at the priſoner's feet; and the guards, covering themſelves, with their ſhields, declare to him, that, before his death, he is permitted to take his revenge. He then lifts the ſtones, and throws them with fury againſt thoſe that ſurround him; and how quickly ſoever they may retire, they never eſcape without ſeveral wounds. When he has thrown all his ſtones, the perſon from whom he is to receive his doom, and who has not appeared before on the ſcene, advances with his club in his hand, and his head adorned with the moſt beautiful plumes. He holds ſome diſcourſe with the captive, and this ſhort converſation cloſes the accuſation and the ſentence. He aſks the deſtined victim, if it is true that he has killed and eaten ſeveral of their countrymen. The priſoner glories in a prompt confeſſion, and even ſets his executioner at defiance, in a form of words very energetic in the language of the country. "Reſtore me to liberty!"—ſays he, "and I will eat thee and thine."—"Well!" replies the executioner, "we will prevent you. I come to terminate your fate, and you ſhall be eaten this day." The blow immediately follows this menace. The moment the captive falls, the woman who laſt ſhared his careſſes, runs to the body throws herſelf upon it, and weeps there a moment. This affected ſorrow, however, does not prevent her from eating part of the unhappy man whom ſhe had cheriſhed. The other women advance, ſeize the body, and dreſs it for the feaſt, beſmearing their children with the blood, in order to inſpire them early with a hatred of their enemies *.

The heads of the dead are carefully preſerved by the Brazilians in heaps, and ſhewn to all ſtrangers as monuments of victory and valour. They alſo preſerve carefully the leg and thigh bones, of which, as already obſerved, they make their warlike flutes or fifes, and all the teeth, which, they ſuſpend round their necks in the form of beads. Thoſe who have taken ſeveral priſoners, and think their reputation ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, make inciſions in their breaſt, their arms, their thighs, and in the calf their legs, to preſerve the memory of their exploits †. Theſe, which procure them reſpect from their countrymen, are no golden or

* Voyage de Lery.

† Id. ibid.

ſilken ornaments, of which an enemy can deprive them. But it is accounted ſtill more honourable to be diſfigured in battle. Among thoſe ſavages a man may be ſaid to riſe in eſteem in proportion as he is mangled with wounds.

Such manners did not diſpoſe the Brazilians to ſubmit tamely to the yoke which the Portugueſe wanted to impoſe upon them. At firſt, they only declined all intercourſe with the invaders of their country; but finding themſelves afterwards purſued in order to be made ſlaves, and employed in the labours of the field, they took the reſolution of murdering all the Europeans, wherever they could ſeize them. The friends and relations of the natives that were taken alſo ventured to make frequent attempts to reſcue them, and were ſometimes ſucceſsful. This brought an increaſe of enemies againſt the Portugueſe, who were forced to attend, as already noticed, to the double occupation of labour and of war. Souſa did not bring forces ſufficient materially to change the ſituation of affairs. By building San Salvador, he indeed gave a centre to the colony, but the honour of ſettling, extending, and making it really uſeful to the mother-country, was reſerved for the Jeſuits who attended him.

Thoſe intrepid men, who have always been prompted by motives of religion or ambition to undertake the greateſt deſigns, diſperſed themſelves among the Indians. Such of the miſſionaries as were murdered from the hatred of the Portugueſe name, were immediately replaced by others, who appeared to be inſpired only with ſentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had never poſſeſſed any idea of forgiveneſs. By degrees they began to place ſome confidence in men who ſeemed to ſeek them only with a view of making them happy. Their attachment for their miſſionaries grew up into a paſſionate fondneſs. When a Jeſuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themſelves in the woods along the road. As he drew near they ſallied forth, played upon their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air reſound with joyful ſongs. They omitted nothing, in a word, that could expreſs their ſatisfaction. At the entrance of the village the old men and chief inhabitants were aſſembled, who expreſſed as much joy, but with more ſedateneſs. A little farther on ſtood the women and young girls, in a reſpectful poſture, ſuitable to their ſex. Then they all joined, and conducted the father in triumph to the place where they were accuſtomed to hold their aſſembles. There he inſtructed them in the fundamental principles of religion; exhorted them to regularity of manners, to a love of juſtice, brotherly kindneſs, charity, and to an abhorrence of human blood. After this he baptiſed them *.

As the Jeſuits were two few in number to tranſact all the buſineſs themſelves, they frequently deputed ſome of the moſt intelligent natives in their ſtead. Proud of ſo honourable an office, theſe Indians diſtributed hatchets, knives, and looking-glaſſes among the ſavages they met with, and repreſented the Portugueſe as an harmleſs, humane, and good ſort of people. They never returned from their

* Treſor de P. Jarric.

excurſions

BOOK II.

excurſions without bringing with them ſome of their countrymen, who followed them from motives of curioſity. When thoſe ſavages had once ſeen the Jeſuits, it was with difficulty that they ever quitted them. If they returned home, it was to invite their families and friends to come and ſhare their happineſs, and to diſplay the preſents they had received *.

Should any one be inclined to doubt theſe happy effects of kindneſs and humanity over ſavage nations, let him only compare the progreſs which the Jeſuits have made, in a ſhort time, in South America, with what the fleets and armies of Spain and Portugal have not been able to effect in the courſe of two centuries. While multitudes of ſoldiers were employed in changing two populous and civilized empires into deſerts, inhabited chiefly by roving ſavages, a few miſſionaries have changed little wandering tribes into great and civilized nations. If theſe active and courageous men had been leſs infected with the ſpirit of the church of Rome; if when formed into a ſociety in the moſt intriguing and corrupt court of Europe, they had not inſinuated themſelves into other courts to influence all political events; if the chiefs of the ſociety had not made an ill uſe of the very virtues of its members, the Old and New World would ſtill have reaped the advantage of the labours of a ſet of men, who might have been made uſeful had they been prevented from being neceſſary, and the eighteenth century would not have had occaſion to be aſhamed of the enormities that have attended the ſuppreſſion of the Order of Jeſus.

The Brazilians had too much cauſe of hatred againſt the Europeans, not to miſtruſt their kindneſs. But this diffidence was in ſome meaſure removed by a ſignal act of juſtice. The Portugueſe had formed the ſettlement of St. Vincent on the ſea coaſt, in the twenty-fourth degree of ſouth latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the mildeſt and moſt civilized nation in all Brazil. The advantages which they reaped from this intercourſe could not reſtrain them from ſeizing upon ſeventy of the Cariges, in order to make ſlaves of them. The perſon who had committed the offence, was condemned to carry the priſoners back to the place whence they had been taken, and to make the proper excuſes for ſo heinous an inſult. Two Jeſuits, who were employed to diſpoſe the Indians to accept of this ſatisfaction, which would never have been offered but at their deſire, gave notice of their commiſſion to Farnacaha, the moſt reſpectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and embracing them with tears of joy, "My fathers," ſaid he, "we conſent to forgive all that is paſt, and to enter into a freſh alliance with the Portugueſe; but let them for the future be more moderate and more obſervant of the rights of nations. Our attachment entitles us at leaſt to equitable proceedings. We are called barbarians, yet we reſpect juſtice and our friends."

The miſſionaries having engaged, that, for the future, their nation ſhould religiouſly obſerve the laws of peace and amity, Farnacaha proceeded thus:—"If you doubt the faith of the Cariges, I will give you a proof

* Id. ibid.

of

of it. I have a nephew for whom I have a great affection; he is the hope of my family, and the comfort of his mother: ſhe would die of grief if ſhe ſhould loſe her ſon. Yet I will deliver him to you as an hoſtage. Take him along with you; cultivate his young mind; take care of his education, and inſtruct him in your religion. Let his manners be gentle and pure. I hope, when you return, you will inſtruct me alſo, and enlighten my mind." Many of the Cariges followed the example of Farancaha, and ſent their children to St. Vincent's for education. The Jeſuits were too artful not to take advantage of this circumſtance; but it does not appear that they ever had any intention to enſlave the Indians, by inculcating ſubmiſſion. Avarice had not yet poſſeſſed the minds of theſe miſſionaries, and the intereſt they had at court ſecured ſufficient reſpect in the colony at once to gratify their ambition, and to make the ſituation of their converts a comfortable one.

This ſeaſon of tranquillity was improved to the advantage of the ſugar-trade, by means of the ſlaves procured from Africa. No ſooner had the Portugueſe eſtabliſhed ſettlements on that coaſt than they brought away a great number of negroes, who were employed by the mother-country in domeſtic ſervices as well as in clearing the lands. That practice, one of the firſt which contributed to corrupt the character of the nation, was introduced much later into the American ſettlements, where it was not eſtabliſhed till the year 1530. The number of negroes was now much increaſed in Brazil; and if the natives did not ſhare their labours, they did not obſtruct them. They rather encouraged them, by devoting themſelves voluntarily to the culture of the earth, and ſupplying the ſettlement with the means of ſubſiſtence. This harmony was productive of great advantages.

The proſperity of the Portugueſe colony, which was viſible in all the markets of Europe, excited the envy of the French. They attempted to make ſettlements ſucceſſively at Rio Janeiro, Rio Grande, Paraiba, and the iſland of Maragnon: but their levity would not permit them to wait the uſually ſlow progreſs of infant eſtabliſhments; and merely from inconſtancy and impatience, they gave up proſpects that were ſufficient to have encouraged any other nation to perſevere. France has, however, derived one advantage from theſe fruitleſs invaſions; namely, the honour of making mankind acquainted with the character of the Brazilians, in regard to which we ſhould otherwiſe have remained in perfect ignorance, as the jealouſy of the Portugueſe government, like that of Spain, excludes all foreigners from their ſettlements, and they have thrown no light upon that ſubject themſelves. The following dialogue, in which Lery, to whom we have already been ſo much indebted for information, was an interlocutor, is a valuable monument of the natural good ſenſe of thoſe ſavages, notwithſtanding the barbarity of their manners. A. D. 1555.

The Brazilians being greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the French take ſo much pains to procure their wood, one of their old men ſaid to Lery, "What reaſon can induce you Frenchmen to come ſo far to get wood for firing? – Is there none in your own country?—"Yes," replied Lery, "and a great deal too, but not ſuch as yours, which we do not burn, but in the ſame manner as your people employ it,

BOOK II.

it, to dye their plumes and bow-ſtrings, ours alſo uſe it in dying."--"Likely," ſaid the Brazilian;—"but do you require ſo great a quantity?"—"Yes," replied Lery; "for in our country there are ſome merchants who have more red and ſcarlet cloth than all you ever ſaw here. One of theſe will buy ſeveral cargoes of this wood."---"Ha!"---ſaid the Brazilian, "thou telleſt me wonders." Then pauſing a little upon the information he had received, his curioſity operated thus:---"but this rich man, of whom thou talkeſt, is he never to die?"---Yes, yes," ſaid Lery, "as well as others;"---on which the Brazilian inquired, to whom all his wealth belonged when he was dead. "It goes," replied Lery, "to his children; or if he has none, to his brothers, ſiſters, or neareſt of kin."---"Truly," concluded the Brazilian, "I now perceive that you Frenchmen are great fools. Muſt you work ſo hard, and croſs the ſeas to heap up riches for thoſe that come after you, as if the earth that has fed you were not ſufficient to feed them alſo!---We have children and relations whom we love, as thou ſeeſt; but as we are ſure that after our death the earth which has provided for our ſubſiſtence will likewiſe provide for theirs, we give ourſelves no concern about the matter *."

This mode of reaſoning, ſo natural to ſavages, who have few wants, but ſo repugnant to the ideas of civilized nations who have experienced the new train of deſires excited by luxury and avarice, was not likely to make any impreſſion upon the French. They were inflamed with that love of riches, which, in thoſe days, made all the maritime powers of Europe attempt eſtabliſhments in the New World. The Dutch, who were become republicans from perſecution, and merchants from neceſſity, were more perſevering, and in conſequence of that, more ſucceſsful than the French in their attempts upon Brazil. Other cauſes, however, conſpired to favour their deſigns.

The Portugueſe, in the very meridian of their proſperity, when in poſſeſſion of a prodigious commerce, and an extenſive empire on the coaſt of Africa, in Arabia, India, the iſles of Aſia, and in one of the moſt valuable parts of America, were ſtruck down by one of thoſe unexpected blows, which, in a critical moment, decide the fate of nations. Don Sebaſtian, one of their greateſt princes, in an unfortunate expedition againſt the Moors of Barbary, periſhed with the flower of his kingdom, in 1581. In conſequence of that event, the Portugueſe fell under the dominion of Spain. Nor was this their only misfortune. The inhabitants of the Low Countries, whom the tyranny and cruelty of Philip II. had excited to revolt, and who had thrown off the Spaniſh yoke with indignation, not ſatisfied with erecting themſelves into a free ſtate, and ſupporting their independency by a ſucceſsful defenſive war, but fluſhed with the juvenile ardour of a growing commonwealth, purſued the Spaniards into the remoteſt receſſes of their extenſive dominions, and grew rich and powerful by the ſpoils of their former maſters. They chiefly fell upon the Portugueſe poſſeſſions in the Eaſt-Indies, not ſufficiently defended by the inert policy of the court of Spain, and

* Voyage de Lery.

made

made themſelves maſters of almoſt all the ſettlements of that depreſſed nation in Aſia. They now began to turn their eyes towards America, and the truce of 1609 gave them time to bring their new deſigns to maturity.

Theſe deſigns were manifeſted in 1621 by the eſtabliſhment of a Weſt India company, from which the ſame ſucceſs was expected in Africa and America, both comprehended in the charter, as the Eaſt India company had experienced in Aſia. The capital of this company was five hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds. Holland furniſhed four ninths, Zealand two; the Maeſe and Weſt Frieſland each one ninth, and Eaſt Frieſland and Groningen together one. The general meeting was to be held at Amſterdam ſix years ſucceſſively, and then two years at Middleburg. But the Weſt India company diſſatisfied that their privileges were not ſo extenſive as thoſe of the Eaſt India company, were in no haſte to begin operations. The ſtates put them on the ſame footing in 1624, and then they made an attack on Brazil.

This enterpriſe was committed to Jacob Willekens. Precautions had been taken to procure the neceſſary informations. Some Dutch ſhips had ventured to viſit Brazil, in defiance of the law that prohibited the admittance of ſtrangers. As they greatly underſold, according to the cuſtom of their country, the commodities that came from Spain or Portugal, they met with a favourable reception. At their return they reported, that the colony was in a kind of anarchy; that foreign dominion had ſtifled in the breaſts of the Portugueſe the love of their country; that ſelf-intereſt had corrupted their minds; that the ſoldiers were turned merchants; that they had forgot the firſt principles of war; and that whoever ſhould there appear with a competent force, would infallibly ſurmount the trifling obſtacles that might be oppoſed to the conqueſt of that wealthy region. Willekens furniſhed with this intelligence, ſtood directly for the Bay of All Saints. San Salvador, the capital, betrayed by the cowardice of the governor, ſurrendered on the appearance of the Dutch fleet. Don Michael de Texeira, the archbiſhop, alone ſupported the honour of his nation. Believing that in ſuch an emergency, the ſervice of his country ſuperſeded the common obligations of his function, he took arms; and at the head of his clergy, and a few ſcattered forces, attempted to ſet bounds to the progreſs of the conquerors. The Dutch, however, found an immenſe booty in San Salvador, and in a ſhort time made themſelves maſters of the whole captainſhip of Bahia, (by which name the capital is alſo ſometimes called) the largeſt and richeſt province in Brazil *.

The news of this loſs threw Portugal into the utmoſt conſternation; but the Spaniſh miniſtry were rather pleaſed than diſcompoſed by it: they were comforted for the triumph obtained by the moſt inveterate enemies of their country, by reflecting on the mortification which the Portugueſe muſt experience, in conſequence of that event. Ever ſince the Spaniards had given a ſovereign to this unfortunate people, they had met with an oppoſition in their tyrannies which

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. VIII. XIV.

offended

BOOK II.

offended the haughty ſpirit of their deſpotic government. An event that might reduce the pride of Portugal, and render her more tractable, appeared therefore to them a fortunate circumſtance. But though Philip IV. had harboured theſe baſe ſentiments, he thought the majeſty of his throne required of him ſome outward demonſtrations of reſentment and vengeance. He accordingly wrote to the Portugueſe of the firſt rank, exhorting them to make ſuch vigorous efforts as the preſent exigencies required. This they were already inclined to, as moſt of them had poſſeſſions in Brazil. Self-intereſt, patriotiſm, the deſire of throwing a damp upon the joy of their tyrants, all concurred to quicken their alacrity. The monied men laviſhed their treaſures; others, who had more influence than wealth, raiſed troops: every one was eager to enter into the ſervice. In a few months twenty-ſix ſhips were fitted out, and ſailed in the beginning of the year 1626, in company with thoſe from Spain, which the ſlow and crooked policy of that court had made them wait for by much too long. They were commanded by the marquis de Valdueſa, and arrived ſafe in the bay of All Saints.

The Dutch ſince the conqueſt of Bahia had ſuffered many hardſhips in San Salvador. The archbiſhop, at the head of fifteen hundred men, had often defeated their parties, had cut off their proviſions, and held them cloſely blocked up, when death put a period to his generous efforts. This misfortune, however, produced no revolution in favour of the Dutch, who continued in the ſame ſituation, till the arrival of the united fleets of Spain and Portugal. They diſembarked four thouſand men, under the command of Don Manuel de Menzes. Little force was neceſſary to reduce a place already fatigued with a long ſiege. The governor would have attempted reſiſtance, but the garriſon obliged him to capitulate *.

The ſucceſs of the Weſt India company by ſea made amends for this loſs. Their ſhips never came into port, but when loaded with the ſpoils of the Spaniards and Portugueſe. Their proſperity was ſo great as to give umbrage even to the powers moſt intereſted in the welfare of Holland. The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured by uſeful exploits to preſerve their confidence. The inferior officers aſpired to promotion by ſeconding the valour and ſkill of their commanders. The ſoldiers and ſailors fought with unparalled ardour. Nothing could diſcourage theſe reſolute and intrepid men: the fatigues of a ſeafaring life, ſickneſs, and repeated engagements, ſeemed only to inure them to war, and to increaſe their emulation. The company encouraged this fervid ſpirit, by frequently diſtributing rewards. Excluſive of their pay, the ſailors were allowed to carry on a private trade, which proved a great encouragement, and procured a conſtant ſupply of men. As by this wiſe regulation their intereſt was immediately connected with that of their employers, they wiſhed to be always in action: they never ſtruck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ſhips with that degree of ſkill, intrepidity, and perſevering courage, which muſt always inſure ſucceſs.

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

This proſperity emboldened the Weſt India company to make a ſecond attack on Brazil. Henry Lonk, the Dutch admiral, appeared on the coaſt of Fernambucca in the beginning of the year 1630, with forty-ſix ſhips of war. Thierry of Wardenburg, who commanded the land forces, diſembarked with two thouſand four hundred men, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Olinda, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. An advantage ſo important ſpread terror over the whole country, and the Dutch took advantage of it to reduce the reſt of the captainſhip. The Portugueſe made a vigorous but ineffectual effort, the year following, to expell the invaders. The Dutch not only kept poſſeſſion of Farnambucca, but ſubdued the captainſhips of Tamaraca, Paraiba, and Rio Grande, in the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. All theſe furniſhed annually a large quantity of ſugar, a great deal of wood for dying, and other valuable commodities.

The Dutch were ſo much elated with the acquiſition of this wealth, which now flowed to Amſterdam inſtead of Liſbon, that they determined to conquer all Brazil, and intruſted Maurice of Naſſau with the conduct of that enterpriſe. Maurice reached the place of his deſtination in the beginning of the year 1637. He found the ſoldiers ſo well diſciplined, the officers men of ſuch experience, and ſo much ardour in every one to engage, that he immediately took the field. He was ſucceſſively oppoſed by Banjola, Rocca de Borgia, and the famous Brazilian Cameron, the idol of his people, who was paſſionately fond of the Portugueſe; brave, active, cautious, he wanted no qualification of a great general but a ſcientific knowledge of the art of war. Theſe ſeveral commanders exerted their utmoſt efforts to defend the places under their protection; but their endeavours proved ineffectual. The Dutch reduced the captainſhips of Sierra, Seregippe, and the greater part of Bahia. Seven of the fourteen provinces, into which Brazil is divided, had already ſubmitted to them; and they flattered themſelves, that one or two campaigns more would make them maſters of all the poſſeſſions of their enemies in that part of America, when an unexpected revolution gave a new turn to affairs. A. D. 1640.

The Portugueſe had never borne with patience the yoke of Spain, which every thing conſpired to render grievous to them. Philip II. alike cruel, avaricious, and deſpotic, had endeavoured vilify them, that he might have a pretext for his oppreſſions. His ſon, Philip III. who too cloſely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than be indebted to their good will for ſubmiſſion, had ſuffered them, as we have ſeen, to be deprived of a multitude of conqueſts, which had proved a ſource of riches, power, and glory to them, and which they had acquired by much effuſion of blood. Philip IV. the ſucceſſor of that weak prince, and who had ſtill leſs underſtanding than his father, openly and contemptuouſly attacked their adminiſtration, their privileges, their manners, and every thing that was moſt dear to them. Thoſe repeated outrages united all the Portugueſe, whom Spain had been labouring to divide. A conſpiracy which had been forming for three years with incredible ſecrecy, broke out in December 1640, when the Spaniſh miniſters were expelled Liſbon, and the

BOOK II. duke of Braganza placed on the throne of his anceſtors. The example of the capital was followed by that of the whole kingdom, and by all that remained of the ſettlements formed in happier times in Aſia, Africa, and America.

John IV. thenew king, united his intereſts and his reſentments with thoſe of the Engliſh, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the twenty third day of June 1641, he concluded in particular an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the United Provinces for Europe, and ten years truce for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, during which period each party was to retain what was then in their poſſeſſion. Some miſunderſtanding, however, aroſe relative to this article of the treaty. The Dutch, under different pretexts, refuſed to reſtore certain places taken after the time mentioned in the truce; and the king of Portugal, piqued at that conduct, took the reſolution of permitting his ſubjects in Brazil to act for their own and his intereſt, without ſeeming to take any part in their proceedings. His officers accordingly affected to live in perfect harmony with their new allies. Naſſau was recalled, together with the greater part of his troops, as an unneceſſary charge to the company, and the government of the Dutch poſſeſſions in Brazil was committed to Hamel, a merchant of Amſterdam; to Baſſis, a goldſmith of Harlem; and Bulleſtraat, a carpenter of Middleburg *.

In the council formed by this triumvirate reſided all authority, and their adminiſtration was ſuch as might have been expected from men of their condition. They readily entered into the œconomical views of the company. Their own inclinations even led them to puſh theſe views to a blameable exceſs. They ſuffered the fortifications already too much neglected, to go to decay; they ſold arms and ammunition to the Portugueſe, who paid them ſuch an exorbitant price for theſe articles as ought to have awakened their jealouſy; and they granted to all the ſoldiers who deſired it, leave to return to Europe. Their whole ambition, in a word, was to amaſs wealth by gaining and ſaving, and by theſe means to increaſe the profits of their conſtituents. In this conduct they were confirmed by the applauſe which they received from the avaricious and weak men, who were intruſted with the direction of the company's affairs. With a view to increaſe ſtill farther the profits of their countrymen, they began to oppreſs ſuch of the Portugueſe as reſided under their government. Tyranny made rapid progreſs; and was at laſt carried to that exceſs, which is an excuſe for all kinds of meaſures, and inſpires the moſt deſperate purpoſes.

The victims of theſe proceedings, who had ſecret aſſurances of protection from the court, waſted no time in complaints. In 1645, the boldeſt of them united to take revenge. Their deſign was to maſſacre all the Dutch, who had any ſhare in the government, at an entertainment in the city of Maurice, the new capital of Farnambucca; and then to attack the people, who ſuſpecting no danger, would be unable to reſiſt their fury. The plot was diſcovered, but the conſpirators had time to leave the town, and retire to a place of ſafety †. Their chief, named Antonio Calvalcante, was a Portugueſe of obſcure birth. From

* Le Cler, *Hiſt. des Provinces Unies.*

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

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a common ſervant, he had riſen to the rank of an agent, and afterwards become a merchant. His abilities had enabled him to acquire a large fortune; his probity had gained him univerſal confidence, and his generoſity had procured him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his intereſt.

Cavalcante was not diſcouraged by the diſappointment he had met with. Acquainted with the wiſhes of his countrymen, as well as with the weakneſs of government, he ventured to commence hoſtilities without conſulting the court. His name, his virtues, and his views, aſſembled the Brazilians, the Portugueſe ſoldiers, and even the coloniſts about him. He inſpired them with his own ardour, his activity, and his courage. They determined to conquer or to die with him. He ravaged the territories of the Dutch; he was frequently victorious in ſkirmiſhes; but he did not allow himſelf to ſlumber over his ſucceſs. Some checks which he met with, ſerved only to diſplay the firmneſs of his ſpirit, the extent of his capacity, and the elevation of his mind. He aſſumed a threatening aſpect even after a diſaſter, and appeared yet more formidable by his perſeverance than by his intrepidity. Though never publickly ſupported by government, he ſpread ſuch terror among his enemies, that they dared no longer keep the field. At that period of his glory, the purpoſe of his generous efforts was in danger of being defeated, and all the blood ſpilt during a ſtruggle of ten years of being conſidered as a libation to the proſperity of the United Provinces.

The Dutch had frequently complained of the hoſtilities in Brazil, and the court of Portugal had as often diſavowed them, and even declared that it would one day puniſh the authors of theſe diſturbances. As the republic was then engaged in a war with England, ſome regard was paid to thoſe evaſive anſwers; but no ſooner did any proſpect of peace appear, than effectual meaſures were taken by the Dutch for humbling the Portugueſe both in Europe and America. John IV. unwilling to riſk the iſſue of a war with ſuch a powerful people, exerted himſelf in earneſt to put an end to the hoſtilities in Brazil. Cavalcante, who had now no reſource for the completion of his deſigns but in his fortune, his intereſt, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he ſhould obey. "If the king," ſaid he, "were but informed of our zeal and our ſucceſs, and acquainted with "his own intereſt, far from diſarming us, he would encourage us to purſue "our undertaking, and would ſupport us with all his power." In conſequence of this way of thinking, he determined to haſten his operations, leſt the ardour of his companions ſhould abate. Accordingly he made a laſt effort, and with the aſſiſtance of Baretto, Vidal, and ſome others, who were able and willing to ſerve their country, he completed the ruin of the Dutch. Such of theſe republicans as eſcaped the ſword and famine, evacuated Brazil agreeable to a capitulation ſigned on the twenty-eighth day of January, 1654.

The peace concluded three months after, between England and the United Provinces, ſeemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable poſſeſſion, which had been loſt by an ill judged parſimony, accompanied with an unfortunate concurrence of circumſtances. But both the republic and the Weſt India company diſappointed the general expectation: no attempt was made for

that

BOOK II.

that purpoſe; and the treaty which adjuſted the claims of the contending powers in 1661, ſecured to Portugal the ſole poſſeſſion of Brazil, in conſideration of the ſum of three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which that crown engaged to pay to the United Provinces*. Thus did the Dutch part with a conqueſt, which might have become the richeſt of all the European colonies in the New World, and which would have given the republic a degree of conſequence it can never acquire from its own territory, nor even from its poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies.

As ſoon as the Portugueſe were entirely freed from the Dutch, they employed themſelves in putting Brazil into better order than it had hitherto been, even before the war. The firſt ſtep taken for this purpoſe was to regulate the condition of ſuch of the natives as had either already ſubmitted, or might hereafter be reduced to ſubjection. Upon an attentive examination it was found, that the accounts which repreſented theſe ſavages as impatient of any controul, were without foundation. The firſt impreſſion made upon them by the ſight of the Europeans, was a ſenſe of danger mingled with diffidence. The conduct of the Portugueſe confirmed their ſuſpicions, and rendered them ferocious. The difficulty of underſtanding one another gave ſtill more frequent occaſion for animoſity on both ſides. If, on more mature acquaintance, the Brazilians ſometimes renewed their hoſtilities, it was commonly becauſe they were rouſed to vengeance by the rapaciouſneſs, perfidy, and cruelty of that ambitious power, which was come to diſtrub the peace of this part of America. On other occaſions they might perhaps be charged with inadvertancy, in too haſtily taking up arms from apprehenſions of imaginary danger, but never with injuſtice or duplicity. They were always found true to their promiſes, to the faith of treaties, and to the ſacred rights of hoſpitality. The juſt idea, which was at length entertained of their character, induced the Portugueſe to collect them into villages along the coaſt, or ſome little way up the country. By this means, a communication was ſecured between the remote ſettlements of the Portugueſe, and the ſavages, who infeſted the intermediate parts by their depredations, were kept at a diſtance.

Some miſſionaries, moſtly Jeſuits, were intruſted with the temporal and ſpiritual government of theſe new communities. Thoſe eccleſiaſtics, according to the beſt information, were abſolute tyrants†; ſuch and as retained any ſentiments of moderation or humanity, whether from indolence or ſuperſtition, kept thoſe little ſocieties in a ſtate of perpetual infancy. They neither improved their underſtanding nor their induſtry beyond a certain degree: and poſſibly had they been ever ſo willing they might have found it difficult to have been more ſerviceable to them; for the court of Liſbon, while it exempted the Indians from all taxes, ſubjected them to labours of vaſſalage. This fatal law made them dependent on the neighbouring commandants and magiſtrates; who under the uſual pretence adopted by men in office, of making them work for the public, too often impoſed labours upon them for their own ſelfiſh purpoſes.

* Le Clerc, Hiſt. des Prov. Unies. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. Aitzema, Reſolutions Secretes, tom. II.

† Raynal, liv. ix. He made it his buſineſs to inquire particularly into this matter.

Thoſe who were not employed for them or their ſpiritual directors, were generally unemployed. If they ſhook off their natural indolence, it was to go a-hunting or fiſhing, or to cultivate as much caſſada as was neceſſary for their own ſubſiſtence. Their manufactures were confined to ſome cotton girdles or ſaſhes to cover their loins, and the arrangement of a few feathers to adorn their heads. Thoſe among them who were moſt induſtrious, procured the means of purchaſing a few articles of cutlery, and other things of ſmall value *.

Such was the fate of the Brazilians, who had ſubmitted to the crown of Portugal, and whoſe number never exceeded two hundred thouſand. The independent natives had little intercourſe with the Portugueſe, except by the captives which they ſold them, or thoſe of their number that were made ſuch, for the purpoſe of ſervitude. A ſenſe of mutual intereſt made acts of hoſtility leſs frequent between the two nations, and a total ceſſation of them at laſt took place. The Portugueſe have not been moleſted by the natives ſince the year 1717, and have not moleſted them ſince 1756.

While the court of Liſbon was engaged in regulating the interior concerns of the colony, ſome of the ſubjects of Portugal were deviſing the means of extending it. They advanced to the ſouth towards Rio de la Plata, and to the north as far as the Maragnon, or river of the Amazons. The Spaniards ſeemed to be in poſſeſſion of both thoſe rivers; the Portugueſe were determined to expel them, or to ſhare the navigation with them.

The Maragnon, no leſs famous for its length of courſe, than for that vaſt body of water, with which it ſwells the ocean, derives its common name, *the River of Amazons*, from the fabulous relation of Orellana, whom we have ſeen ſail down it; and who, among other marvellous particulars, deſcribed a republic of female warriors as inhabiting its banks. This abſurd fiction the fond credulity of the age believed; but what more particularly excited the curioſity of the Spaniards, was another circumſtance in Orellana's ſtory. He deſcribed a nation on the banks of the Maragnon, whoſe temples were covered with gold. In queſt of this rich country, Orellana himſelf embarked in 1644, with four hundred men, and the title of governor over all the regions that he ſhould conquer: but a train of diſaſters ruined his ſhips; his men periſhed of diſeaſes, or were cut off by the natives; and he himſelf fell a victim to his own vain-glorious ambition, in attempting to realize ſome part of the tale that he had invented †.

The civil wars of Peru prevented any ſecond attempt to take poſſeſſion of the country bordering on the Maragnon, till the year 1560, when tranquillity being reſtored, Pedro de Orſuo, a gentleman of Navarre, diſtinguiſhed for his wiſdom and valour, offered to renew the undertaking. He accordingly ſet out from Cuzco with ſeven hundred men; but theſe adventurers being enemies to all perſons of ſober character, maſſacred their commander, who was a man of ſound morals, and zealouſly attached to order and regularity, and choſe as their

* Id. ibid.

† Herrera, dec. V. lib. i. c. 4.

BOOK II.

leader Lopez de Aguirre, a native of Biſcay. With their conſent, he aſſumed the title of king, and being a man of a ferocious and ſanguine diſpoſition, without any ſentiments of humanity, he promiſed them all the treaſures of the New World. Inflamed with ſuch flattering hopes, theſe deſperate men ſailed down the Maragnon into the ocean; and landing at Trinidad, murdered the governor and plundered the iſland. The coaſts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha, were ſtill more ſeverely treated, becauſe they were richer. The plunderers next penetrated into New Granada, and were advancing towards Quito and the interior parts of Peru, when they were unexpectedly attacked and diſperſed by a body of troops haſtily aſſembled. De Aguirre, their chief, ſeeing no way to eſcape, marked his deſpair by an attrocious action. "My child," ſaid he, to his only daughter who attended him in this expedition, "I thought to have placed thee upon a throne, but the event has not anſwered my expectations. My honour and thine own will not permit thee to live, and be a ſlave to our enemies: die then, by a father's hand!"—Having uttered theſe words, he ſhot her through the body, and inſtantly put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart. His ſtrength ſoon failed him, he was taken priſoner, and ſuffered the puniſhment due to his crimes *.

After theſe unfortunate expeditions, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and ſeemed to be totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were again made to reſume the diſcovery of the countries ſtretching along its banks, but with no better ſucceſs than formerly. The honour of ſurmounting every difficulty, and acquiring an uſeful knowledge of that great river, was reſerved for the Portugueſe. They had built a town called Para, near the mouth of the river. At this place Pedro de Texeira embarked in 1638, and with a great number of canoes full of Indians and Portugueſe, ſailed up the ſtream of the Amazons, as far as the confluence of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almoſt to Quito, whither he proceeded by land. Notwithſtanding the enmity ſubſiſting between the Spaniards and Portugueſe, though at that time ſubjects of the ſame prince, Texeira was received at Quito with the regard, eſteem, and confidence, due to a man who had performed a ſignal ſervice. He returned in company with de Acughna and de Artieda, two learned Jeſuits, who were appointed to verify his obſervations, and to make others †. An accurate account of theſe two ſucceſsful voyages were ſent to the court of Madrid, where it gave riſe to a very extraordinary project.

The communication between the Spaniſh colonies had long been found very difficult. The buccaniers at that time infeſted both the North and South Seas, and interrupted their navigation. Even thoſe ſhips which had got to the Havanna, and joined the fleet, were not perfectly ſafe. The galleons were frequently attacked, and taken in whole ſquadrons by the Dutch; and they were always purſued by privateers, who ſeldom failed to carry off the ſtraggling veſſels. The river of Amazons, it was hoped, would remedy all theſe inconve-

* Rodriguez El Maragnon y Amazonas. † Id. ibid.

niencies.

niencies. It was thought poſſible, and even an eaſy matter, to convey thither the treaſures of New Granada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and of Chili itſelf, by navigable rivers, or at a ſmall expence by land; and that coming down the river, they would find the galleons ready in the harbour of Para to receive them. The fleet from Brazil would then have joined, and conſequently ſtrengthened the fleet from Spain. They would have ſailed with great ſecurity in latitudes little known or frequented, and have arrived in Europe at leaſt with a formidable appearance. They might even have been in a condition to ſurmount any obſtacle they could have met with; but the revolution which placed the duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal, put an end to theſe important projects. Each of the two nations was then only intent upon ſecuring to itſelf that part of the great river which beſt ſuited its own ſituation.

The Spaniſh Jeſuits undertook to ſettle a miſſion in the country lying between the ſtream of the river of Amazons and that of the Napo, as low as the conflux of theſe two rivers. Every miſſionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and penetrated into the thickeſt of the foreſts. There they ſpent whole days in climbing up the trees, to ſee if they could deſcry any hut, perceive any ſmoke, or hear the ſound of any drum or fife. When they were aſſured by ſome of theſe tokens that any ſavages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Moſt of them fled; but thoſe whom the miſſionary could come within reach of, were eaſily allured by ſuch preſents as were offered them. This was all the eloquence he had in his power, and all that he had occaſion to exert. When he had aſſembled a few families, he led them to the ſpot which he had fixed upon to build a village; but they were not eaſily perſuaded to take up their abode there. As they were accuſtomed to rove about, they found it an inſupportable hardſhip to remain always in the ſame place. The ſtate of ſavage independence in which they had lived, they thought preferable to the ſocial life that was recommended to them; and their unconquerable averſion againſt labour, induced them to return continually to the foreſts, where they paſſed their lives in idleneſs. Even thoſe who were reſtrained by the authority, or paternal kindneſs of their pious legiſlator, ſeldom failed to diſperſe in his abſence, though ever ſo ſhort, and his death always occaſioned a total ſubverſion of the ſettlement.

But the perſeverance of the Jeſuits at laſt conquered thoſe obſtacles apparently invincible. Their miſſion, which began in 1637, gradually acquired ſome degree of firmneſs, and before the diſſolution of the order conſiſted of thirty-ſix villages, twelve of which were ſituated along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of the Maragnon. The number of inhabitants, however, in theſe villages, was very inconſiderable, and the increaſe muſt always have been ſlow. The women of this part of America are not fruitful; the climate is unhealthy, and contagious diſtempers are frequent. Theſe obſtructions to population are augmented by the natural ſtupidity of the people. Of all the Indians whom the Jeſuits had collected, they found none ſo untractable, or incapable of being animated, as thoſe inhabiting the banks of this great river. Every miſſionary was obliged to

BOOK II.

put himſelf at their head, in order to make them pick up the cacao, vanilla, and ſarſaparilla, which nature ſpontaneouſly offers them. Their whole property conſiſts of a hut, open on all ſides, and covered on the top with palm-leaves; a few implements of huſbandry; a lance, a bow and arrows for hunting, and ſome fiſhing tackle; a tent, a hammock, and a canoe. It has not been found poſſible to inſpire them with deſires beyond theſe articles. They are ſo well ſatisfied with what they poſſeſs, that they wiſh for nothing more; they live unconcerned, and die without fear*:—and if happineſs conſiſts more in an exemption from the uneaſy ſenſation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants create, theſe Indians may be ſaid to be the happieſt people upon the face of the earth.

While ſome miſſionaries were eſtabliſhing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Maragnon, others were doing the ſame ſervice to that of Liſbon. Six or ſeven days journey below the ſettlement of St. Ignacio de Pavas, the laſt under the juriſdiction of Spain, is that of St. Paul, the firſt of the ſix villages formed by the Portugueſe Carmelites. They are all on the ſouth ſide of the river, where the ground is higher, leſs liable to be overflowed, and conſequently more healthful, than on the north ſide. Thoſe miſſions, at the diſtance of five hundred leagues from the ſea, exhibit a pleaſant and ſingular proſpect; churches and houſes prettily built, Americans neatly dreſſed, and all ſorts of European furniture! This the Indians procure at Gran Para, whither they go in their boats once a year, to ſell the cacao which they pick up along the river ſide, where, as already obſerved, it grows ſpontaneouſly.

If the inhabitants of Maynas were at liberty to form connexions with theſe Indian neighbours, they might acquire, by ſuch an intercourſe, many conveniencies

* Ulloa gives us ſeveral inſtances of this unconcern, exceeding even ſtoical apathy. "An Indian," ſays he, "had for ſome time abſented himſelf from the ſervice of the church; and the prieſt being informed, that it was occaſioned by his drinking early in the morning, charged him with his fault on the ſunday following, when he had been particularly ordered to make his appearance, and directed that he ſhould receive ſome laſhes, the uſual puniſhment of ſuch delinquents. After receiving this chaſtiſement he turned about to the prieſt, and thanked him for having dealt with him according to his deſerts. The prieſt replied by ſome words of exhortation to him, and the audience in general, never to omit any duty of Chriſtianity. But no ſooner had he concluded his pious admonition, than the ſimple Indian ſtepped up to him, and deſired that he would order him a like number of *laſhes* for next Sunday, as he had made an appointment for a *drinking match*, and could not be preſent." Voyage, lib. vi. c. 6. "Their contempt of thoſe evils," obſerves the ſame ingenious author, "which make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on the minds of men, is ſuch, that they view the approach of death without any perturbation. The pain of the diſtemper affects them more than the danger of it." Accordingly, "when the prieſts perform the laſt offices to dying perſons, their anſwers are delivered with ſuch compoſure as leaves no doubt, but the inward ſtate of their mind correſponds with theſe external appearances." When the patient is exhorted, by his ſpiritual phyſician, "to a ſincere repentance, and to implore the mercy of his Creator, otherwiſe his ſoul will be puniſhed to all eternity," the uſual anſwer is, "So it will be, father!"—And ſuch as are condemned to ſuffer puniſhment in this world, go to the place of execution with equal unconcern; kneeling when they are deſired, repeating their prayers word for word, but all the time rolling their eyes about like ſportive children, whoſe weak age is diverted by trifling objects. Id. ibid.

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with which they cannot be ſupplied from Quito; the Cordeleras, which ſeparate them from that place, cutting off their communication more effectually than it would be by the intervention of immenſe ſeas. This indulgence of government might perhaps be productive of conſiderable advantages to both Spain and Portugal; and they might both poſſibly be made ſenſible, ſhould the experiment be tried that it would be for their mutual intereſt to encourage that intercourſe. The province of Quito is poor, as is well known, from want of an opportunity of diſpoſing of the ſurplus of thoſe commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces aſſiſting each other, by means of the Napo and the Maragnon, would riſe to a degree of importance, which they can never otherwiſe attain. The mother-countries would in time reap the advantages of it, and it could never be prejudicial to them; becauſe Quito cannot purchaſe what is ſent from Europe to America, without ſome new market for its productions, and Para conſumes nothing but what Liſbon obtains from foreign countries.

But national antipathies, and the jealouſies of crowned heads, are attended with the ſame effects as the paſſions of men in private life. The ſpirit of hatred and revenge will rather induce both to ſubmit to inconveniencies, than be ſupplied by thoſe they diſlike. Theſe paſſions are conſtantly kept awake by mutual jealouſy, mutual injuries, and the effuſion of blood they occaſion. Evident proofs of this jealouſy are to be ſeen in that chain of forts, extending from the diſtrict of Coari to the ſea. Theſe were erected by the Portugueſe to ſecure their dominion in this part of America; and though they are at a great diſtance from each other, but ſlightly fortified and thinly garriſoned, the few Indians who inhabit the intermediate ſpaces, are completely kept in ſubjection. The petty nations that refuſed to ſubmit, have diſappeared, and taken refuge in ſome remote or unknown region; but the rich ſoil they have abandoned has not been cultivated, though the intereſt of the colony and the mother-country ſeem equally to require it.

The country of the Amazons indeed furniſhes Portugal with ſome ſarſaparilla, vanilla, coffee, cotton, woods for cabinet-work, timber for ſhip-building, and cacao. This produce, however, is nothing to what it might be. It is chiefly found about Gran Para, the capital of the diſtrict, whereas the cultures ought to extend all along the great river, and on the fertile banks of an infinite number of navigable rivers that fall into it. Nor are theſe valuable articles of commerce the only ones with which this part of Brazil could ſupply the parent ſtate. If able naturaliſts had been ſent into a country, where the climate is ſo different from that of Europe, much uſeful knowledge might have been procured, and many valuable productions encouraged. Chance alone has diſcovered the Cucheris and Pecari, two aromatic trees, whoſe fruits have the ſame properties as the nutmeg and the clove. Perhaps culture might give them that degree of perfection which they want.

The Portugueſe have paid more attention to their ſettlements towards Rio de la Plata, and have derived more important advantages from them. They had

BOOK II.

eſtabliſhed themſelves in 1679 at St. Sacrament, opppoſite to Buenos-Ayres, when they were accidentally diſcovered by the Spaniards. The Guaranies, under the command of their ſpiritual leaders, haſtened thither to make amends for the neglect of government. They attacked the new erected fortifications without heſitation, and demoliſhed them with an intrepidity that did honour to their courage. The court of Liſbon, which had built great hopes on that ſettlement, was not diſcouraged by this misfortune; but requeſted that, till ſuch time as its claim could be adjuſted, it might be allowed a place where the Portugueſe could be ſheltered from the ſtorms, if forced, by ſtreſs of weather, to enter the Plata. Charles II. of Spain, who dreaded war, and hated buſineſs, was weak enough to comply with their requeſt, only ſtipulating that the place ſo granted ſhould be deemed his property; that no more than fourteen Portugueſe families ſhould be ſent thither; that the houſes ſhould be built of wood, and thatched; that no fort ſhould be erected; and that the governor of Buenos-Ayres ſhould have a right to inſpect both the ſettlement and the ſhips that ſhould come into its harbour.

If the Jeſuits, who had conducted the war, had alſo been intruſted with the negociation, ſuch a permiſſion would never have been granted. It was impoſſible that a fixed ſettlement in ſuch a ſituation, however inconſiderable, ſhould not become a ſource of frequent altercations with enterpriſing neighbours, whoſe claims were very great; who were ſure of the protection of all the enemies of Spain, and whoſe vicinity to the ſettlements of their countrymen would enable them to take advantage of every opportunity to aggrandiſe and fortify themſelves. The event ſoon diſcovered the danger that might have been foreſeen. Immediately on the elevation of a French prince to the throne of Spain, while all was ſtill in confuſion and uncertainty in regard to the conſequences of that great revolution, the Portugueſe reſtored the fortifications of St. Sacrament with amazing celerity. The precaution which they took at the ſame time of giving alarm to the Guaranies, by ordering ſome troops to advance towards their frontiers, induced them to hope that they ſhould prevent any diſturbances from that quarter. But they were miſtaken. The Jeſuits having detected the artifice brought their converts to St. Sacrament, which was already beſieged. Thoſe brave Indians on their arrival offered to mount the breach, though they knew it was but juſt opened. When they began their approach, ſome batteries were fired upon them from the town, but they ſtood the cannonade without ever breaking their ranks, nor could they be reſtrained by the fire of the ſmall arms, which likewiſe killed many of them. The intrepidity with which they continued to advance, raiſed ſuch aſtoniſhment among the Portugueſe that they fled to their ſhips, and abandoned the place *.

A D. 1731.

The misfortunes which Philip V. experienced in Europe prevented this ſucceſs from being of any advantage. The ſettlement of St. Sacrament was firmly reeſtabliſhed by the peace of Utrecht. Queen Anna, who made that peace, and who neither neglected her own intereſts nor thoſe of her allies, required Spain to

* Hiſt. du Paraguay par le P. Charlevoix.

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give up this conteſted ſpot: Being now under no apprehenſions, the Portugueſe of St. Sacrament began to carry on an immenſe trade with Buenos-Ayres. This contraband traffic had long ſubſiſted, though in an inferior degree. Rio Janeiro furniſhed Buenos-Ayres with ſugar, tobacco, wine, brandy, negroes, and woollen goods; and received in return flour, biſcuit, dried or ſalt meat, and money. As ſoon as the two colonies had a ſafe commodious ſtaple, their connexions were unlimited. The court of Madrid, which ſoon perceived the road the treaſures of Peru were taking, ſhewed great marks of diſcontent; and theſe diſcontents increaſed, as the injury complained of grew to a greater height.

A perpetual ſource of diviſion was thus opened between the two nations; and as the conciliatory methods, propoſed from time to time, were found impracticable, an open rupture was expected to be the conſequence. At laſt however, matters were adjuſted. It was agreed at Madrid on the thirteenth day of January 1750, that Portugal ſhould give up to Spain the colony of St. Sacrament, and the north bank of Rio de la Plata, together with the village of St. Chriſtopher and the adjacent lands, ſituated between the rivers Ypura and Iſſa, which fall into the river of Amazons. Spain, on her ſide, gave up all the lands and habitations bordering on the eaſt ſide of the river Uraguay, from the river Ibicui to the north; the village of Santa Roſa, and all the others on the eaſtern bank of the Guarapey.

This exchange was cenſured in both courts. Some ventured to ſay at Liſbon, that it was bad policy to ſacrifice a ſettlement whoſe illicit traffic brought in ſuch a prodigious ſum annually to the mother-country, for poſſeſſions whoſe advantages were diſtant or precarious. The clamours ran ſtill higher at Madrid, and were more general. It was imagined that the Portugueſe were already maſters of the whole extent of the Uraguay; that the ſettlements all along the Plata were filled with their merchandiſe; that they were ſeen penetrating by means of ſeveral rivers into Tucuman, as far as Potoſi, and by degrees ſecuring to themſelves all the riches of Peru!—It appeared incredible, that the ſame miniſters who had conſidered it as impoſſible to put a ſtop to a contraband trade, which could only be carried on from one ſpot, ſhould flatter themſelves they could prevent it, when an hundred channels were laid open to it: it was, they ſaid, like ſhutting a window againſt a thief, and throwing open the door.

Theſe diſcontents gave riſe to numberleſs cabals, which were all laid to the charge of the Jeſuits, who were known to be averſe from an arrangement that muſt neceſſarily diſmember their republic. There was ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect them of exerting every effort to prevent the concluſion of an agreement ſo deſtructive to their views: they were baniſhed from both courts; the intrigues ceaſed, and the treaty was ratified. It was ſtill neceſſary, however, to enforce the execution of it in America, which appeared to be a matter of ſome difficulty. The Guaranies had not been ſubdued, but had freely ſubmitted to Spain; conſequently they had a right to object, that they had not given that crown a power of diſpoſing of them. Without being converſant in the ſubtleties of the law of nations, they might think themſelves entitled to determin

BOOK II. what ſeemed moſt conducive to their own happineſs. Their known abhorrence of the Portugueſe yoke, gave ſtill more reaſon to ſuſpect their oppoſition to the treaty. In ſo critical a ſituation the greateſt caution was requiſite.

That was not neglected. The forces which both powers had ſent over from Europe, and thoſe which could be collected in America, united to prevent or overcome thoſe difficulties which were foreſeen. Theſe meaſures did not alarm thoſe againſt whom they were concerted. Though the ſeven ſettlements that had been ceded were not ſuccoured, at leaſt not openly, by the reſt, and though the chiefs who had hitherto led them to battle were no longer at their head, the Guaranies were not afraid to take up arms in defence of their liberty. But their military conduct was not ſuch as it ought to have been. Inſtead of ſatisfying themſelves with harraſſing the enemy, and cutting off their ſubſiſtence, which was conveyed from the diſtance of two hundred leagues, the Guaranies ventured to engage them in the open field, and were defeated. Their loſs, however, was not conſiderable. If they had been totally routed, they were determined to quit their poſſeſſions, to carry off every thing they could, to ſet fire to the reſt, and leave the country nothing but a deſert. Whether the two powers who had agreed to make the exchange were intimidated by this ſpirited conduct, or whether one or both became ſenſible of the diſadvantages of the treaty they had entered into, it was cancelled in 1761, and things remained upon the old footing; but both courts retained a violent averſion againſt the Jeſuits, who were thought to have kindled the war in Paraguay, in order to promote their own deſigns.

It is uncertain how far thoſe pious legiſlators have deſerved this accuſation, as the proofs in ſupport of the charge have not yet been laid before the public; all therefore that a writer, who has nothing to guide him but conjecture, can venture to aſſert is, that preſumptions are ſtrong againſt them. It was hardly poſſible that men, who, with infinite labour, had erected ſuch a vaſt edifice, could patiently behold its ruin. Independent even of pride and ſelf-intereſt, which muſt have a conſiderable influence upon a ſociety, that, from its firſt eſtabliſhment, had been ſecretly aiming at dominion, the Jeſuits muſt have thought themſelves intruſted with the felicity of thoſe humane and ſimple people, who ſheltering themſelves under their protection, depended upon them for their future deſtiny. Leaving this matter, however, to be determined by the dark dealers in *ſecret memoirs*, by thoſe who have, or pretend to have, acceſs to the waſte-paper cabinets of princes, we ſhall proceed to ſpeak of other cauſes which conſpired to enlarge the poſſeſſions of the Portugueſe.

In the diſtrict of St. Vincent, the ſouthernmoſt in Brazil, and the neareſt to Rio de la Plata, thirteen leagues from the ſea is a town called St. Paul. It was founded by thoſe convicts who were firſt ſent from Portugal to America. As ſoon as they perceived that they were to be ſubjected to the reſtraints of law, they withdrew from the places they had firſt inhabited, intermarried with the natives, and in a ſhort time became ſo profligate, that their fellow citizens broke off all intercourſe with them. The contempt which they had met with, and the fear

fear of being reſtrained in their licentiouſneſs, together with the love of liberty, made them deſirous of being independent. The ſituation of their town, which could be defended by an handful of men againſt the moſt powerful armies that could be ſent againſt them, inſpired them with the reſolution of being ſubject to no foreign power, and their ambition was ſucceſsful. Profligate men of all nations reſorted in great numbers to this eſtabliſhment. All travellers were ſhut out from the new republic, under the ſevereſt prohibitions. In order to obtain admittance, it was previouſly neceſſary to promiſe to ſettle there, and candidates were ſubjected to a ſevere trial. Thoſe who could not go through that kind of noviciate, or who were ſuſpected of perfidy, were barbarouſly murdered, as were all who had any inclination to quit the community *.

A pure air, a ſerene ſky, a temperate climate, though in the twenty-fourth degree of ſouth latitude, and a territory abounding with corn, ſugar, and excellent paſture, conſpired to induce the Pauliſts to lead a life of indolence and effeminacy: but that reſtleſsneſs ſo natural to fierce ſpirits, that habit of roving acquired by a lawleſs banditti, that deſire of dominion, which is nearly connected with a love of independency; the progreſs of freedom, which leads men to wiſh for glory of ſome kind or other, and to be emulous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves — all theſe cauſes, combined or ſeparate, perhaps prompted the Pauliſts to forego an eaſy life, and to engage in toilſome and hazardous excurſions.

The firſt object of theſe excurſions was to procure ſlaves for their cultures. When they had depopulated the adjacent country, they proceeded to the province of Guayra, where the Spaniſh Jeſuits had collected and civilized the Guaranies. Theſe new Chriſtians were expoſed to ſo many violences, and ſo many of them were carried off, that they ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded to remove to the unwholeſome banks of the Parana and the Uraguay, which they ſtill inhabit. They reaped little advantage, however, from this compliance; for it was found that they could promiſe themſelves no ſafety, unleſs they were allowed to defend themſelves with the ſame arms as thoſe with which they were attacked. To requeſt that they ſhould be furniſhed with ſuch arms, was a matter of too delicate a nature to be propoſed abruptly: it was neceſſary in the firſt place to ſhewn the propriety of ſuch a meaſure. Spain had laid it down as a fundamental maxim, never to introduce the uſe of fire-arms among the Indians, leſt theſe unfortunate victims of her inſatiable avarice ſhould, one day, make uſe of them to free themſelves from a yoke which they found ſo galling. The lawgivers of the Guaranies applauded this jealous precaution in regard to ſlaves, who were kept under by compulſion; but they thought it unneceſſary with reſpect to men who had voluntarily ſubmitted to the king of Spain, and who were too ſenſible of the benefits they now poſſeſſed, ever to think of revolting, ſo long as they were permitted to enjoy their freedom, which the ſovereign was bound to maintain †. In a word, they ſo well pleaded the cauſe of their converts, that, in ſpite of oppoſition and pre-

* Voyages de Correal. Obſervat. du P. Lozano.

† Charlevoix, Hiſt. du Paraguay.

BOOK II.

judice, they obtained their requeſt. The Guaranies were indulged with fire-arms in 1639, and ſoon made ſuch good uſe of them, that they became the bulwark of Paraguay, and were able to keep off the Pauliſts.

Theſe deſperate men now reſolved to procure by craft, what they could no longer obtain by force. Dreſſed in the habit of Jeſuits, they repaired to the places where the miſſionaries were accuſtomed to reſort in queſt of converts, and there ſet up croſſes. They made ſome trifling preſents to ſuch Indians as they met with; and ſome of the moſt intelligent among them, made a ſhort diſcourſe, in the Indian language, with which they were generally acquainted, on the nature of Chriſtianity, accompanied with the warmeſt exhortations to induce their auditors to embrace it. When, by theſe artifices, they had aſſembled a certain number of proſelytes, they pretended to conduct them to a place where every thing was in readineſs to make them happy. The greater part followed them implicitly; and when they arrived at a particular ſtation, the troops that lay concealed ruſhed out upon the credulous Indians, loaded them with fetters, and carried them off. Some who made their eſcape, gave the alarm, which produced a general ſuſpicion, extremely prejudicial to the pious purpoſes of the Jeſuits, and occaſioned a ſtop to be put to theſe deceitful practices *.

The Pauliſts afterwards carried on their depredations in another quarter, and extended them as far as the river of Amazons. They are ſaid to have deſtroyed no leſs than a million of Indians. Thoſe who have eſcaped their fury, in an extent of three or four hundred leagues, are become more ſavage than in their original ſtate: they have fled for ſafety to the caves of the mountains, or diſperſed themſelves among the darkeſt receſſes of the foreſts. Their perſecutors have not ſhared a better fate, having all gradually periſhed in theſe dangerous excurſions. Unhappily however for America, their place has been ſupplied with vagabond Brazilians, fugitive negroes, and Europeans who were fond of the ſame roving life. The ſame ſpirit has always prevailed at St. Paul's; even after ſome particular circumſtances, which ſhall be mentioned in the ſequel, had induced that diſorderly ſociety to acknowledge the dominion of Portugal. But their excurſions are now carried on in ſuch a manner that they rather promote than obſtruct the views of the mother-country. By following the courſe of ſeveral rivers, they have attempted to open a way into Peru by the north of Paraguay. The vicinity of lake Xarayes has put them in poſſeſſion of the gold mines of Guiaba and Montegroſſo, which they have opened, and ſtill continue to work them, without meeting with any oppoſition from Spain. They would have carried their uſurpations farther had they not been prevented by the Chequitos †.

While theſe reſtleſs and enterpriſing men were ravaging the banks of the Amazons, of the Plata, and the mountains of Peru, the ſea-coaſts of Brazil were daily improving in rich productions. This colony ſent annually to the mother-country thirty-two millions weight of ſugar, which was not only enough for its own conſumption, but ſufficient to ſupply a great part of Europe; while

* Id. ibid.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. Raynal, liv. ix.

it produced a conſiderable quantity of tobacco, which could be diſpoſed of to advantage either in Africa or the European markets; balſam of Capivi, a balſamic oil that diſtills from inciſions made in a tree called *capaiba*; ipecacuanha, well known as a mild emetic; cacao, which grew wild in ſome places, and was cultivated in others; cotton, ſuperior to that of the Levant or the Caribbee iſlands, and almoſt equal to the fineſt that comes from the Eaſt-Indies; indigo, which the Portugueſe have never ſufficiently attended to; hides, the produce of cattle that run wild as in other parts of South America; and, laſtly, Brazil wood *.

The tree that produces this wood, which gives its name to the country, is as tall and buſhy as the oak, and proportionally thick. But he who judges of the quantity of the timber by the ſize of the tree will be much deceived, as the bark forms the greater part of the plant. The trunk is commonly crooked and knotty like the hawthorn. The leaves are ſmall, roundiſh, and of a bright green colour; the bloſſoms, which reſemble Lilies of the Valley, are of a lively red, and exhale a fragrant ſmell. The wood takes a fine poliſh, and is very fit for turnery-work, but its chief uſe is for the red dye. The tree generally grows in dry, barren, and rocky grounds. It is found in moſt provinces of Brazil, but chiefly in Fernambucca; and the beſt grows ten leagues from Olinda, the capital of that province †.

In exchange for theſe commodities, Portugal ſupplied Brazil with flour, wine, Brandy, ſalt, woollen-goods, ſilks, linen, hardware, and paper: in a word, with all the articles which Europe exports to America, except gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which the mother-country has, whether properly or otherwiſe, prohibited in her colonies. The whole trade was carried on by a fleet, which ſailed every year from Liſbon and Oporto in the month of March, and conſiſted of twenty, or twenty-two ſhips for Rio Janeiro, thirty for Bahia, as many for Fernambucca, and ſeven or eight for Para. The ſhips parted when they came to a certain latitude, and proceeded to their reſpective deſtinations. They afterwards met at Bahia to ſail for Portugal, which they reached in September or October, the year following, under convoy of five or ſix men of war, that had eſcorted them in their paſſage out.

This arrangement, reſembling that of Spain, has been blamed by many able politicians, who maintained that it would have been better to permit the merchants to ſend out their ſhips, and order them home when it ſuited them beſt. Such a ſyſtem would infallibly have reduced the expence of freight, which muſt affect the price of commodities. A free trade would have employed more ſhips, and voyages would have been more frequent. It would have ſtrengthened the navy, and encouraged agriculture. The intercourſe between the colonies and the mother-country being more frequent, would have given ſuch information as would have enabled government to extend its protection more eaſily, as well as to ſecure its authority: and the court of Liſbon ſeemed frequently inclined to

* Hiſt. Gen. du Commer. par. M. Savary, art. Brazil.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

yield

BOOK II.

yield to theſe conſiderations; but it was at firſt deterred by the fear of ſeeing the ſhips fall into the hands of the enemy, if they ſailed ſeparately, and afterwards by the obſtacles which the viceroys of Brazil oppoſed to this alteration. The increaſe of their wealth and of their power equally required that the buſineſs of the colony ſhould be tranſacted in the capital; ſo that after having contrived to attract it to that ſpot, they ſucceeded in retaining it there.

In conſequence of this regulation, San Salvador, or Bahia, as it is alſo called, became a very flouriſhing city. It is built on an high and ſteep rock at the bottom of the Bay of All Saints, and commands a ſpacious and commodious harbour. As it has the ſea in front, a lake forming a creſcent, almoſt wholly inveſts it on the land ſide. This ſituation renders it in a great meaſure impregnable by nature, and the harbour is defended by two ſtrong forts. It is divided into an upper and lower town. The lower town is the port, and is connected with what is properly termed the city by three ſtreets, which run ſlantwiſe up the eminence, as it would be next to impoſſible to go right up. The goods are drawn up by the help of pulleys. In the lower town, which is pretty extenſive, is a ſpacious market-place, where is kept a continual fair for commodities of all kinds, brought in from the neighbouring country *. The upper town is as regular and well laid out as the unevenneſs of the ground on which it ſtands will permit. It contains upwards of two thouſand houſes, and a proportional number of inhabitants. Many of the houſes are built with great magnificence; and the furniture is the more rich and elegant, as extravagance in dreſs, ſo far as it regards the wearing of gold and ſilver ſtuffs, is ſtrictly prohibited, as already noticed. But their paſſion for ſhew, which no law can eradicate, has induced the inhabitants to be very expenſive in decorations; ſuch as croſſes, medals, and diamond chaplets.

As the ſituation of Bahia does not admit of coaches, the people of rank, who in every country are deſirous of being diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocks. Supinely ſtretched upon velvet cuſhions, and ſurrounded with ſilk curtains, which they open and ſhut at pleaſure, thoſe proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuouſly, though leſs expeditiouſly, than in the moſt eaſy and elegant wheel-machines. But the women ſeldom enjoy this luxury; for the Portugueſe of Brazil, though ſuperſtitious to a degree of fanaticiſm, will hardly allow their wives, covered with a veil, to go to church on their high feſtivals. This reſtraint, which is the effect of ungovernable jealouſy, does not however prevent the ladies from carrying on intrigues, though ſure of being ſtabbed to the heart upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. Yet by a lenity, more judicious than that of many European nations, a girl who yields to the importunities of a lover, is uſed with leſs ſeverity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy, by diſpoſing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the ſcanda-

* Tract accompanying the Engliſh tranſlation of Ulloa's Voyage, by Mr. Adams of Waltham-Abbey, who reſided many years in South America.

lous

lous trade of a courtezan *. Thus riches, eſpecially when acquired by rapine and bloodſhed, and not preſerved by labour, bring along with them a train of vices, and every ſpecies of corruption.

That want of ſociety, which neceſſarily flows from the ſeparation of the ſexes, is not the only impediment to the pleaſures and enjoyments of life at Bahia. The hypocriſy of ſome, the ſuperſtition of others; parſimony at home, and pompous parade abroad; extreme indulgence, bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the ſenſations are quick and impetuous; the diſtruſt that naturally accompanies weakneſs, the indolence that truſts every thing to ſlaves, whether it relates to pleaſure or buſineſs—all the vices that are to be found, either ſeparately or collectively, in the moſt corrupt ſouthern countries, conſtitute the character of the Portugueſe in this capital. The depravity of their manners, however, ſeems to decreaſe, in proportion as the mother-country becomes more enlightened.

Notwithſtanding theſe vices, which have generally prevailed, though not in the ſame degree in all parts of Brazil, it had long been in a proſperous way, when towards the beginning of the preſent century, the diſcovery of the gold mines gave it an additional luſtre, which occaſioned univerſal aſtoniſhment. The circumſtances that produce this diſcovery are variouſly related; but the moſt common opinion is, That a caravan of Portugueſe, who went from Rio Janeiro in 1695, penetrated into the continent, and meeting with the Pauliſts, received from them gold duſt, which they underſtood was procured from the mines of Parana-Panama, in exchange for European commodities. A few years after, a company of ſoldiers from Rio Janeiro, who were ſent to quell ſome Indians in the inland parts, found on their march ſome gold fiſh-hooks, and were informed, that many torrents, ruſhing from the mountains, brought gold into the vallies.

On this information, a ſtrict ſearch was made; and though few veins of gold have been found ſo rich as to anſwer the purpoſe of working for any time, the gold picked up in ſuch vallies as have been overflowed, and in the ſands of rivers, after the waters have ſubſided, has exceeded belief. This labour is chiefly performed by negroes. If a ſlave brings in the quantity of gold required of him, his maſter can claim nothing more. The overplus is his own property. It is ſome conſolation to him to be able to alleviate the burden of ſlavery, and have a proſpect of purchaſing his freedom, by the very toils that are attached to that ſtate. If we were to eſtimate the quantity of gold that Brazil annually furniſhes, by the fifth which the king of Portugal receives, it might be computed at two millions of pounds ſterling; but we may venture to aſſert, without being ſuppoſed to exaggerate, that the deſire of eluding the duty, deprives the government of one third of the produce. To this prodigious ſum muſt be added, the gold drawn from the Portugueſe ſettlement of Mozambique on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, and the ſilver acquired by the illicit trade with Buenos Ayres †.

* Raynal, liv. ix.

† Europ. Set. in Amer.

BOOK II. The firſt political writers, who turned their thoughts towards the probable conſequences of the diſcovery made in Brazil, did not heſitate to pronounce, that the difference of value between gold and ſilver would be diminiſhed. The experience of all countries, and all ages had taught them, that, though many ounces of ſilver had always been given for an ounce of gold, becauſe mines of the former had always been more common than thoſe of the latter, yet the value of both metals had varied in every country in proportion to the abundance of either. In Japan the proportion of gold to ſilver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of the Eaſt as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen, as we advance further weſt. The like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to ſilver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the old world was brought to Rome, the moſt ſettled proportion was one to ten. It roſe as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberleſs variations are to be met with during the barbarous ages. When Columbus diſcovered the New World, the proportion was leſs than one to twelve.

The quantity of gold and ſilver which was afterwards brought into Europe from Mexico and Peru, not only rendered theſe metals more common, but increaſed ſtill farther the value of gold above ſilver, as there was greater plenty of the latter than of the former in thoſe countries. Spain, which was in poſſeſſion of both, and of courſe the beſt judge of the proportion, ſettled it at one to ſixteen in the coin of the kingdom; and this proportion, with ſome ſlight variations, was adopted throughout all Europe. The ſame proportion ſtill exiſts; but we have no reaſon to contemn the ſpeculations of thoſe, who conjectured that it would alter. If gold has fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin of Europe, ſince the diſcovery of the mines of Brazil, this ſingularity is owing to particular circumſtances, which do not affect the principle on which the contrary ſuppoſition was found. A great deal of gold is now uſed in guilding, and in ſetting jewels, which has prevented the value of ſilver from falling ſo much as it would, if our faſhions had not altered. This ſpirit of luxury has alſo kept up the price of diamonds, though now become more common.

Men have at all times been fond of making a parade of their riches, either becauſe they were originally the reward of ſtrength, and the mark of power, or becauſe they have every where obtained that reſpect which is due only to virtue and talents. A deſire of attracting the attention of others, prompts men to ornament themſelves with the choiceſt and moſt brilliant ſubſtances that nature can ſupply. This vanity equally prevails among ſavage and civilized nations. Of all the ſubſtances that repreſent the ſplendour of opulence, none is ſo precious as the diamond: none has been of ſuch value in trade, or ſo ornamental in ſociety as this bright gem. There are diamonds of all colours, and of every ſhade of the ſeveral colours. The diamond has the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the ſaphire, and the green of the emerald. This laſt is the deareſt, when of a beautiful tint. The roſe diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowiſh and the blackiſh are leaſt eſteemed. Tranſparency

rency and clearneſs are the natural and eſſential properties of the diamond, to which art has added the brilliant and ſparkling luſtre of the ſeveral faces.

There are very few diamond mines. Till of late years we knew of none except in the Eaſt Indies: and ſome apprehenſions were raiſed, that the continual wars in that country would put a ſtop to this ſource of riches; but theſe were removed by a diſcovery that was made at Serra de Ferio, in Brazil. Some ſlaves who were condemned to look for gold, uſed to find ſome little bright ſtones, which they threw away among the ſand and gravel. Some curious miners preſerved ſeveral of theſe ſingular pebbles, which were ſhewn to Pedro de Almayda, governor general of the mines. As he had been at the Eaſt Indies, he ſuſpected that they might be diamonds. In order to aſcertain this point, the court of Liſbon, in 1730, commiſſioned de Acugna, her miniſter in Holland, to make the neceſſary inquiries. He put ſome of them into the hands of able artificers, who having cut them, declared that they were very fine diamonds. The Portugueſe immediately ſearched for them with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Rio Janeiro fleet, in 1732, brought home eleven hundred and forty-ſix ounces. This produced ſuch plenty that their price fell conſiderably; but the miniſtry took ſuch meaſures as made them ſoon riſe to their original value, which they have maintained ever ſince. They conferred on a company the excluſive right of ſearching for and ſelling diamonds; and even to reſtrain the avidity of the company itſelf, it was required to employ no more than ſix hundred ſlaves in that buſineſs. It has ſince, however, been permitted to employ as many as it pleaſes, on condition that a certain ſum, amounting to about ſixty-five pounds ſterling, is paid for every ſlave. But in both contracts the court has reſerved to itſelf all diamonds that ſhall exceed a certain number of carrats *.

It is not known whether the diamonds of Brazil grow in the valleys where they are found, or whether they are brought down by an infinite number of torrents that ruſh into them, and by five ſmall rivers that flow from the neighbouring mountains. It is certain, however, that the diamonds do not come from a quarry; that they are ſcattered about, and picked up in greater quantities in the rainy ſeaſons, and after violent ſtorms. They are neither ſo hard nor ſo clear as thoſe of the Eaſt Indies, nor do they ſparkle ſo much, but they are whiter. They are bought up in their rough ſtate by the Engliſh and Dutch, who cut them, and then diſpoſe of them all over Europe †.

* Raynal, liv. ix.

† The fineſt diamonds in the world are that of the great mogul, which weighs two hundred and ſeventy-nine carrats and one-ſixteenth; that of the grand duke, which weighs one hundred and thirty-nine carrats; the great Sancy, of one hundred and ſix carrats; and the Pitt (now in the poſſeſſion of the king of France) which weighs one hundred and thirty-ſix carrats three grains. But all theſe are trifling in regard to ſize, compared with the diamond ſent ſome years ago from Brazil to the king of Portugal, which weighs one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty carrats, or twelve ounces and an half. We know of no proportion by which to aſcertain the value of ſuch a gem, but it has been eſtimated at fifty-ſix millions ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling. Raynal, liv. ix.

The

BOOK II.

The gold and diamond mines, added to a rich culture, ſhould have made Brazil the moſt flouriſhing colony in the New World. In order to effect this, however, it was neceſſary that the country ſhould be preſerved from inteſtine commotions and foreign invaſions. Both theſe objects were therefore taken into conſideration. All the mines are ſituated in the captainſhips of St. Vincent and Rio Janeiro, or in the adjacent lands. Some were in the hands of the Pauliſts, and the reſt lay expoſed to their inroads. As thoſe banditti were too numerous and too brave to be brought under ſubjection by force, it was thought adviſable to treat with them. As they could make no uſe of their new acquired wealth, without a free communication with thoſe parts where the luxuries and the conveniences of life were to be purchaſed, they were more tractable than was expected. They conſented to pay, like the reſt of the Portugueſe, a fifth of their gold to the crown; but they determined the amount of this tribute themſelves, and never made it what it ought to have been. The government prudently winked at the fraud. It was foreſeen that the connexions, and new way of life of the Pauliſts, would gradually ſoften their manners, and that ſooner or later they would be brought to ſubmit. This revolution accordingly happened in 1730, when the whole republic acknowledged the authority of the court of Liſbon, and were placed on the ſame footing with the other Portugueſe in Brazil.

The town of Rio Janeiro, which is the mart for the produce of moſt of the mines, as well as for the productions that are brought from the neighbouring captainſhips for the conſumption of Europe, had been fortified before this important event. New fortifications have ſince been added; but if gold can make its way into brazen towers, through iron gates, much more readily will iron break down the gates that defend gold and diamonds: and the court of Liſbon, as if ſenſible of this truth, have not thought it ſufficient to fortify, even in the ſtrongeſt manner, Rio Janeiro itſelf. Between the captainſhip of St. Vincent and the mouth of Rio de la Plata, lies a barren coaſt, about an hundred and fifty leagues in length. As nothing invited the Portugueſe to ſettle there, it was always totally neglected; but the gold lately found in the mines which water theſe deſarts, has attracted ſome coloniſts thither, and the government has beſtowed its attention in endeavouring to render perpetual this new channel of wealth. It has eſtabliſhed ſome poſts along the coaſt, and fortified St. Catherine.

This iſland, which is only parted from the continent by a very narrow canal, is about nine leagues long and two broad. Though the land is by no means low, it is not ſeen at a diſtance, becauſe it is ſhaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual ſpring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables, which are ſo welcome to ſailors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills interrupt the circulation of that fluid, and make it conſtantly damp and unwholeſome. One hundred and fifty, or two hundred banditti, who had taken refuge here towards the beginning of the preſent century, acknowledged the authority

of Portugal, but did not adopt the intereſted and excluſive ſyſtem of that ſtate. They admitted indiſcriminately the ſhips of all nations that were ſailing to the South Sea, and gave them the produce of their own iſland in exchange for arms, linen, wearing apparel, and brandy. Beſides a contempt for gold, they ſhewed an indifference for all the conveniencies with which nature did not ſupply them, that would have done honour to the moſt virtuous men. The ſcum and refuſe of civilized bodies may ſometimes produce a well regulated ſociety. Such a regeneration at laſt happened among the people who had fled to the iſland of St. Catherine. Baniſhed from their native country by the dread of thoſe atrocious puniſhments, too often inflicted on ſlight offences, they formed a commercial ſettlement, which was beneficial even to the community that had ejected them: and about the year 1738, the crown ſent them a governor, and fortified their harbour. As it is far ſuperior to any on that coaſt, it is eaſy to foreſee, that if the riches of thoſe parts correſpond with the expectations which have been raiſed of them, that aſylum of vagabonds will in time become the chief ſettlement in Brazil, and the moſt conſiderable ſea-port in South America.

From this account it appears, that the court of Liſbon has taken the moſt prudent meaſures for ſecuring to itſelf the pruduce of the mines of Brazil. The ſame attention has not hitherto been paid to the culture of the earth, though that more valuable ſource of riches was in a critical ſituation, at the period of which we are ſpeaking, and required the moſt mature conſideration. All the European nations that had ſettlements in America, then began to cultivate the ſame productions which had long enriched Brazil. This competition reduced the price of thoſe commodities; and the Portugueſe, though they laboured as induſtriouſly as ever, found that their profits grew daily leſs conſiderable. Theſe labours became irkſome to them, and many abandoned them entirely, tempted by the hopes of enriching themſelves by picking up gold. A. D. 1738.

Had the mother-country underſtood her true intereſt, and been leſs elated with this new ſource of riches, the misfortunes it gave riſe to might have been prevented by taking off the enormous duty which the colony paid for all the goods they exported or imported; or, if it had been found neceſſary, by giving encouragements, which her new treaſures enabled her to do with a liberal hand. Theſe would have induced the planter, who knew his ſoil to be far ſuperior to that of the Antilles, and was not ignorant of the other advantages he had over the perſons engaged in clearing thoſe iſlands, to perſevere in a labour which muſt procure him a comfortable ſubſiſtence, if not an ample fortune, without any anxiety or uncertainty.

This matter requires ſome explanation. All perſons who have attentively obſerved America, know that the coaſts of Brazil are very fertile. The ſugar-canes are ſtronger than thoſe of the Weſt Indies, and other productions have the ſame ſuperiority. The inhabitants are not reduced to the neceſſity of manuring a poor or an exhauſted ſoil. There is ſuch plenty of land, that, when one piece of ground is ſpent, a freſh one may be broke up, which will yield plentiful crops without much trouble. The inland parts only want hands to cultivate them,

BOOK II.

and many navigable rivers are ready to convey the produce to the ſea. The plantations are never deſtroyed by hurricanes, or parched with drought. There are few places in Brazil where the intemperature of the air ſhortens the lives of thoſe employed in the labours of the field, and none where the inhabitants are ſwept away by that dreadful mortality ſo frequent in many parts of the New World. Every undertaking is carried on with eaſe by the aſſiſtance of the numberleſs flocks with which the plains are covered. The ſlave does not impatiently expect his ſubſiſtence to be conveyed to him over ſtormy ſeas; which, when it arrives, is often at ſuch an immoderate price, that he is not always allowed a ſufficiency: he finds, without much trouble, an wholeſome and plentiful proviſion on the very land that he cultivates; and the maſter, on his part, can be under no apprehenſion of ſeeing an end to his good fortune, as he well knows, that the colony has not yet attained to a tenth part of its culture.

One hundred and fifty thouſand negroes are already employed in Brazil. Theſe are annually recruited by eight or ten thouſand, and may be eaſily multiplied to any number that can be required. As it is cuſtomary for the planter to import them immediately from Africa, he has nothing to fear from the negligence, unſkilfulneſs, or diſhoneſty of the European merchants. His ſhips have the accumulated advantages of vending part of his produce *, of making a ſmall ſtay at the end of their voyage, and of a ſhort and eaſy paſſage both going and coming. But, notwithſtanding all theſe favourable circumſtances, the annual produce of Brazil at preſent does not exceed twenty-two millions weight of raw ſugar, and twelve thouſand bales of tobacco, with a ſmall quantity of ſarſaparilla, cacao, rice, and indigo.

Among the various methods deviſed for increaſing the produce of ſo rich a country, the Portugueſe miniſtry have preferred that of giving freedom to the Brazilians, as the ſafeſt, cheapeſt, and moſt humane. In 1755 they declared, that for the future all the American ſubjects of Portugal, whether they were ſo by their own free will or by compulſion, ſhould be deemed citizens to all intents and purpoſes, and be entitled to that appellation on the ſame terms as the Europeans. They are ſubject only to the ſame duties, the ſame path is open to their talents, and they may acquire the ſame honours. No other power has treated its American ſubjects with ſo much humanity; and yet this ſingular circumſtance in itſelf ſo ſtriking, and ſo favourable to mankind, has eſcaped the notice of almoſt every hiſtorian, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, in this enlightened and philoſophical age, when the public good is the univerſal topic of converſation.

Had the new ſyſtem produced the deſired effect, Portugal would have received a ſufficient compenſation for this indifference. We ſhould then have ſeen the Brazilians applying themſelves to the culture of their lands, and multiplying

* The Portugueſe trade very largely in tobacco to the coaſt of Africa, where they not only ſell it directly to the natives, but ſupply the ſhips of other nations, who find it a neceſſary article to enable them to carry on the ſlave and gold duſt trade to advantage.

their produce. Their labour would enable them to procure numberleſs comforts which they have not hitherto enjoyed. The view of their happineſs would tempt the ſavages to quit their foreſts, and embrace a more tranquil mode of life. By degrees, the influence of their example would ſpread, and all Brazil would in time become civilized. A mutual confidence would be eſtabliſhed between the Americans and the Europeans, and they would become but one people. All would concur in producing the ſtock of an immenſe trade to the mother-country, which on her part would not neglect to ſend a conſtant ſupply for the growing wants of the colony. An exact balance would be kept up between their reciprocal intereſts, and great care would be taken that nothing ſhould interrupt ſo valuable an harmony:—in a word the Portugueſe, by one act of humanity, would have made amends for all the injuries they have done the inhabitants of America.

Unfortunately, however, theſe flattering proſpects have all proved chimerical. Some hopes might have been entertained of ſucceſs, if this great change had been attempted by ſlow degrees. The Brazilians might inſenſibly have been attached to the comforts of ſociety: they might have been trained up to uſeful labours; by which means they would gradually have got the better of their natural indolence, and been inſpired with the deſire of poſſeſſing property. But though an happy revolution might have been prepared by theſe mild meaſures, much would ſtill have remained to be done, which ſeems to have eſcaped the penetration of the miniſtry: they have neglected granting lands to the new ſubjects in convenient ſituations; they have not made them ſufficient advances; they have not ſupplied them with able guides to direct them, nor have their chiefs been men of integrity and humanity. Nothing therefore has been done for the public good by granting liberty to the Brazilians, and much has been done againſt it by abridging the Europeans of their freedom, in ſubjecting them to the tyranny of a monopoly. A regulation ſo contrary to the genius of the nation was neither foreſeen nor expected.

Portugal had made the moſt valuable diſcoveries in Africa, in Aſia, and America, without the aſſiſtance of any excluſive company. Mere ſocieties of merchants, in which kings, princes, and noblemen were concerned, fitted out large fleets for thoſe three parts of the world; raiſed the Portugueſe name above that of every other European nation, and brought about the moſt important and intereſting revolution in commerce that the univerſe had ever beheld. Little therefore was it to be expected that a people, who in the barbarous ages had purſued the ineſtimable advantages of competition, would in an enlightened period adopt a pernicious ſyſtem, which by collecting the principles of life and motion into a ſmall part of the body politic, leaves all the reſt in a ſtate of inactivity and languor; yet at the ſame time that liberty was granted to the Brazilians, the A. D. 1755. Maragnon company was created, and four years afterwards the company of Fernambucca, in conſequence of which all the northern part of Brazil was enſlaved. Their charter is for twenty years, and foreigners ſettled in Portugal may become proprietors. They exerciſe the moſt horrid tyranny over the immenſe coaſt

BOOK II.

coaſt that has been granted to them, the effect of which is ſufficiently evident in the diminution of the productions.

After this hiſtorical narration, in which we have had occaſion to mention every thing of importance relative to the principal towns and diſtricts in Brazil, a geographical deſcription of the country would be altogether impertinent. It will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that Brazil is divided into fifteen captainſhips or provinces, all under the government of one viceroy, who reſides, as already obſerved, at Bahia. He has two councils, one for criminal, the other for civil affairs, in both of which he preſides: but to the infinite prejudice of the colony, all the delay, chicanery, and multiplied expences incident to the worſt part of the law, and practiſed by the moſt unprincipled lawyers, flouriſh there; at the ſame time that juſtice is ſo lax, that the greateſt crimes often paſs with impunity.

Almoſt all the trading powers of Europe are intereſted in the commerce with Brazil, not one fiftieth part of the exports thither being the produce of the mother-country. The Portugueſe, like the Spaniſh merchant, is only the truſtee and factor *; for though in Portugal, as in Spain, all trade with her colonies is ſtrictly prohibited to foreigners, this regulation like all others that contradict the very nature of their object, is little regarded. The Portugueſe do not always enjoy even the commiſſion trade: they lend or ſell their names to the Engliſh, who formerly engroſſed almoſt the whole of this lucrative commerce, and are ſtill more intereſted than any other nation, both in the trade of Portugal for home-conſumption, and what it wants for the uſe of Brazil. The Engliſh deſerve to be moſt favoured; as well in reward of the ſervices they have at different times done that crown, which is indebted to them for its independency, and from the ſtipulations of treaties, as from the political conſideration that no other people conſume ſo much of the produce of Portugal. Partly however from our own ſupineneſs, partly from the policy and activity of France, and partly from the fault of the Portugueſe themſelves, our trade with that kingdom has much declined of late years †.

* It is demonſtrable from the regiſters of the fleets, that, in the ſpace of ſixty years, from the diſcovery of the mines to the year 1756, gold to the amount of one hundred and five millions ſterling had been brought from Brazil, and yet in 1754 all the ſpecie in Portugal did not amount to one million. From this account, we may judge of the ſtate of its trade.

† Though Portugal receives annually foreign commodities to the value of more than three millions ſterling, it appears from the Cuſtom-houſe books, that in the ſpace of five years, from 1762 to 1766, incluſively, England has ſent goods to Portugal only to the value of 4,183,092l. 14s. 0¼d, and has received commodities to the amount of 1,652,047l. 0s. 7½d. ſo that the balance in money has been but 2,524,045l. 15s. 7½d. As there is little reaſon to believe that our trade with Portugal has ſince increaſed, we may conclude that England, at preſent, does not enjoy above one third of that rich commerce which ſhe formerly poſſeſſed almoſt entirely.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Dutch *and* French *Settlements in* Guiana.

CHAP. V.

GUIANA is bounded on the eaſt by the ocean, on the north by the Orinoco, on the ſouth by the river of Amazons, and on the weſt by the Rio Negro, which unites thoſe two immenſe rivers. Viewed in this poſition, it may be conſidered as an iſland, at leaſt two hundred leagues in extent, along the coaſt from north to ſouth, and above three hundred from eaſt to weſt. The climate is in general extremely damp and unwholeſome, and the ſoil by no means remarkable for fertility, except in ſuch productions as are natural to the country.

The Orinoco, which forms the northern boundary of Guiana, and which, as is commonly believed, ſprings from the Cordeleras, after being increaſed in a courſe of five hundred and ſeventy-five leagues, by the influx of a great number of rivers of different magnitudes, empties itſelf into the ocean by more than fifty channels; and its impetuoſity is ſo great, that it ſtems the moſt powerful tides, and preſerves the freſhneſs of its waters to the diſtance of twelve leagues from the land. But this rapidity is not always equal, and owes its variation to a circumſtance perhaps peculiar to the Orinoco; which in the month of April begins to ſwell, and continues to riſe during five months. In September it attains its greateſt height; at which it continues till October, when it begins to ſubſide, and falls gradually till the month of March, during which it remains in a fixed ſtate of its greateſt diminution. The people bordering on this river, but little diſtant from the burning line, know neither the trouble of cloaths, the reſtraints of police, nor the burden of government. Free under the yoke of poverty, they live chiefly by hunting, fiſhing, and on wild fruits.

The ſtate of ſervitude in which the women are kept in the New World, is undoubtedly the principal cauſe of the want of population in this part of the globe. In all unpoliſhed nations, it is true, the functions in domeſtic œconomy, which fall naturally to the ſhare of women, are ſo many, that they are ſubjected to hard labour, and muſt bear more than their full portion of the common burden; but in America their condition is ſo peculiarly grievous, and their depreſſion ſo complete, that ſervitude is a name too mild for their wretched ſtate. A wife, among moſt tribes, is no better than a beaſt of burden, deſtined to every office of labour and fatigue. While the men loiter out the day in ſloth, or ſpend it in amuſement, the women are condemned to inceſſant toil. Taſks are impoſed on them without pity, and ſervices are received without complacency or gratitude. Every circumſtance reminds the women of this mortifying inferiority: they muſt approach their lords with reverence, and look

BOOK II.

up to them, as more exalted beings. They are not even permitted to eat in their preſence *.

This tyranny, which is univerſal in America, is more grievous on the banks of the Orinoco than in any other place. There are therefore few inhabitants in thoſe countries, though greatly favoured by nature. Mothers have contracted the habit of deſtroying their female children in infancy, in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage to which they know they muſt otherwiſe be ſubjected. The very emotions of maternal tenderneſs impel them to the higheſt act of unnatural cruelty. Father Gumilla, who confirms this fact, alſo informs us, that Chriſtianity has not been able to put a ſtop to ſo deteſtable a practice. Being informed that one of his converts had been guilty of ſuch a murder, he went to her, in order to reproach her for her crime in the moſt ſevere terms, but he was ſtruck dumb by her reply. She liſtened to him without any ſigns of concern; and when he had finiſhed his remonſtrance, ſhe deſired leave to ſpeak.

"Would to God, O Father!"—cried ſhe, "would to God, that at the inſtant of my birth my mother had ſhewn love and compaſſion enough for her child, to ſpare me all the evils I have endured, and thoſe which I ſhall hereafter ſuffer, to the end of my life!—If my mother had deſtroyed me at my birth, I ſhould have been dead, it is true, but I ſhould not have been ſenſible of my death, and I ſhould have eſcaped the moſt miſerable of all conditions. How many afflictions have I already experienced!—and who can ſay what I have ſtill to undergo?—Repreſent to yourſelf, O father! the troubles that are reſerved for an Indian woman among theſe tribes. The men accompany us into the fields with their bows and arrows, while we go thither laden with an infant, which we carry in a baſket, and another which hangs at our breaſt. They go to kill game or catch fiſh, while we are employed in diging the ground; and after having gone through all the labours of the culture, are ſubjected alſo to thoſe of the harveſt. They return in the evening without any burden, and we bring them roots for their food, and maize for their drink. As ſoon as they come home, they go and amuſe themſelves with their friends, while we are fetching wood and water to prepare their ſupper. When they have eaten, they fall aſleep, while we paſs almoſt the whole night in grinding maize, and in preparing the chica † for them:—and what reward have we for all theſe labours?—They drink; and when they are intoxicated, they drag us by the hair, and trample us under foot. O father, would to God that my mother had deſtroyed me at the inſtant of my birth!

"Thou thyſelf knoweſt that our complaints are juſt: thou haſt daily inſtances before thine eyes of the truth of what I ſay; but the greateſt misfortune under which we labour it is impoſſible for thee to feel. It is indeed a melancholy circumſtance for a poor Indian woman to ſerve her huſband as a ſlave in the fields, wearied out with fatigue, and at home deprived of tranquillity—

* Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages. Borde, Relat. des Mœurs des Caraibes. Voy. de Condamine. Voy. de P. Labat. Dumont, Mem. ſur Louiſiane. Barrere, Relat. de la France Equinoxiale, &c. Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France.

† A kind of beer or ale made of maize, and very intoxicating.

yet,

yet, ah! how much more dreadful, when twenty years are elapſed, to ſee him take another woman, an untaught girl, to his arms!---To her he attaches himſelf: ſhe beats us and our children; ſhe commands us, and treats us as her ſervants; and if the leaſt murmur eſcape us, a ſtick is raiſed---Oh! father, how is it poſſible that we ſhould bear this condition!---What can an Indian woman do better than prevent her child from living in a ſtate of ſervitude infinitely worſe than death?---Would to God, O father! I repeat it, that my mother had conceived affection enough for me to bury me at the moment of my birth. My heart would not then have been thus afflicted, nor would mine eyes have been accuſtomed to tears *."

Among the ſeveral nations that wander about in thoſe immenſe regions, there is one in which the nature of the ſoil has rendered the condition of the women leſs wretched. The people of this nation inhabit a cluſter of iſlands formed by the different mouths of the Orinoco. Their country, though under water during the greater part of the year by the ſwelling of the river, and though overflowed at all times twice a-day by the tide, is preferred by them to any other. They have continued to live there without riſk, by building their huts upon high ſtakes, which they ſink into the mud. The palm-tree, which grows over this ſandy ſoil, ſupplies theſe mild, chearful, and ſociable ſavages with their food, drink, furniture, and canoes †.

The Orinoco, as we have had occaſion to obſerve ‡, was diſcovered in 1498, by Columbus, who landed in the iſland of Trinidad, ſituated near its mouth; but other objects interfering, both that iſland and the coaſts of the neighbouring continent were for a time neglected. It was not till 1535 that the Spaniards thought of paying another viſit to the Orinoco; and being then diſappointed in their ſearch after mines, it was conſidered as of ſo little conſequence, that they never formed above one ſettlement upon it. This is ſituated at the lower part of the river, and is called St. Thomas. The firſt coloniſts applied themſelves with ſo much ardour to the cultivation of tobacco, that they delivered annually ten cargoes to the Dutch: but this intercourſe having been prohibited by the mother-country, the town, which, to complete its misfortunes, has been twice ſacked by privateers, and inſenſibly fell to decay; ſo that the whole employment of the colony at preſent is to breed a few cattle, which they ſend to Cumana by an inland communication.

The people who roved over the immenſe country that ſtretches from the Orinoco to the river of Amazons, before the arrival of the Europeans, and who ſtill poſſeſs the greater part of it, are divided into ſeveral nations, none of which is very numerous. Their manners are in general the ſame as thoſe of the other ſavages of South America; the Caribs excepted, who from their numbers and courage are more turbulent than the reſt, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a

* El Orinoco illuſtrado y defendido; Hiſtoria Natural, Civil y Geographica, &c. por el Padre Joſeph Gumilla, de la Compagnia de Jeſus, &c. Madrid, 1745, 2 vols. 4to.

† Id. ibid. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 344.

‡ Book I. chap. ii. p. 30.

remarkable

BOOK II.

remarkable cuſtom in the choice of their chiefs. To be qualified to lead ſuch a people to battle, it is not only neceſſary a man ſhould have more ſtrength, more courage, and more knowledge than the reſt of his tribe; that he ſhould be well acquainted with all the places for hunting and fiſhing, and with all the ſprings and roads, but that he ſhould give evident and public proofs of his ability to ſuſtain hardſhips and injuries.

All the trials cuſtomary in America, when a youth is admitted into the claſs of warriors, or when a warrior is promoted to the dignity of captain or chief, are accommodated to this idea of fortitude. They are not diſplays of valour, but of patience; they are not exhibitions of an ability to offend, but of a capacity to ſuffer. Of theſe the moſt remarkable is that among the Caribs. The warrior who aſpires to the rank of captain, begins his probation with a long faſt, more rigid than any ever obſerved by the moſt abſtemious hermit. At the cloſe of this the chiefs aſſemble: each gives him three laſhes with a large whip, applied ſo vigorouſly that his body is almoſt flayed; and if he betrays the leaſt ſymptoms of impatience or even ſenſibility, he is diſgraced for ever, and rejected as unworthy of the honour. After ſome interval the conſtancy of the candidate is proved by a more excruciating trial. He is laid in a hammoc with his hands bound faſt: an innumerable multitude of venomous ants, whoſe bite occaſions exquiſite pain, and produces a violent inflammation, are thrown upon him. The judges of his merit ſtand around the hammoc; and while theſe cruel inſects faſten upon the moſt ſenſible parts of his body, a ſigh, a groan, or an involuntary motion expreſſive of what he ſuffers, would exclude him from the dignity which he is ambitious to obtain. Even after this evidence of his fortitude, it is not deemed to be completely aſcertained, but muſt ſtand another teſt more dreadful than any he has hitherto undergone. He is again ſuſpended in his hammoc, and covered with leaves of the palmetto. A fire of ſtinking herbs is kindled underneath, ſo as he may feel its heat and be involved in its ſmoke. Though ſcorched, and almoſt ſuffocated, he muſt continue to endure with the ſame patient inſenſibility. Many periſh in this rude eſſay of their firmneſs and courage; but ſuch as go through it with applauſe, receive the enſigns of their new dignity with much ſolemnity, and are ever after regarded as leaders of approved reſolution, whoſe behaviour, in the moſt trying ſituations will do honour to their country *.

Such were the original inhabitants of the greater part of Guiana, which was diſcovered 1499, by Alonzo de Ojeda and Americus Veſpucius. But this expedition, which we have already had occaſion to mention †, afforded only a ſuperficial knowledge of ſo vaſt a country. Many others were undertaken at a greater expence, but with ſtill leſs ſucceſs. They were, however, continued from a motive that ever did, and ever will deceive mankind. A report prevailed, which is ſcarcely yet exploded, that in the interior parts of Guiana there was a country, known by the name of *El Dorado*, where gold was found in the greateſt profu-

* Gumilla, ubi ſup.

† Book I. chap. ii. p. 33.

ſion,

ſion, and where a prince reigned who poſſeſſed more treaſures than both Cortez and Pizarro had found in Mexico and Peru. This fable not only inflamed the ardent imagination of the Spaniards, but fired every nation in Europe. Sir Walter Raleigh in particular, one of the moſt extraordinary men that England ever produced, was ſeized with this enthuſiaſm, which he communicated to his countrymen. Paſſionately fond of every thing that was magnificent, he poſſeſſed a reputation that has ſeldom been enjoyed by the moſt exalted merit: he had acquired more knowledge than moſt of thoſe whoſe immediate purſuit was learning; a freedom of thinking, uncommon in that age; to which was added, a romantic and enterpriſing turn of mind. This determined him, in 1595, to undertake, at his own expence, a voyage to Guiana. He viſited ſeveral parts of the country, but diſcovered nothing relative to the object of his voyage. On his return, however, he publiſhed an account of his expedition, full of the moſt ſplendid falſities that ever amuſed the credulity of mankind *.

The French had not waited for this deluſive relation to turn their views towards ſo celebrated a country: they had long before adopted the general prejudice, with a vivacity peculiar to themſelves; and while the hopes of their rivals were engaged on the ſide of the Orinoco, they ſought to realize their own expectations upon the river of Amazons. After many fruitleſs excurſions, they at length ſettled on the iſland of Cayenne, in 1635. Some merchants of Rouen, thinking that ſettlement might prove advantageous, united their ſtock in 1643, and intruſted their affairs in the hands of a man of ferocious diſpoſition, named Poncet de Bretigny, who having declared war both againſt the natives and coloniſts was ſoon maſſacred. This diſaſter having checked the ardour of the aſſociates, a new company was eſtabliſhed in 1651, which promiſed to be more conſiderable than the former. They ſet out with ſo large a capital, as to enable them to collect in Paris itſelf, ſeven or eight hundred coloniſts. Theſe embarked on the Seine, in order to ſail down to Havre de Grace; but unfortunately the virtuous Abbè de Marivault, who was the principal promoter of this undertaking, and who was to have had the management of it, as director-

* "Every one knows," ſays he, "the vaſt quantity of gold which the Spaniards have drawn from Peru: but I am convinced, that the prince who reigns at Manoa," the fabulous capital of El Dorado, "poſſeſſes infinitely more than they found in the whole New World." This prince he repreſents as a deſcendant of the Incas, as obſerving the ſame religion, and living in a ſtately palace, with all the magnificence of his anceſtors. He gives an account of mountains and rocks of the colour of gold, and though he does not directly affirm they were entirely of that metal, he gives ſtrong hints, that they may likely prove ſuch. Relat. in Hackluyt's Collect. His motive for theſe brilliant lies ſeems to have been a deſire of obtaining a commiſſion from the crown to make diſcoveries in Guiana, and to enrich and aggrandiſe himſelf by committing depredations upon the Spaniſh ſettlements. Such a commiſſion he obtained in 1618, and his conduct juſtifies the foregoing remark. Though England was then at peace with Spain, he immediately pillaged the town of St. Thomas, inſtead of going in queſt of the gold mine, which he had propoſed to the avidity of his followers. The clamorouſneſs of theſe, diſappointed in the booty, and otherwiſe deceived, induced captain Keymis, an old companion of Raleigh, who had favoured the cheat, to put an end to his life. Raleigh himſelf, leſs ſenſible to reproach, came home, and died upon a ſcaffold.

BOOK II.

general, was drowned as he was ſtepping into his boat. Roiville, a gentleman of Normandy, who was going over to Cayenne as general, was aſſaſſinated in the paſſage; and twelve of the principal adventurers, who were the perpetrators of this violent act, and had undertaken to put the colony in a flouriſhing condition, behaved there in a manner worthy of ſuch an atrocious beginning. They hanged one of their number; two died; three were baniſhed to a deſert iſland: the reſt abandoned themſelves to every kind of exceſs. The commandant of the citadel deſerted to the Dutch, with part of his garriſon; and the remainder, ſuch as had eſcaped hunger, poverty, and the fury of the ſavages, which had been rouſed by numberleſs provocations, thought themſelves happy in being able to get over to the Leeward iſlands, in a boat and two canoes. They abandoned the fort, ammunition, arms, and merchandiſe, leaving alſo behind them the dead bodies of five or ſix hundred of their wretched companions, fifteen months after they had landed on the iſland.

In 1663, a new company was formed under the direction of La Barre, maſter of requeſts. Their capital did not exceed nine thouſand pounds ſterling. The aſſiſtance which they obtained from the miniſtry, however, enabled them to expel the Dutch; who, under the conduct of Spranger, had taken poſſeſſion of the lands granted to them, after they had been evacuated by their countrymen. The year following, this inconſiderable body made part of the great company, which united the poſſeſſions and privileges of all the reſt. Cayenne returned into the hands of government at that deſirable period, which reſtored freedom to all the French colonies. It was taken in 1667 by the Engliſh, and in 1676 by the Dutch, ſince which time it has never been attacked.

This ſettlement, ſo often ruined, was ſcarce re-eſtabliſhed, when great hopes were entertained of its future proſperity. Some of the famous buccaniers, laden with the ſpoils which they had collected in the South Sea, came and fixed their reſidence there; and what was of yet greater conſequence, reſolved to employ their treaſures in the cultivation of the lands. It was probable that their plan would have been proſecuted with vigour, becauſe their means were great, and their ſpirits ardent. While this matter was in agitation, Ducaſſe, one of their leaders, came with ſome ſhips, and propoſed the plundering of Surinam. Their natural avidity was excited: they again became pirates, and almoſt all
A. D. 1688. the inhabitants followed their example. The expedition proved unfortunate. Some of the beſiegers fell in the attack; and the reſt were taken priſoners, and ſent to the Caribee iſlands, where they ſettled *. The colony has never recovered this loſs. Inſtead of extending into Guiana, it has not been in a proſperous ſtate even at Cayenne.

This iſland, which may be about ſixteen leagues in circumference, is only parted from the continent by two rivers. In conſequence of a particular formation, rarely found in iſlands, the land is high near the water-ſide, and low in the

* Nouvelle Relation de la France Equinoxiale, &c. par P. Barrere. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

middle.

middle. Hence it is interſected by ſo many moraſſes, that all communication is impracticable, without taking a great circuit; and until the lands which are under water can be drained, and ſecured from future inundations by dykes properly raiſed, there is no place fit for culture except the riſing grounds. Among theſe, ſome tracts of excellent ſoil are to be found, but the greater part is dry, ſandy, and ſoon exhauſted. The only town in the colony, which contains between an hundred and an hundred and fifty houſes, is defended by a covert way, a large ditch, a very good mud rampart, five baſtions, and a garriſon of two hundred men. In the middle of the town is a pretty conſiderable eminence, of which a redoubt has been made, called the Fort, where forty or fifty men might capitulate, after the town had been taken. The entrance into the harbour is through a narrow channel, ſurrounded by rocks and reefs, ſo that ſhips can only get in at high water.

The firſt produce of Cayenne was the arnotto. This is a red dye, called by the Spaniards *achiote*, into which they dip the white wool, whatever colour they intend to give it. The tree that yields this dye has a reddiſh bark, and large, ſtrong, and hard leaves, of a dark green colour. It is as high as a plum-tree, and more buſhy. The flowers, which grow in bunches, not unlike roſes, are ſucceeded twice a year by pods as prickly as the ſhell of a cheſnut, but ſmaller. Theſe pods contain little ſeeds of a pale red, which ſerve to make the arnotto. The proceſs is as follows.

As ſoon as one of the eight or ten pods that grow in a bunch opens of itſelf, the reſt may be gathered. All the ſeeds are then taken out, and thrown directly into large troughs full of water. When the fermentation begins, the ſeeds are bruiſed ſeveral times with wooden-peſtles, till the ſkin is entirely taken off. The whole is then poured into large ſieves, made of ruſhes, which retain all the ſolid parts, and let out a thick reddiſh, and fœtid liquor into iron boilers prepared to receive it. While it boils the ſcum is ſkimmed off, and kept in large pans; and when the liquor yields no more ſcum, it is thrown away as uſeleſs, and the ſcum is poured back into the boiler. This ſcum, which is boiled for ten or twelve hours, muſt be conſtantly ſtirred with a wooden ſpatula, to prevent it from ſticking to the boiler, or turning black. When it is boiled enough, and is ſomewhat hardened, it is ſpread upon boards to cool. It is afterwards made up into cakes of two or three pounds weight each, and then the whole proceſs is finiſhed.

From the culture of the arnotto, Cayenne proceeded to that of cotton, indigo, and ſugar. It was the firſt of all the French colonies that attempted to raiſe coffee; the plants of which tree were brought thither from Surinam in 1721, by ſome deſerters, who had taken refuge there, and purchaſed their pardon by this means. Some years after, plantations of cacao were begun; and in 1752, two hundred and ſixty thouſand five hundred and forty pounds of arnotto, eighty thouſand three hundred and ſixty-three pounds of ſugar, ſeventeen thouſand nine hundred and nineteen pounds of cotton, twenty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and eighty pounds of coffee, nineteen thouſand nine hundred and ſixteen pounds

BOOK II.

of cacao, ſix hundred and eight trees for timber, and one hundred and four planks, were exported from the ſettlement. All theſe articles were the reſult of the labour of ninety French families, an hundred and twenty-five Indians, and fifteen hundred negroes, which made up the whole colony *.

Weaker ſtill was the ſtate of Cayenne in 1763, when the court of Verſailles, by a ſyſtem that occaſioned general aſtoniſhment, endeavoured to give it a degree of conſequence to which it had not even aſpired. France had then juſt emerged from the horrors of an unſucceſsful war: the diſagreeable ſituation of affairs had determined the miniſtry to purchaſe peace with the ceſſion of ſeveral important colonies: it appeared equally neceſſary to make the nation forget her diſtreſſes, and the errors that had been the cauſe of them. The proſpect of better fortune might amuſe the people, and ſilence their clamours, if their attention was diverted from the poſſeſſions the nation had loſt, and turned towards a new object. Guiana, it was pretended, would compenſate all her misfortunes.

This vaſt region, which was long diſtinguiſhed by the pompous name of Equinoxial France, was not the ſole property of that power as ſhe had formerly aſſerted. The Dutch, by ſettling to the north, and the Portugueſe to the South, had confined the French between the rivers of Maroni and Vincent Pinzon, limits which were fixed by ſeveral treaties. Theſe boundaries are equally diſtant from Cayenne, and the extent between them comprehends no leſs than an hundred leagues of the ſea-coaſt. The navigation along this coaſt is extremely difficult, by reaſon of the rapidity of the currents, and is continually obſtructed by ſmall iſlands, banks of ſand and hardened mud, and by ſtrong mangroves, cloſely entangled, that extend two or three leagues into the ſea. There is no harbour; few places where ſhips can land; and the lighteſt ſloops often meet with inſuperable obſtructions. The large and numerous rivers that water this continent, are not more navigable. Their channel in many places is barricadoed by vaſt rocks, which render it impoſſible to ſail up the ſtream. The ſhore, which is generally flat, is overflowed in moſt parts by the ſpring tides, and the lands in the interior country, commonly become moraſſes in the rainy ſeaſon. Then there is no ſafety but upon the higher grounds.

Theſe inundations, however, that ſuſpend all the labours of huſbandry, contribute to render the heat more ſupportable, without producing that malignant influence upon the climate which might be apprehended from them. Uncertain conjectures only can be formed of the population of the inſland parts: that of the ſea coaſt may amount to nine or ten thouſand men, divided into ſeveral nations, the moſt powerful of which are the Galibis. The miſſionaries, by great attention and perſeverance, have found means to fix ſome of thoſe roving nations, and even to reconcile them to the French, againſt whom they had, with reaſon, entertained the ſtrongeſt prejudices. The firſt adventurers who reſorted to this country, carried off by violence, or bought men, whom they condemned

* Id. ibid. Raynal, liv. xiii.

to

to the hardeſt labours of ſlavery on the very ſoil where they were born free, or ſold them to the planters in the Caribbee iſlands. At firſt, their common price was ſixteen pounds a head; but happily for the natives, theſe ravagers roſe ſo much in their demands that no purchaſers could be found. It was thought more advantageous to buy negroes, who were better able to undergo the labours of the field.

Guiana, ſuch as here deſcribed, appeared a very valuable reſource to the French miniſtry, reduced as they were to the neceſſity of correcting paſt errors, and of repairing if poſſible, paſt misfortunes. A few reflections will enable us to judge of their views.

It is of great importance to the ſouthern colonies, eſpecially thoſe in the Weſt-India iſlands, to have their reſources for population and ſtrength in the North, where they may exchange the articles of luxury for thoſe of neceſſity, and keep open a communication that might afford them ſuccours, in caſe they ſhould be attacked. Before laſt war, the French ſouthern colonies enjoyed this advatage. Canada, by its ſituation, the warlike genius of its inhabitants, their alliances with the Indian nations in friendſhip with the French, and fond of the freedom of their manners, might in ſome degree have balanced New England. The loſs of that great continent determined the French miniſtry to ſeek for ſupport from another. Guiana was thought a proper ſituation for this purpoſe, if a free and national population could there be eſtabliſhed; a population, which might enable the colony to reſiſt foreign attacks, and to furniſh ſpeedy aſſiſtance to the other colonies, if circumſtances ſhould require it.

Such evidently were the views of the court of Verſailles. It was not imagined that Guiana could ever enrich the mother country by the produce of ſuch commodities as are peculiar to the ſouthern colonies, but that it might become a bulwark, and a neceſſary aſſiſtant, both in peace and war, to the French colonies in the Weſt Indies. It was propoſed to people thoſe deſert regions with free-men, not with ſlaves: but it was not conſidered, that Europeans could not undergo the fatigue of preparing lands under the torrid zone; or that men who quitted their own country only in hopes of living with greater ſatisfaction in another, would never accommodate themſelves to the precarious ſubſiſtence of a ſavage life in a worſe climate than that which they had left.

This wrong ſyſtem, into which the government was drawn by a ſet of enterpriſing men, who were either miſled by their preſumption, or who ſacrificed the public good to their own private views, was as extravagantly executed as it had been inconſiderately adopted. It is well known, that almoſt throughout the whole torrid zone, the year is divided into two ſeaſons; the dry, and the rainy. In Guiana, ſuch heavy rains fall from the beginning of November to the end of May, that the lands are either overflowed, or at leaſt unfit for culture. Had the new coloniſts arrived there in the beginning of the dry ſeaſon, and been placed on the lands deſtined for them, they would have had time to put their habitations in order; to cut down or burn the woods, and to plough and ſow

BOOK II.

their lands: but from want of this neceſſary foreſight, they were tranſported thither in the very middle of the rainy ſeaſon.

The iſland of Cayenne might have been a proper place for the reception and refreſhment of the new ſettlers, till ſuch time as they could have been diſpoſed of: there they might have found lodging and ſubſiſtence; but the falſe opinion which prevailed, that the new colony muſt not be intermixed with the old, deprived them of this reſource. In conſequence of that prejudice twelve thouſand men, devoted to deſtruction, were landed on the banks of the river Kourou, on a ridge of ſand amid a number of unwholeſome little iſlands, and only ſheltered under a miſerable awning. In this ſituation, totally inactive, and weary of exiſtence, they gave themſelves up to all the irregularities that idleneſs infallibly produces among men of the loweſt claſs, far removed from their native country, and placed under a foreign ſky. They fell into a ſtate of extreme miſery: they were ſeized with contagious diſtempers, the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch a condition; and their wretched life was at length terminated in all the horrors of deſpair. In order to complete this mournful tragedy, fifteen hundred men who had eſcaped the common mortality, were waſhed away by the floods. Diſtributed upon different lands, that were overflowed at the return of the rains, they all periſhed, without leaving behind them the leaſt trace of their memory *.

The Dutch, who ſeem to have been born to derive benefit from marſhes, and who are equally capable of converting the good or bad fortune of others to their own advantage, have been more ſucceſsful in cultivating their portion of this continent. They are in poſſeſſion of a large territory, which is ſeparated from French Guiana by the river Maroni, and by that of Poumaron from Spaniſh Guiana. It is known by the name of Surinam, the moſt ancient and moſt important ſettlement in the colony. The foundation of it was laid in 1640 by the French, whoſe activity carried them at that time into a variety of climates, and whoſe fickleneſs ſuffered them not to ſettle in any. They abandoned Surinam a few years after they arrived there, and were ſucceeded by the Engliſh, whoſe diligence began to be attended with ſome ſucceſs, when they were attacked by the Dutch; who finding them diſperſed over a vaſt tract of land, experienced little difficulty in maſtering them. Some years after they were, to the number of twelve hundred, tranſported to Jamaica, the colony being formally ceded to the republic by the peace of Breda.

A. D. 1668.

The Dutch, whoſe ſole occupation was commerce, had not the leaſt taſte for agriculture. Surinam was accordingly for ſome time a monument of the prejudices of its new maſters. At length the Weſt-India company, who governed the country, cut down the woods, divided part of the land among the inhabitants, and furniſhed them with ſlaves. All perſons who were deſirous of occupying theſe lands, obtained grants of them upon an engagement to pay by inſtallments out of their produce, the price at which the lot was valued: and they

* Raynal, liv. xiii.

had the further privilege of diſpoſing of them to any purchaſer, who would agree to pay what part of the original debt remained due.

The ſucceſs of theſe firſt ſettlements gave riſe to a great many others. By degrees they extended to twenty leagues diſtance from the mouth of the river Surinam, and of the Commenwine, which runs into it; and they would have advanced much farther, if they had not been checked by the fugitive negroes, who, taking refuge in inacceſſible foreſts, where they have recovered their liberty, never ceaſe to infeſt the back parts of the colony. The difficulties which attended the clearing of theſe lands, required that uncommon reſolution which is ready to attempt, and that perſeverance which is capable of ſurmounting every thing. The greater part of the lands that were to be made fit for cultivation, were covered with water every tide to the depth of four or five feet; but by making great numbers of ditches and ſluices, the planters ſucceeded in draining off the moiſture: and thus the glory of ſetting bounds to the ocean, was acquired by the Dutch in the New World, as it had been before in the Old. They contrived even to give to their plantations that neatneſs which is every where characteriſtic of the people, and ſuch conveniencies as are not to be found in the moſt flouriſhing either of the French or Engliſh ſettlements.

One of the principal cauſes of the proſperity of this colony has been the extreme eaſe with which the ſettlers procured money to carry on their works. They raiſed as much as they had occaſion for at the rate of ſix per cent. but under an expreſs condition, that their plantations ſhould be mortgaged to their creditors, and that they ſhould be obliged to deliver to them their whole produce, at the price current in the colony, till ſuch time as the debt ſhould be entirely diſcharged. With the aſſiſtance of theſe loans, they formed on the banks of the Surinam, or at a little diſtance from it, four hundred and twenty five plantations; upon which, in 1762, were eighty four thouſand five hundred negroes, and four thouſand white men as overſeers. Among the latter are included French refugees, Moravians, and a very conſiderable number of Jews.

There is perhaps no country upon the face of the earth, where the unhappy deſcendants of Abraham are ſo well treated as at Surinam. They are not only permitted to enjoy the exerciſe of their religion, the propriety of lands, and the determination of ſuch diſputes as may ariſe among themſelves: they are likewiſe ſuffered to participate in the common right of citizens; to have a ſhare in the general adminiſtration of affairs, and to vote in the election of public magiſtrates. So great is the influence of the ſpirit of trade, that it forces all national and religious prejudices to ſubmit to that general intereſt, which ſhould be the bond of union among mankind. On this ſubject one cannot help exclaiming, in the words of Raynal*, "What are thoſe ideal nominal diſtinctions of religion or country?—Miſerable inhabitants of a ſpot which ye cultivate with ſo much toil and ſorrow!—are ye not all men?—Why then do ye drive each other from a world, where ye live but for an inſtant?—and what a life too is it,

* Hiſt. Philoſ. &c. liv. xii.

that

BOOK II.

that ye have the folly and cruelty to diſpute with each other the enjoyment of!—Is it not ſufficient that the elements, the heavens, and even the earth, fight againſt you, but ye muſt add to thoſe ſcourges of nature, the abuſe of that little ſtrength which ſhe has left you to reſiſt them?"

Paramaribo, the principal place in the colony of Surinam, is a ſmall town, pleaſantly ſituated upon the river. The houſes are handſome and convenient, though only built of wood, on a foundation of European bricks. Its port, which is five leagues diſtant from the ſea, has every requiſite that can be deſired. It is the rendezvous of all the ſhips diſpatched from the mother-country to receive the produce of the colony. The ſucceſs of this eſtabliſhment ſuggeſted in 1732, the idea of forming another upon the river Berbice, which falls into the ſea nineteen leagues weſt of the Surinam. The ſhores at its mouth were ſo marſhy, that it was found neceſſary to go fifteen leagues up the country, in order to form plantations on its banks. A nation that had made even the ſea habitable, it can hardly be ſuppoſed would be deterred by ſuch an obſtacle: a new company had the glory of raiſing new productions in a ſoil taken from the bed of the ocean, and the oar gave place to the plough-ſhare. The ſame prodigy has ſince been attempted by another aſſociation, and with the ſame ſucceſs, on the Demerary and Eſſequebé, which fall into the ſame bay at twenty leagues diſtance from the Berbice, and upon the Poumaron, at fifteen leagues from the Eſſequebé, and twenty-five from the principal mouth of the Orinoco. The two laſt ſettlements will probably ſome time or other equal that of Surinam, but at preſent they are not ſuppoſed to contain above twelve hundred free perſons, at the head of twenty-eight or thirty thouſand ſlaves.

Theſe three ſettlements produce exactly the ſame articles; cotton, cacao, and ſugar. Though the laſt of theſe is by much the moſt conſiderable, the quantity does not correſpond either to the number of hands, or the expence of culture. This defect no doubt ariſes from the nature of the ſoil, which is marſhy, and by its ſuperabundant humidity drowns or waſhes away the vegetable ſalts of the cane. The little profit which they made by it induced the planters to turn their thoughts towards ſome other object; accordingly, about the beginning of the preſent century, they began the cultivation of the coffee-tree.

This tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature, ſparing of the neceſſaries of life, ſcatters its luxuries with a laviſh hand, was long peculiar to that happy country. The unſucceſsful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of Arabia ſteeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven before they ſold it, in order to ſecure to themſelves a trade from which they derived their chief wealth. They continued in this error, till the Dutch had conveyed the tree itſelf firſt to Batavia, and afterwards to Surinam. Then they were convinced by experience, that the ſeed of the coffee-tree, like that of many others, will never produce a proper plant, unleſs put freſh into the ground. The fruit of this tree reſembles a cherry. It grows in cluſters, and is ranged along the branches under the axillæ of the leaves, which are of the ſame colour and form as thoſe of the laurel, but ſomewhat

what longer. When the fruit becomes of a deep red, it is gathered, and carried to the mill. CHAP. V.

This mill is compoſed of two wooden rollers, furniſhed with two plates of iron, eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter. Theſe are moveable, and made to approach a third, which is fixed, and is called the Chops. Above the rollers is a hopper, in which they put the coffee, whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is ſtript of its firſt ſkin, and divided into two parts, as may be ſeen by its form after it has undergone this operation, being flat on one ſide and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a braſs ſieve, where the ſkin drops between the wires, while the fruit ſlides over them into baſkets placed ready to receive it. It is then thrown into a veſſel full of water, where it ſoaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly waſhed. When the whole is finiſhed, and well dried, it is put into another machine, called the Peeling-mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon its trundle by a mule or horſe. In paſſing over the dried coffee it takes off the parchment, which is nothing but a thin ſkin that detaches itſelf from the berry, in proportion as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, the coffee is taken out of this mill to be winnowed in another, called the Winnowing-mill. This machine is provided with four pieces of tin fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a ſlave with conſiderable force; and the wind that is made by the motion of theſe plates, clears the coffee from all the pellicles that are mixed with it. It is afterwards put upon a table, where the broken berries, and any refuſe that may happen to be left, are ſeparated from it by negroes. After theſe repeated operations, the coffee is fit for ſale.

The coffee-tree flouriſhes only in thoſe climates where the winters are extremely mild. It particularly delights in mountains and high grounds, where its root is almoſt always dry, and its head frequently watered with gentle ſhowers. It prefers a weſtern aſpect, and ploughed ground, without any appearance of graſs. The plants ſhould be placed at eight feet diſtance from each other, and in holes twelve or fifteen inches deep. If left to themſelves, they would riſe to the height of twenty feet; but they are commonly ſtinted to five, for the ſake of gathering their fruit with greater eaſe. Thus dwarfed, they extend their branches in ſuch a manner, that they cover the whole ſpot round about them.

The coffee-tree bloſſoms in the months of December, January, and February, according to the temperature of the air or the ſeaſon for rain, and bears in October or November. It begins to yield fruit the third year, but is not in full bearing till the fifth. With the ſame infirmities to which moſt other trees are ſubject, the coffee-tree is likewiſe in danger of being deſtroyed by a worm that pierces its root, or by the intenſe rays of the ſun, which are as fatal to it as to the human ſpecies. The length of its life depends upon the quality of the ſoil in which it is planted. The hills, where it is chiefly found, have gravelly or chalky bottoms. In the firſt it languiſhes for ſome time, and then dies; in the ſecond its roots, which ſeldom fail of ſtriking betwixt the ſtones, obtain nouriſhment, invigorate the trunk, and keep the tree alive and fruitful for thirty years.

BOOK II.

This is nearly the period for plants of the coffee-tree. The proprietor at the end of this term not only finds himſelf without trees, but his land is ſo much reduced, that it is not fit for any kind of culture. One may fairly ſay he has ſunk his capital for an income of a very ſhort continuance: and if his ſituation happens to be in an iſland entirely incloſed and occupied, his loſs is not to be repaired; but upon an open and widely extended continent, he may make himſelf amends for a ſpot totally exhauſted by a tract of unappropriated and unbroken virgin-land, which he has it in his option to clear.

This advantage has contributed amazingly to multiply the coffee plantations in that part of Guiana which belongs to the Dutch. The ſingle colony of Surinam furniſhed in 1768, one hundred thouſand weight of cotton, two hundred thouſand of cacao, fourteen millions of coffee, and twenty-eight millions ſix hundred thouſand of raw ſugar. Seventy ſhips were freighted with thoſe commodities, in order to carry them to the mother country. It is not poſſible for the author to determine, with the ſame preciſion, the produce of the other colonies, but he may venture to ſettle it at one-fourth part. It will increaſe annually. Every ſpecies of culture that the Dutch have undertaken will be extended and improved. They will perhaps attempt new ones; at leaſt they will reſume that of indigo, which a few unſucceſsful experiments induced them to abandon without ſufficient reaſon.

It is true that the coaſt, which is ſeventy-ſix leagues in extent, does not afford a ſingle ſpot for a plantation. The land throughout is low, and generally under water; but the great rivers upon which ſettlements have been begun to be made, and the leaſt of which is navigable for more than thirty leagues, offer a ſtrong invitation to the enterpriſing adventurer to come and enrich himſelf on their banks. The country that lies between theſe is fruitful, and waſhed by ſmaller rivers, which are, however, large enough to carry ſloops. The only obſtacle to great ſucceſs is the climate. The year is divided between continual rains and exceſſive heats. The crops, which coſt the planters vaſt pains to raiſe, cannot be preſerved, without the utmoſt difficulty, from ſwarms of diſguſting reptiles; and they themſelves are expoſed ſucceſſively to the languors of the dropſy, and to fevers of every kind.

Theſe are no doubt the reaſons which have induced the principal proprietors of Dutch Guiana to reſide in Europe: hence there are ſcarcely to be found in the colony any inhabitants but the factors of thoſe wealthy men, and ſuch proprietors, whoſe fortunes being too moderate to intruſt the care of their plantations to other hands, as are obliged to live in the country. The conſumption of the colony cannot therefore be large; accordingly the veſſels which are ſent from the mother country to bring home the produce, carry out nothing but abſolute neceſſaries. At moſt the articles of luxury are few.

Even this ſcanty ſupply the Dutch traders are forced to ſhare with the Engliſh of North America, who were at firſt admitted only becauſe the colony was under a neceſſity of purchaſing horſes of them. The difficulty of breeding, and perhaps other cauſes, have eſtabliſhed this permiſſion. The conveyance of horſes

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is ſo neceſſary a paſſport for men, that a ſhip which does not carry a number proportioned to its ſize, is not permitted to enter the harbours of Dutch Guiana. But if the horſes happen to die in the paſſage, it is ſufficient to produce their heads, in order to entitle the owners to expoſe to ſale ſuch other commodities as they have on board. There is a law forbidding payments to be made otherwiſe than by barter of molaſſes and rum, but this law is little regarded. The Engliſh, who have aſſumed the right of importing thither whatever they pleaſe, take care to export the moſt valuable commodities of the colony, and even exact payments in money or bills of exchange upon Europe.

By conſidering the dangers to which Dutch Guiana may be expoſed, we ſhall be able to acquire ſome idea of its preſent ſtrength. In the firſt place, an invaſion by any of the European powers might be eaſily effected. The largeſt ſhips could enter the river Poumaron, the mouth of which has ſeven or eight fathom depth of water, that gradually increaſes to forty fathom, at the diſtance of four or five leagues. The little fort of New Zealand, which protects the banks, could not withſtand a vigorous connonading for two hours. The entrance of the Demerary, which has from eighteen to twenty and twenty-four fathom of water, and has not leſs than fifteen or ſixteen throughout the ſpace of four leagues, and which is totally defenceleſs, would be ſtill more eaſy. The outlet of the Eſſequebé, which is three leagues in breadth, is filled with ſmall iſlands and ſhallows; but here, as well as along the courſe of the river, are found channels deep enough to bring the largeſt ſhips up to an iſland ten leagues diſtant from the ſea, and defended only by a miſerable redoubt. Though the river Berbice, which is one league broad, can ſcarcely admit the ſmalleſt veſſels, they would carry ſufficient force to reduce fort Naſſau, and the ſcattered ſettlements on both its banks. In a word, all the weſtern part of Dutch Guiana is ſcarcely in a condition to reſiſt the attack of a ſtout privateer, and would infallibly be obliged to capitulate on the ſight of the moſt contemptible ſquadron.

The eaſtern part, which, by reaſon of its wealth, is expoſed to greater danger, is better defended. The entrance of the river Surinam is not very practicable, on account of its ſand-bank. Ships, however, that do not draw more than twenty feet of water, can come in at flood. At two leagues from its mouth, the Commenwine joins the Surinam. This point of union the Dutch have chiefly fortified: they have erected a battery on the Surinam, another on the right bank of the Commenwine, and on the left bank a citadel called Amſterdam. Theſe works form a triangle; and their guns, which croſs each other, are contrived to have the double effect of preventing ſhips from proceeding further up one river, and from entering the other. The citadel is ſeated in the midſt of a moraſs, and is inacceſſible, except by a narrow cauſeway, entirely commanded by the artillery. It requires no more than eight or nine hundred men to garriſon it completely. It is flanked with four baſtions, and ſurrounded with a mud rampart, a wide ditch full of water, and a good covered way; but it is unprovided with powder magazines, has no vaults, nor any kind of caſemate. Three leagues higher on the Surinam is a cloſe battery, intended to cover the

harbour

BOOK II.

harbour and town of Paramaribo. It is called Fort Zeland. A battery of the ſame kind, named Sommeſwelt Fort, covers the Commenwine at nearly the ſame diſtance. The forces of the colony conſiſt of its militia, and twelve hundred regulars; one half of whoſe pay is ſupplied by the inhabitants, and the other by the Weſt India company.

This number of men would be more than ſufficient, if they had nothing to guard againſt but the efforts of the natives. The Indians, who endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion of ſuch places as ſuited the Dutch; have been exterminated. The reſt kept retreating farther into the country, in proportion as they found the Europeans encroaching upon them; and now live quietly in thoſe woods, which by ſerving them as an aſylum, are become as dear to them as the habitations from which they were expelled. But the colony of Surinam is not equally ſecure in regard to the negroes. When theſe miſerable beings are brought from Africa for ſale, they are placed one after another upon a table, and examined with the moſt minute attention by a ſurgeon employed by the government. According to his report, the prices are ſettled, and the money is uſually paid at the end of three weeks. The purchaſer, however, has four and twenty hours allowed him to judge, from his own obſervation, of the goodneſs of his bargain; and if within that time he is diſſatisfied with the choice he has made, he has a right to return the ſlaves without any ceremony or indemnification, provided he has not put his ſeal upon them. This ſeal is a ſilver plate, on which are engraved the initials of his chriſtian and ſurname. After being heated, it is applied to the arm or breaſt of the ſlave; and the marks thus burned in can never be effaced. The uſe of this barbarous practice is to enable the planters to diſtinguiſh thoſe ſlaves, whoſe features are not ſufficiently marked for European eyes to recognize their identity.

Nothing is more uncommon in the Dutch ſettlements than to ſee a ſlave made free. He cannot obtain his liberty but by becoming a Chriſtian; and before the prieſt is authoriſed to adminiſter baptiſm to him, letters of freedom muſt be purchaſed, which coſt between ſeventeen and eighteen pounds ſterling. Security muſt alſo be given for his maintenance during life, leſt he ſhould become a burden to the company, or be induced to increaſe the number of the enemies of the colony, already too great. When to theſe expences we add the loſs of the original purchaſe money, we will not be ſurpriſed that the enfranchiſement of a ſlave ſhould be very uncommon among a people whoſe ruling paſſion is avarice.

The planters in Dutch Guiana, are ſo far from giving way to ſuch acts of humanity, that they have carried oppreſſion to infinitely greater lengths than thoſe to which it has been extended in the iſlands. The opportunities of deſertion on a continent of immenſe extent, is probably in ſome meaſure the cauſe of this extraordinary barbarity towards the negroes. On the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion a ſlave is put to death by his maſter in the preſence of all his companions. But this is done without the knowledge of the white people, who might give evidence againſt him for ſo flagrant a breach of the rights of civil authority;

rity; whereas the negroes not being permitted to give teſtimony, their being preſent is of no ſort of conſequence, unleſs to impreſs them with ſentiments of terror, and make them tremble with more abject timidity at the frown of their tyrants.

The mother country winks at this cruelty; and by its ſhameful connivance, riſks the loſs of a beneficial ſettlement. Fear is ſometimes rouſed by the convulſions of deſpair, and vengeance lurks in the heart of the oppreſſed and inſulted negroe. There has often been reaſon to apprehend a revolution; but the danger was never ſo great or imminent as in 1763, when an inſurrection broke out, which by its example and conſequences, might have produced the moſt fatal effects throughout all the American ſettlements. Seventy-three blacks ſuddenly aſſembled in one houſe at Berbice, murdered their maſter, and ſent abroad the cry of liberty. At this ſound, courage and hope revived and animated the whole body of ſlaves. They united to the number of nine thouſand, and in the firſt tranſports of their fury fell upon all the white people that they met. Such as eſcaped were obliged to take refuge on board a brigantine at the lower part of the river. In the mean time five hundred men arrived from Surinam to their aſſiſtance: they were enabled to land, and entrenched themſelves in an advantageous poſt, till the arrival of ſome troops from Europe.

Fortunately for the republic, the Engliſh at Barbadoes, who are in poſſeſſion of moſt of the plantations formed on the Poumaron, Demerary, and Eſſequebé, ſent in time a ſufficient force to keep the ſlaves on theſe two rivers in order; and by a ſtill more fortunate occurrence, the people of Surinam, at this very time, concluded a treaty which they had on foot with the negroes who had taken refuge in the neighbouring woods. Ignorant of a commotion that might have proved ſo favourable to them, they agreed not to receive among them any fugitives of their own nation. This ſtipulation deprived the rebels of their principal reſource; and by ſuch a combination of unexpected events, they were again reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude. The greateſt part of them being without arms, they eagerly embraced the offer of a capitulation with their maſters. They have ſince, however, given proofs of that inextinguiſhable hatred prevailing in their ſouls, which never fails to reſiſt oppreſſion. The tranquility of Dutch Guiana, in a word, like that of all other countries where rebellion has once broke out, is more apparent than real: the ſeeds of treaſon are ripening in ſecret within the foreſts of Auka and Sarmaka.

In theſe deſerts, which are peopled with all the ſlaves that have fled from the yoke of the covetous Hollander, a ſpecies of republic has grown up, compoſed of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, divided among ſeveral villages, each of which chuſes a chief for itſelf. Theſe wandering clans fall unexpectedly, ſometimes upon one ſide of the colony, ſometimes upon another, in order to carry off ſupplies for their own ſubſiſtence, and to lay waſte the fields of their former tyrants. It is in vain that the troops are kept continually upon the watch, to check or ſurpriſe ſo dangerous an enemy. By means of private information, they contrive to eſcape every ſnare, and direct their incurſions to-

BOOK II.

wards thoſe parts which happen to be left defenceleſs. Conventions and treaties are no ſecurity againſt their attacks.

The wiſdom and moderation of the Dutch, who have inconſiderately rendered the load of ſervitude ſo oppreſſive to the negroes, is therefore deeply intereſted to prevent a general revolution, of which they would be the firſt victims. They have already been guilty of many overſights. They have not beſtowed on their American ſettlements that attention which they deſerved, although they have met with ſtrokes ſo ſevere, and ſo cloſely following upon each other, as ought to have opened their eyes. If they had not been blinded by the rapidity of their ſucceſs, they would have diſcovered the beginning of their ruin in the final loſs of Brazil. Deprived of that rich country, which in their hands might have become the moſt flouriſhing colony in the univerſe, and might have atoned for the inſufficiency of their territory in Europe, they ſaw themſelves reduced to their original condition, as a trading people, of being factors for other nations. Thus was created, in their maſs of real wealth, a void which has never yet been filled up.

The conſequences of the Act of Navigation paſſed in England, were no leſs fatal to the Dutch. From that time Great Britain, ceaſing to be tributary to the trade of the republic, became her rival, and in a ſhort time acquired a deciſive ſuperiority over her in Aſia, Africa, and America. Had other nations adopted the policy of England, Holland muſt have ſunk under the ſtroke. Happily for her their rulers were leſs attentive to the proſperity of the people. Every government, however, in proportion as it has become more enlightened, has aſſumed to itſelf its own branches of commerce. Each ſtep that has been taken for this purpoſe has been an additional check upon the Dutch; and we may preſume from the preſent ſtate of things, that ſooner or later every people will eſtabliſh a navigation for themſelves, ſuited to the nature of their country, and to the extent of their induſtry. To this period the courſe of events in all nations ſeems to tend; and whenſoever it ſhall arrive, the Dutch, who are indebted for their ſucceſs as much to the indolence and ignorance of their neighbours, as to their own œconomy and experience, will find themſelves reduced to their original ſtate of poverty.

If the republic ſhould ever find herſelf in this ſituation, her great reſource will be in agriculture. This, however, though capable of improvement in the country of Breda, Boi-le-Duc, Zutphen, and Gueldres, can never become very conſiderable. The territory belonging to the United Provinces is ſo ſmall, that it will almoſt juſtify the ſaying of the Grand Segnior, who hearing with what obſtinacy the Dutch and Spaniards diſputed the poſſeſſion of it, declared that, if it belonged to him, he would order his pioniers to throw it into the ſea. The ſoil is good for nothing but fiſh; which, before the Dutch, were its only tenants. It has been ſaid, with no leſs truth than energy, that the four elements were but in embryo there. The produce of the lands will never be ſufficient to maintain one fourth part of the two millions of people which at preſent inhabit it.

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It cannot therefore be by her European poſſeſſions that the republic can expect to be preſerved. She may depend with more reaſon upon thoſe in America. The countries which ſhe holds in that quarter of the globe, are all under the influence of monopolies. Her iſlands in the American Archipelago, as well as her factories in Africa, depend upon the Weſt India company; the credit of which, ſince the loſs of Brazil, has ſunk ſo prodigiouſly, that their ſtock ſells at near ſixty per cent. under par. Surinam, which was taken by ſome private ſhips fitted out in Zeland, was ceded by the ſtates of that province to the ſame company; who having ſtill their imagination filled with the idea of their ancient grandeur, undertook without heſitation the management of that territory; but upon ſerious reflection they found, that the expence neceſſary to put it in ſuch a ſtate as to yield them any advantage, was far too great for their exhauſted finances. They therefore gave up a third of their property to the city of Amſterdam, and another third to an opulent individual of the name of Daarſſens. The two other Dutch colonies in Guiana are likewiſe under the controul of trading companies, to which they owe their foundation.

Not one of theſe ſocieties is in poſſeſſion of a ſingle ſhip, or carries on any ſort of trade. The navigation of the American ſettlements is therefore open to every member of the community: under this whimſical and oppreſſive condition, however, that every ſhip, bound for Surinam and Berbice, ſhall ſail from Amſterdam; thoſe for Eſſequebé from Zeland; and that they ſhall return into the ſame ports from which they ſailed. The care of the companies is confined to the government, and the defence of the territories ſubmitted to their juriſdiction; and in order to enable them to ſupport theſe expences, the republic authoriſes them to impoſe taxes of different kinds. All commodities imported into the colonies, or exported from them, pay large duties. Slaves, on their arrival, are ſubject to much larger; and there is a tax upon both blacks and whites from three years of age. Foreigners only are exempted from this ſhameful tribute. When an eſtate is transferred, both the buyer and the ſeller are ſubject to a conſiderable fine. Every manufacturer, be his induſtry ever ſo great, is obliged to give in an account of his gains upon oath; and the impoſt is regulated according to the amount of his profits. After the public expences are defrayed, the remainder of the revenue, which the weakneſs or corruption of the ſovereign power has ſuffered to become too exorbitant, is divided among the members of the different companies.

Every wiſe government has diſcovered the diſadvantages of leaving their American poſſeſſions in the hands of particular ſocieties, whoſe private intereſts do not always coincide with that of the public. They have conſidered their ſubjects in the New World as having an equal right with thoſe in the Old, to be governed not by partial but by general laws: they have been of opinion, that their colonies make a more rapid progreſs under the immediate protection of the ſtate, than under that of a middle agent; and the event has demonſtrated, more or leſs in all caſes, the juſtneſs of theſe reflections. Holland is the only power that has not adopted ſo ſimple and rational a plan, though every circumſtance con-

BOOK II.

curred to make it more neceſſary to her than to other ſtates. The greater part of her ſettlements, as already obſerved, are without any defence againſt a foreign force, and are in continual danger of inſurrections from the cruel treatment of the ſlaves. That diſinclination which a people merely commercial naturally have to the improvement of land, is ſtrengthened in the colonies by the abuſes inſeparable from the form of government there eſtabliſhed; and the means of creating a new order of things in them are not within the reach of the authority, protection, or activity of a private ſociety. Revolutions of ſuch magnitude cannot be brought about but by the immediate ſuperintendance of government.

If the republic ſhall adopt the reſolution which her moſt important intereſts require, ſhe will ceaſe to depend ſolely for her exiſtence upon a precarious induſtry, ſome branches of which ſhe is every day loſing, and which ſooner or later ſhe muſt loſe entirely. Her American colonies, which comprehend every advantage that a mercantile nation, alſo engaged in agriculture, can deſire, will furniſh productions, the whole profits and property of which will centre in her. By her territorial acquiſitions ſhe will be enabled, in every market, to rival thoſe nations whoſe commodities ſhe formerly ſerved only to convey. In a word, Holland will ceaſe to be a warehouſe, and become a ſtate.

THE

THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BOOK III.

The WEST INDIES, or GREAT AMERICAN ARCHIPELAGO.

CHAP. I.

A general View of the West India *Islands, with an Account of the Manners and Customs of the* Caribs, *of the Rise and Dispersion of the* Buccaneers, *and of the principal military Transactions of the* European *Powers in those Latitudes.*

AMERICA is composed of two vast continents; one towards the north, the other towards the south. They are united by an isthmus fifteen hundred miles long, and only sixty broad at one part. In the gulph that narrows this isthmus, and which is formed by the projection of the two continents, are scattered an infinite number of fertile islands, of various dimensions, commonly known by the name of the WEST INDIES. These islands, which enrich the American Archipelago, and render it the most glorious scene that was ever offered to the eye of commerce, are divided into several classes; the most considerable of which are the Great Antilles, comprehending Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico; the Caribbees, including the Windward and Leeward Islands; and the Lucayos, or Bahama Islands. BOOK III.

This archipelago, according to the theory of Buffon, as well as that of the East Indies, situated nearly in the same latitude, seems to have been produced by the motion of the sea from east to west;—a motion produced by the same cause

BOOK III.

which occaſions the earth's revolution from weſt to eaſt; more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle, and in a more agitated zone, and where the ocean ſeems as it were willing to break through all the boundaries which nature oppoſes to its fury. All the ſhores that look towards the eaſt, as well as the iſlands, bear marks of this continual action. The Caribbees, in particular, appear only to be the ſummits of mountains, the lower chain of which is at preſent under water. This will be illuſtrated by a ſhort deſcription.

The direction of the Weſt India iſlands, beginning at Tobago, is nearly north and north-weſt. This direction is continued from one iſland to another, forming a line ſomewhat curved towards the north-eaſt, and ending at Antigua. There the line becomes at once curved, and extending itſelf in a ſtraight direction to the weſt and north weſt, meets in its courſe with Porto Rico, Hiſpaniola, and Cuba, which are ſeparated from each other by channels of various breadths. Some of theſe are ſix, others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the ſoundings in all of them are from an hundred to an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincent lies a cluſter of ſmall iſlands, known by the name of the Grenadines, where, in ſome places, the ſoundings are not ten fathom.

The mountains in the Weſt India iſlands run in the ſame direction as the iſlands themſelves. This direction is ſo regular, that if the tops of theſe mountains were conſidered independent of their baſes, they might be looked upon a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the moſt north-weſterly ridge. The ſprings of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward iſlands run all in the weſtern parts of thoſe iſlands. The whole eaſtern coaſt is without any running water. Theſe obſervations, which ſeem to prove, that the ſea has ſeparated the Weſt India iſlands from the continent, are farther confirmed by others of a different kind, though equally concluſive in ſupport of this conjecture. Tobago, Margaretta, and Trinidad, the iſlands that are neareſt to the continent on the ſouth, produce trees whoſe wood is ſoft, and wild cacao, which are rarely found in the more northern iſlands. In theſe all the wood is hard. Cuba, ſituated at the other extremity of the archipelago, abounds like Florida, from which perhaps it has been ſevered, with cedars and cypreſſes.

The ſoil of the Weſt India iſlands conſiſts chiefly of a layer of clay and gravel, under which is a bed of ſtone or rock. The nature of ſome of theſe ſoils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In thoſe places where the ſoil is drier, and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed of greater depth, than where the clay is moiſter. The ſand or gravel has different properties, according to its peculiar nature. Wherever it is leſs hard, leſs compact, or leſs porous, ſmall pieces ſeparate themſelves from it; which, though dry, preſerve a certain degree of coolneſs, uſeful to vegetation. Where the clay and gravel do not go through ſuch modifications, the ſoil becomes barren, as ſoon as the layer formed by the decompoſition of the original plants is deſtroyed. This is occaſioned by the neceſſity of weeding

ing it, which too frequently expoſe its ſalts to the heat of the ſun. Hence, in thoſe cultures which require leſs weeding, and where the plant covers with its leaves the vegetable ſalts, the fertility of the ſoil has been preſerved *.

The climate, in all the Weſt India iſlands, is nearly the ſame, allowing for thoſe accidental differences, which the ſeveral qualities of the lands themſelves produce. The inhabitants diſtinguiſh only two ſeaſons, the dry and the rainy. Nature, whoſe operations are unremitted, appears to them to act always uniformly; but thoſe who attentively obſerve her progreſs, diſcern that, in the temperature of the climate, as well as in all the revolutions and changes of vegetation, ſhe obſerves the ſame laws as in Europe, though in a leſs ſenſible manner. Theſe changes, however, are no preſervative againſt the dangers and inconveniences of ſuch a ſcorching ſun, as muſt naturally be expected under the torrid zone. As thoſe iſlands lie chiefly between the Equator and the tropic of Cancer, the inhabitants are continually expoſed to an almoſt inſupportable heat. This heat is moderated rather by the winds than the changes in the ſeaſons. Thoſe which blow from the ſouth and weſt afford ſome relief, but they are much leſs frequent and regular than that which comes from the eaſt.

The eaſterly wind depends upon two invariable cauſes. The firſt ariſes from the diurnal motion of the earth, from weſt to eaſt, which muſt neceſſarily be more rapid under the equinoxial, becauſe a greater ſpace muſt be paſſed over in the ſame time. The ſecond is owing to the heat of the ſun, which, as ſoon as it riſes above the horizon, rarifies the air, and cauſes it to blow towards the weſt, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the eaſt. The eaſterly wind, therefore, which in the Weſt India iſlands is ſcarcely felt before nine in the morning, increaſes as the ſun riſes above the horizon, and decreaſes as it declines. Towards evening it ceaſes entirely to blow on the coaſts, but not on the open ſea. The cauſes of this difference are very evident. After the ſetting of the ſun, the air from the land, which continues for a conſiderable time rarified, on account of the vapours that are continually riſing from the heated globe, neceſſarily flows back upon the air of the ſea. This is what is generally called a *land-breeze*, in oppoſition to the former, which is termed a *ſea-breeze*. The land-breeze is moſt ſenſibly felt during the night; and continues, till the air of the ſea, rarified by the heat of the ſun, flows back again towards the land, where the air has been condenſed by the coolneſs of the night. It has alſo been obſerved, that the eaſterly wind blows more regularly, and with greater force in the dog-days, than at any other time of the year, becauſe the ſun then acts more powerfully upon the air. Thus nature cauſes the exceſſive heat of the ſun to contribute to the refreſhment of thoſe climates that are parched by his rays.

The rain alſo contributes to the temperature of the Weſt India iſlands, though not equally in them all. In thoſe places where the eaſterly wind meets with nothing to oppoſe its progreſs, it diſpels the clouds as they begin to riſe, and cauſes them to break either in the woods or upon the mountains; but wherever the

* Du Tertre. Labat. Buffon. Raynal

BOOK III.

ſtorms are too violent, or where the blowing of the eaſterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the ſouthern and weſterly winds, it then begins to rain. In other iſlands, where the eaſt wind does not generally blow, the rains are ſo frequent and plentiful, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, which laſts from the middle of July to the middle of October, that, according to the moſt accurate obſervations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in moſt European climates in the ſpace of a year. Our heavieſt rains are but dews, compared with thoſe in the Weſt Indies, which are rather torrents of water, poured from the clouds with vaſt impetuoſity.

Theſe rains, ſo ſalutary againſt the heat, are accompanied with all the inconveniencies of moiſture, and attended with effects no leſs diſagreeable than fatal. The dead muſt be interred within a few hours after they have expired; meat will not keep freſh above four and twenty hours; the fruits ſuddenly decay, whether they are gathered ripe or before their maturity; the bread muſt be made into biſcuits, in order to prevent it from growing mouldy; common wines ſoon become ſour, and iron ruſts in a few days. The ſeeds cannot be preſerved without great attention and care, till the proper ſeaſon returns for ſowing them. When the Weſt India iſlands were firſt diſcovered, the corn that was conveyed thither for the ſupport of thoſe who could not accuſtom themſelves to the food of the natives was ſo ſoon damaged, that it became neceſſary to ſend it in the ear. This precaution enhanced the price of it to ſuch a degree that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then ſubſtituted in place of corn; which lowered, indeed, the expences of freight, but was attended with a new inconvenience: it was ſooner damaged. While things were in this diſagreeable ſtate, it was happily imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely ſeparated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would be attended with a double advantage: it might be ſold cheaper, and would keep longer. He accordingly cauſed it to be ſifted, and put the fineſt flour into ſtrong caſks, and beat it cloſe together with iron hammers, till it became ſo firm a body that the air could ſcarce enter it. Experience juſtified ſo rational a contrivance. The practice, improved, has become general. By this means flour may be kept for the ſpace of ſix months, a year, or even longer; an interval ſufficient for the activity and induſtry of the mother-country to ſupply its colonies.

How troubleſome ſoever theſe natural effects of the periodical rains may be, they are connected with ſome ſtill more terrible. Of theſe the moſt deſtructive is the hurricane. The hurricane is a violent wind, generally accompanied with rain, lightning and thunder; ſometimes with an earthquake: and it is always attended with the moſt fatal conſequences that the fury of the elements can produce. The ſky, which in the torrid zone is uſually clear, is ſuddenly changed into a dark and univerſal night; and the appearance of a perpetual ſpring into the drearineſs and horror of the moſt gloomy winter. Trees as old as the world are torn up by the roots, and inſtantly diſappear; the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins: where the eye delighted itſelf with the proſpect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be ſeen but plantations entirely

tirely deſtroyed, and frightful caverns; whole fields of ſugar-canes being whirled into the air, and ſcattered over the face of the country. The labours of many years are deſtroyed, and the hopes of the planter periſh, at the very time when he thinks himſelf beyond the reach of fortune. Deprived of their ſole ſupport, the unhappy ſufferers weep over the carcaſſes of the dead, or ſearch among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noiſe of the waters, of the woods, and of the winds, accompanied with the dreadful ſhock of the thunder; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiſcuouſly involved in a whirlwind of ſand, ſtones, and ruins of buildings!—all theſe horrors combined ſeem to portend the laſt ſtruggles of expiring nature.

Hurricans, however, though accompanied with ſo many awful circumſtances, and though in many reſpects ſo deſtructive, contribute to the production of more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether theſe violent concuſſions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain ſubſtances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not eaſy to determine; but it has been obſerved, that this ſeeming evil, and temporary confuſion, is not only a conſequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even diſſolution itſelf inſtrumental to regeneration, but alſo the means of preſerving the univerſal ſyſtem, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, the ſource of partial ill and of general good *.

The original inhabitants of the Weſt India iſlands pretend to foretel, by infallible prognoſtics, the approach of this dreadful phænomenon. They affirm, That when it is near at hand, the air is miſty, the ſun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains illuminated; that in caverns and reſervoirs of water, a hollow ſound is heard under the earth, like that ariſing from pent up winds; that at night the ſtars are ſurrounded with a ſort of bur, which makes them appear much larger; that the ſky, towards the north-weſt, has a black and menacing look; that the ſea emits a ſtrong fetid ſmell, and is violently agitated without any wind; that the wind itſelf, forſaking its uſual ſteady eaſterly courſe, ſhifts about to the weſt, whence it blows very violently, at different intervals for about two hours at a time †.

Though the truth of all theſe obſervations cannot be aſcertained, yet to pay no attention to the remarks of rude nations on times and ſeaſons, would be a ſtrong indication of literary pride, or of a mind little addicted to philoſophical inquiries. Barbarians, by reaſon of their want of employment, and their habit of living in the open air, have both an opportunity, and are under the neceſſity of obſerving the ſmalleſt alterations in that element. Hence ſhepherds and huſbandmen, in every country, have acquired many uſeful informations in regard to the weather, which have eſcaped thoſe engaged in ſedentary employments, though otherwiſe more enlightened. Perhaps we ought to depend upon ruſtics or ſavages for the diſcovery of effects, and on the learned only for the inveſtigation

* Raynal, liv. x.

† Hiſt. Nat. des Antilles.

BOOK III.

of cauſes. Let us trace, if poſſible, the cauſe of thoſe hurricanes, ſo frequent and fatal in the Weſt India iſlands.

No hurricane comes from the eaſt; that is, from the greateſt extent of the ſea at thoſe iſlands. As this is an undiſputed fact, it naturally inclines us to ſuppoſe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The weſt wind, which blows conſtantly, and very violently in the ſouthern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the ſame time in the northern parts, muſt, when they meet, oppoſe each other with a force proportioned to their natural velocity. If this ſhock happens in the long and narrow paſſes of the mountains, it muſt occaſion a ſtrong current of air, which will extend itſelf in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow paſs. Every ſolid body that meets this current of air will be impreſſed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of the ſurface it oppoſes to the current; ſo that if the poſition of that ſurface ſhould be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impoſſible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole maſs. Fortunately the different bearings of the coaſts of the Weſt India iſlands, and their angular, or ſpherical figure, occaſion theſe frightful hurricanes to fall upon ſurfaces more or leſs oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually deſtroy its effects. Experience alſo proves, that their action is by degrees ſo much weakened, that, even in the direction where the hurricane falls with moſt force, it is ſcarcely felt at ten leagues diſtance. The moſt accurate obſervers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have ſucceſſively ſubverted the iſlands, came from the north weſt, and conſequently from the narrow paſſes formed by the mountains of Santa Martha *. The diſtance of ſome iſlands from that direction, is not a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting this opinion, as ſeveral other cauſes may conſpire to divert a current of air to the ſouth or eaſt.

Such are the deſtructive phœnomena which nature has oppoſed to the acquiſition of the rich productions of the Weſt Indies: but what barrier can reſtrain the avidity of man, or what terrors appal him in the purſuit of Heſperian luxuries?—Columbus, as we have ſeen †, after forming a ſettlement in Hiſpaniola, one of the Great Antilles, and diſcovering the reſt, fell in with the Caribbees. He did not there meet with the ſame timid and harmleſs race of men, whom he had found in the larger iſlands. The Caribs oppoſed the Spaniards with the moſt undaunted reſolution, without regard to numbers, and defended their country with an intrepidity, which they have diſcovered in all ſucceeding rencounters with the Europeans. According to their own tradition they originally came from Guiana, and the ferocity of their manners, as well as the vicinity of that country render this origin highly probable. They are commonly above the middle ſize, muſcular, and well made. Their hair and their eyes are black, and their features agreeable. In a word, their whole figure would be pleaſing, did they not ſpoil their natural beauty by artificial and fancied ornaments. They wear no cloaths; but in order to fortify themſelves againſt the

* Raynal, liv. x.

† Book I. chap. i. p. 24.

intenſe

intenſe heat of the ſun-beams, as well as to guard againſt the bite of inſects, they paint their bodies all over with the juice of the Palma Chriſti, which gives them the appearance of a boiled lobſter *.

The Caribs, like the Brazilians, have ſome reſpect for the ſun and moon, but neither temples nor worſhip. If they have any idea of a Supreme Being, they believe that he enjoys his happineſs in tranquility, and is ſo little attentive to the actions of men, as never to inflict vengeance on offenders. They recognize, however, two ſorts of ſpirits; the one beneficent, whoſe habitation is in heaven, and from whom every man receives that ſpirit by which he is guided; the other malignant, who roam the air during the night, who have no fixed abode, and whoſe ſole employment is to do harm. Their opinion concerning the origin of theſe evil ſpirits illuſtrates their idea of the nature of the ſoul. Every man, ſay they, has as many ſouls as his arteries have pulſes; the principal of which is in the heart, whence it is conducted to heaven, after death, by the good genius who ſerved to guide him in this life. The other ſouls, who were not in the heart, diſperſe themſelves in air; one troop over the ſea, where they occaſion ſhipwrecks, and another over the land, where they do all the miſchief in their power †. Such is the rude theology of the Caribs; whence we may perceive, that, inſtead of regarding the heart as the fountain of corruption, as the moſt treacherous of all things, and deſperately wicked, they conſidered it as the ſource of all that is benevolent in man.

The ideas of government among the Caribs are as imperfect as thoſe of religion. The name of Cazique, which the Spaniards firſt took from the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola, and which they have introduced into all their colonies, is nothing but a vain title among the Caribs, without either power or prerogative. In every iſland however, we are told, there was always one who bore that name, but ſeldom more than two; that to obtain the title of cazique, it is neceſſary to have been diſtinguiſhed in war; to be ſuperior to every competitor in running and ſwimming; to be able to carry a greater burden; but more eſpecially to be endowed with ſuperior patience, and the ability of ſuffering the moſt exquiſite pains. Thus qualified, the cazique is choſen captain general on the approach of a war: he orders the preparations, aſſembles the councils, and enjoys in all reſpects the firſt rank; but during peace, he is not diſtinguiſhed from the other captains, except by his title, and that degree of reſpect which naturally follows the ſuppoſition of extraordinary merit ‡.

The marriages, the funerals, the dances, and the feaſts of the Caribs, are nearly the ſame with thoſe of the other Americans. But for the honour of their nation, they differ in one particular from all the Indian tribes: if they eat their enemies, it is in the height of triumph, and on the field of victory; and they not only treat with humanity ſuch ſtrangers as viſit their coaſts, but even ſuch

* Voyages de P. Labat, tom. II. p. 72, & ſuiv.
† Du Tertre, Hiſt. des Antilles, tom. II.
‡ Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. chap. 2.

BOOK III.

captives as they take without reſiſtance, ſhewing compaſſion more eſpecially to women and children *. They are however, like all the Americans, little ſuſceptible of the paſſion of love, and never ſhew the leaſt marks of attention or tenderneſs for that ſex ſo much courted in other quarters of the globe. They conſider their wives rather in the light of ſlaves than of companions: they do not even ſuffer them to eat with them, and have uſurped the right of divorcing them without permiting them the liberty of marrying again †. The women, even in this depreſſed ſtate, enjoy a gaiety unknown to the men, who are generally of a melancholy diſpoſition, and often ſit whole days moping in their cottages without uttering a word ‡.

Notwithſtanding the advantage of fire-arms, the Spaniards found the Caribs very formidable enemies. At firſt they ſought only for gold in their iſlands, and afterwards for ſlaves; but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being ſo proud and ſullen that they died when ſubjected to ſervitude, the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conqueſts, which they thought of little conſequence, and which they could neither acquire nor preſerve without conſtant and bloody wars. The French and Engliſh being appriſed of this, ventured to equip a ſmall fleet, in order to intercept the Spaniſh veſſels which frequented thoſe latitudes. The booty gained increaſed the number of adventurers. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent ſuch expeditions; and the cuſtom that prevailed among the Spaniards of ſtopping all ſhips that ſailed beyond the tropics juſtified ſuch violences.

The two nations had long been acquainted with the Leeward iſlands, without ever thinking of making any ſettlement. Perhaps they were afraid of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received; or perhaps they imagined, that a ſoil which yielded none of thoſe productions which were in requeſt in the Old World, was unworthy of their attention. But at length, in 1623, Mr. Thomas Warner, who had made a voyage to Surinam, then in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, obtained a grant of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher from James I. and entering into an aſſociation with fourteen other gentlemen, ſailed thither for the purpoſe of making a ſettlement. The French, under Monſieur Deſnambuc, landed on the iſland nearly about the ſame time, and according to their own writers, on the ſame day. Be that, however, as it may, it is certain that Warner and Deſnambuc, underſtanding that the views of each were the ſame, inſtead of entering into any nice diſputes about pre-occupancy, agreed to divide the iſland between them, and to aſſiſt each other againſt the Spaniards, whom they conſidered as their common enemy ‖.

This harmony between the ſettlers of the two nations introduced a moſt atrocious act of mutual cruelty. Warner and Deſnambuc, intending to return

* Du Tertre, tom. II.

† This is a further proof of their being a colony from Guiana.

‡ Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom XV. liv. vii. c. 2.

‖ Du Tertre, ubi ſup. Duglaſs's Summary.

to

to Europe, and ſuſpecting the practices of the Spaniards with the natives, whom by this time they had forced into ſubmiſſion, reſolved to get rid of them. For this purpoſe, they forged a pretence, that the Caribs, at the inſtigation of their magicians, had formed a conſpiracy againſt the French and Engliſh; and attacking thoſe guiltleſs ſavages by night, either maſſacred them or drove them from the iſland. The two chiefs now departed for their reſpective courts, where their inhumanity obtained the name of heroiſm. Warner was knighted, and made governor of the Engliſh part of the iſland, as Deſnambuc was of the French. The latter talked ſo plauſibly to Cardinal Richelieu, that a French Weſt India company was erected in 1626; and it is likely that Warner uſed a ſimilar language, as an Engliſh Weſt India company was eſtabliſhed the ſame year *.

Meanwhile the expulſion of the Caribs from St. Chriſtopher's, had alarmed thoſe of the neighbouring iſlands, who made a deſcent to the number of three or four thouſand. The Engliſh and French were no ſtrangers to their intention, and made a proper diſpoſition to receive them. Part were ſuffered to land; but a body of muſketeers, planted in ambuſh, poured upon them ſo briſk a fire that they were obliged to retire to their canoes, though not before they had killed two hundred of the Europeans. Nor was this the only danger to which the new colony was expoſed. The court of Madrid, jealous of the neighbourhood of two ſuch active and enterpriſing nations, ordered Frederic de Toledo, who was ſent with a powerful fleet to expel the Dutch from Brazil, to deſtroy, in his paſſage, to uſe the pompous language of Spain, thoſe pirates who had invaded her territories. The French and Engliſh were ſenſible of their inability to reſiſt ſuch a force; thoſe who eſcaped the ſword of the Spaniards, therefore took refuge in the adjacent iſlands. When the danger was over, the greater part of them returned to their former ſettlements; and Spain, whoſe attention was engroſſed by objects which ſhe conſidered as of more importance, gave them no further diſturbance.

The Engliſh and French had at firſt conſidered the Caribs as their common enemy, but this kind of caſual aſſociation was frequently after interrupted. It implied no laſting engagement, much leſs a compact for their mutual poſſeſſion; and the ſavages artfully contrived to be at peace, ſometimes with one nation, ſometimes with the other, and by that means gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time. This policy, however, would have availed thoſe iſlanders but little, had France and England paid ſufficient attention to their infant colonies, of whoſe importance they were not yet ſenſible. The indifference ſhewn by the two mother countries, determined their ſubjects in the New World, in January 1660, to enter into an alliance, ſecuring to each people thoſe poſſeſſions which the various events of war had procured them, and which till then had been totally unſettled. In conſequence of this treaty, which eſtabliſhed tranquillity in the Weſt Indies, France obtained Guadalupe, Martinico, Granada, and

* Id. ibid.

BOOK III.

ſome leſs conſiderable acquiſitions; and England was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and ſeveral ſmaller iſlands. St. Chriſtopher's continued to belong to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's; where all the ſcattered tribes of this people were collected, and did not at that time exceed ten thouſand men *.

Before this period the Engliſh ſettlements had acquired ſome kind of form, and were in a flouriſhing condition. On the contrary, the French ſettlements were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to deſpair from the neceſſity they were under of ſubmitting to the tyranny of an excluſive company. Paſſionately attached to liberty, theſe adventurers fled to the northern coaſt of Hiſpaniola; a place where ſeveral of their countrymen had taken refuge, when driven out of St. Chriſtopher's by the Spaniards, about thirty years before. They were there called *Buccaneers*; becauſe, in imitation of the cuſtom of the natives, they dried with ſmoke part of the fleſh of ſuch cattle as they killed, in places denominated *buccans* in the Indian language †.

This name leads us to a very curious inquiry: the riſe and progreſs of a ſet of men who, from obſcure beginnings, rendered themſelves famous by their courage and their crimes, and to whom the Engliſh and French are in ſome meaſure indebted for their proſperity in the Weſt Indies.

After the failure of the mines in Hiſpaniola, and the conqueſt of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru, that valuable iſland was entirely neglected by the Spaniards. The greater part of its once flouriſhing cities were deſerted by their inhabitants, and the few that remained were ſunk in the moſt enervating indolence. The Buccaneers therefore met with no interruption in that courſe of life to which they devoted themſelves; namely, the purſuit of wild cattle, with which the country abounded. Part of the meat they ate freſh, part they cured in the manner deſcribed, and the hides they ſold to ſuch veſſels as came upon the coaſt, but chiefly at firſt to the Dutch, who furniſhed them with brandy, cloaths, fire-arms, powder and ſhot. As they had neither wives nor children, they generally lived two and two together, in order to adminiſter to each other thoſe mutual ſervices which are neceſſary to a comfortable exiſtence. In theſe little ſocieties property was common, and the ſurvivor inherited all that remained on the death of his companion. Even between one ſociety and another the moſt perfect confidence and good will prevailed: nothing was kept under lock or key, yet theft was unknown. It was indeed unneceſſary; for what any one ſtood in need of he freely received from his neighbours, without any other ſolicitation than acquainting them with his wants. A refuſal would have been marked with infamy. Without government, laws, or religion, the Buccaneers lived under certain conventions accommodated to their condition; nor do they ſeem to have had reaſon to lament the want of a more perfect polity. Differences ſeldom aroſe among them; and when they did, they were eaſily adjuſted. Men born in

* Du Tertre.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 1. p. 376.

ſociety

ſociety attempted to reſtore the ſtate of nature. They quitted even their family names, and aſſumed others borrowed from the terms of war and ferocity *.

The dreſs of the Buccaneers conſiſted of a ſhirt dipt in the blood of the animals they had killed; a pair of trowſers dirtier than the ſhirt; a leathern girdle, from which hung a ſhort ſabre, and ſome Dutch knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to pull it off; ſhoes made of raw hides, and no ſtockings. With theſe their ambition was ſatisfied, provided they could have a muſket, four feet and an half long, which carried a bullet near a pound weight, and a pack of between twenty and thirty dogs. Thus accoutred and attended, they commonly ſet out by break of day, in ſearch of wild cattle; which were no ſooner killed than they were flayed, and the purſuit was never diſcontinued, till as many bullocks were killed as there were huntſmen in company. The labour of every day was the ſame, and was conſtantly renewed, till they had provided themſelves with ſuch a number of hides as was ſufficient to ſupply the merchants with whom they had a contract. They were then carried to the veſſels, ſtationed in ſome private bay, by perſons who were called *engagé's*, or bondſmen; a ſet of unfortunate people who were ſeduced in Europe, as many are ſtill, to ſell or indent themſelves to the colonies during the term of three years. One of theſe miſerable men preſuming to repreſent to his maſter, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this journey, that God had forbidden ſuch a practice, when he declared, "Six days ſhalt thou labour, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt:"—"And I," replied the brutal Buccaneer, "ſay to thee, "Six days ſhalt thou kill bullocks, and ſtrip them of their ſkins, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt carry their hides to the ſea-ſhore †."

Men of ſuch a ſavage caſt, habituated to conſtant exerciſe, and feeding every day on freſh meat, were little ſubject to diſeaſes. If their excurſions were occaſionally ſuſpended, it was only by a ſlight fever, which was not felt the day following. Their vigour, however, muſt have been exhauſted in time, under a climate too intemperate for ſo laborious a courſe of life. But the climate was not the only enemy the Buccaneers had to encounter. Theſe ruffians had not always confined themſelves to the purſuit of cattle: they had occaſionally made inroads upon the Spaniſh ſettlements, and ſupplied themſelves with what conveniencies they ſtood in need of. Exaſperated at length, by having their tranquillity and eaſe continually diſturbed, the inhabitants invited, from the continent and the neighbouring iſlands, ſome parties of ſoldiers, who fell upon the diſperſed Buccaneers, and put many of them to the ſword. They muſt all have been cut off, had they not formed themſelves into a body for their mutual defence. Under the neceſſity of ſeparating through the day, in order to proſecute their common employment, they always aſſembled at night. If any one did not appear at the appointed hour, it was concluded that he was either killed

* Ibid. p. 384.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 1. P. Labat, Nouv. Voyages aux Iles de l'Amerique, tom. VII. P. Charlevoix, Hiſt. de St. Domingue, tom. III.

BOOK III.

or taken priſoner; and the chaſe was ſuſpended, till he was either found, or his death revenged *.

It is eaſy to conceive how much blood muſt have been ſhed by a ſet of banditti, belonging to no country, and ſubject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and inſtinct, and excited to murder and violences from the neceſſity of defending themſelves, and of annoying their enemies. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to deſtruction, without deſtinction of age or ſex. At length deſpairing of being able to ſubdue ſuch obſtinate and ferocious invaders, the Spaniards took the reſolution of deſtroying all the cattle in Hiſpaniola, by a general chaſe. The execution of this deſign having deprived the Buccaneers of their uſual reſources, they were obliged to betake themſelves to a new courſe of life. The ſober part of them became planters, and thoſe of a more reſtleſs diſpoſition aſſociated themſelves with a ſet of pirates, who under the name of Freebooters, had taken poſſeſſion of the little iſland of Tortuga, whence they carried on their depredations, and were now rendered ſo formidable as to become the tyrants of the ocean †.

France, which had hitherto diſclaimed the Buccaneers for her ſubjects, acknowledged them as ſoon as they became planters; and when their ſettlements began to acquire ſome ſtability, ſhe treated them with ſtill more attention. In 1665, ſhe ſent them over a governor. The name of this magiſtrate was D'Ogeron, a man of experience, abilities, and integrity, who may properly de denominated the father of the French colony in Hiſpaniola. He brought along with him ſeveral women, who like moſt of thoſe that had been ſent into the Weſt Indies, were not perſons of the moſt exact virtue. The Buccaneers were not offended at the licentiouſneſs of their manners. "I do not deſire you to give me an account of your paſt conduct," was the language of each of them to the woman whom chance had allotted him:—"you did not then belong to me. Give me your word for the future, as you are now mine, I acquit you of what is paſt;"—then ſtriking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added, "This will revenge me of your breach of faith: if you are *falſe*, this will prove *true* to my aim ‡."

England had not waited till her rival obtained a firm ſettlement in the Great Antilles, to procure herſelf an eſtabliſhment there. The declining ſtate of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by its internal diviſions; by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal; by the commotions at Naples; by the deſtruction of its formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy; by its continual loſſes in the Netherlands; by the incapacity of its miniſters; and even by the extinction of that national pride, which after having been raiſed and maintained by being fixed upon great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtineſs—all theſe circumſtances portending the ruin of the Spaniſh monarchy, left no room to doubt

* Id. ibid.
† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 1.
‡ Id. ibid. Hiſt. de St. Domingue, tom. III.

that it would be aſſailed by enemies in every quarter. France artfully took advantage of thoſe confuſions which ſhe had partly occaſioned; and Cromwell joined her in 1655, in order to ſhare in the ſpoils of a kingdom that had long been the terror of Europe.

Had Cromwell underſtood and regarded the intereſts of his country, he would have ſupported the declining ambition of France, and preſerved that balance of power on which the greatneſs and ſecurity of England ſo much depended. Had he ſtudied only his own intereſt he would have maintained an exact neutrality between thoſe two great monarchies; nor would he have hazarded his ill acquired and unſettled dominion, by provoking foreign enemies who might lend aſſiſtance to domeſtic faction, and overturn his tottering throne: but his magnanimity undervalued danger; his active diſpoſition and avidity of extenſive glory made him incapable of repoſe; and as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, he only deliberated, after concluding a peace with Holland, againſt what enemy he ſhould turn his victorious arms. The extenſive dominions, and yet extreme weakneſs of Spain in the Weſt Indies; the vigorous courage, and great naval power of England, were circumſtances, which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterpriſing Protector, and made him hope, that he might by ſome ſignal conqueſt, render for ever illuſtrious that ſway which he had aſſumed over his country. Should he even fail of any durable acquiſition, the American treaſures, which muſt every year croſs the Atlantic to reach Spain, were a ſure prey he thought to the Engliſh navy, and would ſupport his military force, and ſave him from the neceſſity of laying any new burden on the diſcontented people. From France a vigorous reſiſtance muſt be expected. No plunder, no conqueſt could be hoped for: the progreſs of his arms, even if attended with ſucceſs, muſt there be ſlow and gradual; and the advantages acquired, however real, would be leſs ſtriking to the ignorant multitude, whom it was his intereſt to allure. Theſe motives of policy were probably ſeconded by thoſe of religion. The Hugonots, he expected, would be better treated, while he engaged in a cloſe union with their ſovereign; and as the Spaniards were more zealous catholics than the French, conſequently more expoſed to the old puritanical hatred, and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition, whoſe rigours they had refuſed to mitigate on Cromwell's ſolicitation, he hoped that a holy meritorious war with ſuch idolaters would not fail of protection from Heaven *. A preacher likewiſe, inſpired as was ſuppoſed by a prophetic ſpirit, bid him "Go and proſper;"—calling him a ſtone cut out of the mountains without hands, that would break the pride of the Spaniard, cruſh Antichriſt, and make way for the purity of the goſpel over the whole earth †.

Equally actuated by thoſe bigotted, thoſe ambitious, and thoſe intereſted motives, Cromwell equipped two powerful ſquadrons; while the neighbouring ſtates, ignorant of his intentions, remained in ſuſpence, and looked with anxious expectation on what ſide the ſtorm would diſcharge itſelf. One of the ſqua-

* Thurloe, vol. II. Carrington, p. 191. † Bates.

drons, conſiſting of thirty capital ſhips, was ſent into the Mediterranean under admiral Blake, whoſe fame was already ſpread over Europe, and who filled all that part of the world with the renown of Engliſh valour *; the other, conſiſting of an equal number of ſhips, though of inferior force, was diſpatched to the Weſt Indies under admiral Pen, and carried on board four thouſand ſoldiers, under the command of general Venables. About five thouſand more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's. Various cauſes, however, conſpired to render this formidable armament leſs ſucceſsful than might have been expected. The ſoldiers were the refuſe of the whole army; the forces enliſted in the Weſt Indies were the moſt profligate of mankind; Pen and Venables were of incompatible tempers; the troops were not furniſhed with arms fit for ſuch an expedition; their proviſions were defective both in quantity and quality; all hopes of pillage, the beſt incentive to valour among ſuch men, were refuſed the ſoldiers and ſeamen; nor were any directions or intelligence given to conduct the officers in their enterpriſe; and as they were ſuppoſed to be attached to the royal party, they were tied down to follow the advice of a number of commiſſioners, whom the jealouſy of Cromwell had placed over them, and who diſconcerted them in all their projects †.

It was agreed by the admiral and general to attack St. Domingo, the capital of Hiſpaniola, and the only place of ſtrength in the iſland. On the approach of the Engliſh fleet, the Spaniards, in conſternation, deſerted their houſes, and fled into the woods. But the blunders of their enemies allowed them leiſure to recollect themſelves. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the ſoldiers were landed at forty miles diſtance from the town, when they might have been ſafely diſembarked in the very port itſelf. Deſtitute of guides, they wandered four days through the woods without proviſions; and what was ſtill more intolerable in that ſultry climate, without water. The Spaniards recovered ſpirit, and attacked them; when, diſcouraged by the bad conduct of their officers, and ſcarcely alive from hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, they were unable to reſiſt. An inconſiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to flight, killed ſix hundred of them, and chaſed the reſt on board their ſhips.

In order to atone, as much as poſſible, for this unproſperous attempt, the Engliſh commanders bent their courſe to Jamaica, which then belonged to Spain.

* Caſting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained from the duke of Tuſcany reparation for ſome loſſes, which the Engliſh commerce had formerly ſuſtained from him. He next ſailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace, and to reſtrain his piratical ſubjects from farther violences on the Engliſh. He preſented himſelf before Tunis; and having there made the ſame demands, the Dey of that republic bid him look to the caſtles of Porto-Farino and Goletta, and do his utmoſt. Blake needed not to be rouſed by ſuch a bravado: he drew his ſhips cloſe up to the caſtles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery, while he ſent a detachment of ſailors in their long-boats into the harbour, and burnt every ſhip that lay there. The Spaniards alſo felt his fury, both on their own coaſts and at the Canaries, where he deſtroyed a fleet of ſixteen ſail, richly laden with the treaſures of the New World, in the bay of Santa Cruz, under the cannon of ſeven forts, all united by a line of communication. Lives of the Admirals, vol. II.

† Burchet's Naval Hiſtory. Thurloe, vol. III.

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On landing, proclamation was made that every man ſhould ſhoot his neighbour dead, if he obſerved him to turn his back. As they were advancing towards St. Jago, the capital, which was in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force, the governor offered to capitulate, and deliver up the city; but the diſcuſſion of theſe articles, artfully prolonged, gave the Spaniards time to remove their moſt valuable effects, and to fly themſelves to the mountains; ſo that when the Engliſh came to take poſſeſſion of St. Jago, they found nothing there but bare walls. As a conſolation for this diſappointment, they found themſelves not only in poſſeſſion of the capital, but in fact of the iſland itſelf; for though the Spaniards, in parties, ſometimes attempted to ſurpriſe them, they never appeared in a body, and at laſt found it neceſſary to tranſport themſelves and their effects to Cuba. There they were received with ſuch marks of diſgrace as the weakneſs of their defence deſerved, and ſent back with a force that was ſuppoſed to be ſufficient to expel the invaders: but the Engliſh now behaved in ſuch a manner, as not only to wipe off the ſtain which their valour had ſuffered in Hiſpaniola, but to eſtabliſh themſelves in the quiet poſſeſſion of Jamaica; the Spaniards being driven from place to place, and at length obliged to embark on board their ſhips, and return with new ſhame to Cuba *.

It was long before the eſtabliſhment of the French in Hiſpaniola, or the conqueſt of Jamaica by the Engliſh, that the Freebooters made themſelves maſters of Tortuga. The adventurers of both nations, who had taken refuge on the northern coaſt of Hiſpaniola, on being expelled from St. Chriſtopher's in 1630, judged it prudent to ſecure a retreat. For this purpoſe they pitched upon Tortuga, (a ſmall iſland within two leagues of the great one) and the few Spaniards who were left to guard it, retired on the firſt ſummons. They now found themſelves abſolute lords of an iſland eight leagues long, and two broad, with mountains covered with valuable woods, and plains that only wanted the hand of a cultivator. The northern coaſt appeared to be inacceſſible: the ſouthern had an excellent harbour commanded by a rock, which required only a battery of cannon to ſecure the entrance of the iſland. This precaution was not neglected. So happy a ſituation ſoon brought to Tortuga a multitude of deſperados of all nations. The moſt moderate applied themſelves to the cultivation of the ground; the more active went to hunt wild cattle in Hiſpaniola, in the manner and for the purpoſes already deſcribed; while the moſt intrepid became corſairs †, and performed ſuch exploits as will ever be remembered with an equal mixture of admiration and horror. A. D. 1632.

This is the true origin of thoſe pirates, formerly diſtinguiſhed in England by the appellation of Freebooters, and in France by that of Flibuſtiers ‡. But as

* When Pen and Venables returned to England, they were both ſent to the Tower by the Protector. He had made a conqueſt of greater conſequence than he was then aware of, but much inferior to the vaſt proſpects which he had formed. Thurloe, vol. III.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 1. Charlevoix, Hiſt. de St. Dominique.

‡ *Flibuſtier* is by ſome derived from Flyboat, in alluſion to the light veſſels in which thoſe pirates made their firſt excurſions: others deduce it, with no leſs appearance of reaſon, from the Engliſh word Freebooter, which indicates one who makes war for the purpoſe of pillage. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 376.

BOOK III.

they are now generally known in this country by the name of Buccaneers, which probably began to be applied to them ſoon after their junction with the hunters of wild cattle, properly ſo denominated, we ſhall continue that name, as more expreſſive than any other of their ferocious character, whether men or animals were the object of purſuit.

Nothing could appear leſs formidable than the firſt armaments of the piratical Buccaneers. Having formed themſelves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into ſmall ſocieties, who took the name of the *Brothers of the Coaſt*, they made their excurſions in an open boat, which commonly contained between twenty and thirty men, expoſed night and day to all the inclemencies of the weather. Theſe inconveniencies ariſing from their ſituation were augmented by their licentious diſpoſition. A love of freedom, which, duly regulated, cannot be ſufficiently cheriſhed, rendered them averſe from all thoſe reſtraints which civilized men voluntarily impoſe on each other for their common conveniency: ſome of them choſe to ſing, while others were deſirous of going to ſleep; and as the authority which they had conferred on their captain was confined to giving orders in battle, they lived in the greateſt confuſion. Like ſavages, having no apprehenſion of want, nor taking any care to guard againſt famine by a prudent œconomy, they were frequently expoſed to all the extremities of hunger and thirſt. But deriving, even from their diſtreſſes, a courage ſuperior to every danger, the ſight of a ſhip tranſported them to a degree of frenzy. They never deliberated on the method of attack, but their cuſtom was to board the veſſel as ſoon as poſſible. The ſmallneſs of their own veſſels, and their dexterity in managing them, preſerved them from the fire of the enemy, one broadſide from whom muſt have ſent them to the bottom. They preſented only the prow of their boats or ſlender barges, filled with muſketeers, who fired at the enemy's port-holes with ſo much exactneſs as confounded the moſt experienced gunners; and when they had fixed their grappling, the largeſt ſhips ſeldom eſcaped them *.

Though the Buccaneers, in caſes of extremity, attacked the ſhips of every nation, thoſe belonging to the ſubjects of the crown of Spain were the principal object of their piracies. They thought that the cruelties which the Spaniards had exerciſed on the natives of the New World, were a ſufficient apology for every violence that could be committed againſt them; and indeed the ravages of theſe plunderers, conſidered with an eye to the ſcheme of Providence, may be regarded as the chaſtiſements of an Almighty arm. Their hatred of that nation was farther rouſed by motives of private reſentment; by the indignation they felt, as independent men, on ſeeing themſelves debarred the privilege of hunting and fiſhing, which they juſtly conſidered as natural rights. Accommodating their conſcience to theſe principles of religion and equity, they never embarked in any expedition without publicly praying to Heaven for its ſucceſs; nor did they ever return loaded with booty, without ſolemnly returning thanks to God for their good fortune †.

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 1. Hiſt. Buccaneers, part I. chap. vi.
† Id. ibid.

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This booty was originally carried to the iſland of Tortuga, their common rendezvous, in order to be divided; but afterwards the French went to ſome of the Ports of Hiſpaniola, and the Engliſh to thoſe of Jamaica, where they could diſpoſe of it to more advantage, either in buſineſs or pleaſure. Before the diſtribution, each perſon held up his hand, and proteſted, that he had ſecreted nothing of what he had taken; and if any one was convicted of perjury, a caſe that ſeldom occurred, he was degraded, and left, as ſoon as an opportunity offered, on ſome deſert iſland, as a traitor unworthy to live in ſociety. Such among them as had been maimed in the expedition were firſt provided for, according to an agreement before ſetting out. The recompenſe was proportioned to the injury. If any one had loſt, for example, a right-arm, he received ſix hundred dollars, or ſix ſlaves, if a left-arm five hundred dollars, or five ſlaves, and the ſame for a right-leg *. The wounded were allowed a dollar a day for two months, in order to enable them to have their wounds dreſſed. If they had not money enough to anſwer theſe ſeveral demands, the whole company was obliged to engage in ſome freſh expedition, and to continue till they had acquired a ſufficient ſtock, to enable them to ſatisfy ſuch honourable contracts.

After this act of juſtice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided into as many ſhares as there were adventurers on board. The captain could only claim a ſingle ſhare along with the reſt; but they generally complimented him with three, four, five, or even ſix, according as he had acquitted himſelf. When the veſſel was not the property of the company, the perſon who fitted it out, and furniſhed it with neceſſary arms and proviſions, was entitled to a third of all prizes. Among themſelves, favour had no influence in the diſtribution of the booty, every ſhare being determined by lot. Inſtances of ſuch rigid juſtice are rarely to be met with among any body of men. The attention of the Buccaneers to this principle, extended even to the dead. Their ſhare was given to the man who was known to be their companion when alive, and therefore their heir, as ſuppoſed, according to inclination. If the perſon who had been killed had no intimate, his part was ſent to his relations, when they were known; and if they knew of no friends or relations, it was diſtributed in charity to the poor, and in benefactions to the churches, that they might pray for the eternal welfare of the deceaſed.

When theſe duties had been complied with, the Buccaneers indulged themſelves in all kinds of profuſion. Unbounded licentiouſneſs in gaming, wine, women—every kind of debauchery was carried to the greateſt exceſs, and was limited only by that want which ſuch profuſion occaſioned. Hence, however, rich on their return, they were in a ſhort time perfectly needy, and deſtitute of either cloaths or proviſions. They again went to ſea; and the new ſupplies which they acquired were laviſhed in the ſame inconſiderate manner. If they were aſked, what ſatisfaction they could find in diſſipating ſo rapidly, what they had gained with ſo much jeopardy, they made this very ingenuous reply. "Expoſed as we are," ſaid they; "to ſuch a variety of dangers, our life is totally dif-

* Hiſt. Buccaneers, part I. c. vi.

BOOK III.

ferent from that of other men. Why ſhould we, who are alive to-day, and run the hazard of being dead to-morrow, think of hoarding?—We reckon only the day we have lived, but never think of that which is to come. Our concern is rather to ſquander life away, than to preſerve it *."

The ſhips that ſailed from Europe to America ſeldom tempted the avidity of the firſt Buccaneers, as the merchandiſe which they contained could not eaſily have been ſold in thoſe early times; but they always watched them on their return, when certain they were laden with gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and other rich productions of the New World. They commonly followed the galleons and flota as far as the channel of Bahama; and as ſoon as by any accident a ſhip was ſeparated from the reſt, they inſtantly attacked her, and ſhe ſeldom eſcaped them. They even ventured to attack with ſucceſs ſeveral ſhips at a time. The Spaniards, who called them dæmons, trembled at their approach, and generally ſurrendered, if they came to cloſe quarters †.

A remarkable inſtance of this timidity on the one ſide, and temerity on the other, occurs in the hiſtory of Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe in Normandy, who being cruiſing in thoſe latitudes with a ſmall veſſel, which had no more than twenty-eight men and four guns, ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. Being reſolved to conquer or die, and having exacted an oath from his crew to the ſame purpoſe, he ordered the carpenter to bore a hole in the ſide of his own veſſel, that all hope of eſcape might be cut off. This was done accordingly; when, with a piſtol in one hand, and a ſword in the other, he climbed up the ſides of the Spaniſh ſhip, and bearing down all oppoſition, entered the great cabin attended by ſome of the moſt deſperate of his aſſociates. There he found the admiral and ſome of his officers playing at cards; preſented a piſtol to his breaſt, and ordered him to ſurrender. Meantime the reſt of the Buccaneers took poſſeſſion of the gun-room, and ſeized the arms, while the Spaniards, ſtruck with terror and amazement, demanded quarter ‡.

Like examples are numerous. Michael de Baſco had the boldneſs to attack, under the very cannon of Porto Bello, a galleon valued at a million of peſos, which he took with very little loſs. Nor muſt the attempt of Captain Lawrence be forgot. Being unexpectedly overtaken by two Spaniſh ſhips, carrying each ſixty pieces of cannon, and ſeven hundred men, "You have," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his companions, "two much experience not to be ſenſible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occaſion we muſt avail ourſelves of every circumſtance; hazard every thing; attack and defend at the ſame time:—valour, artifice, raſhneſs, and even deſpair muſt now be employed!—Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight, that we may eſcape them." After this ſpeech, which was received with general applauſe, the captain called to one of the braveſt of his crew, and in the preſence of the reſt ordered him to ſet fire to the gun-

* Id. ibid. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 1. Such has ever been the language of men familiar with danger, and expoſed to peril. The deſire of enjoying life ſeems to increaſe in proportion to the the hazard of loſing it.

† Id. ibid. ‡ Hiſt. Buccaneers, part I. c. vi.

powder,

powder, on the firſt ſignal for that purpoſe; giving them by this to underſtand, that they muſt either die or conquer. He then ranged his men on both ſides of his veſſel, and raiſing his voice, in order to be more diſtinctly heard, "We muſt," ſaid he, "paſs between their ſhips, and fire upon them from every ſide." This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and diſpatch. The galleons, however, were not taken; but the Spaniards were ſo much reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage to continue the combat againſt an handful of reſolute men, who even in their retreat, carried away the honour of the victory *.

Reduced almoſt to deſpair by finding themſelves a continual prey to theſe ravagers, the Spaniards diminiſhed the number of their ſhips, and the colonies gave up their connexions with each other. They relinquiſhed all the power, conveniencies, and fortune which their mutual intercourſe procured them, and formed themſelves in a manner into ſo many diſtinct and independent ſtates. They were ſenſible of the diſadvantages reſulting from ſuch a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and ſavage men, had greater influence over them than the dictates of honour, intereſt, and ambition. Hence that languid inactivity by which they are ſtill diſtinguiſhed. Theſe humiliating precautions, however, ſerved but to increaſe the ardour of the Buccaneers. They had only appeared hitherto in the Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to carry off ſuch proviſions as they were in want of; but they no ſooner found their captures diminiſh, than they determined to procure by land what the ſea denied them. The richeſt and moſt populous countries in the New World were plundered and laid waſte: the culture of the fields was no leſs neglected than the exerciſe of navigation; and the Spaniards were as much afraid to appear beyond the walls of their cities, as their ſhips without the mouth of their harbours †.

Among the Buccaneers who firſt ſignalized themſelves in this new ſpecies of piracy, was Montbars, a gentleman of Languedoc. Having by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumſtantial, and perhaps exaggerated account, of the cruelties practiſed by the Spaniards in the conqueſt of the New World, he conceived an antipathy againſt the nation that had committed ſo many enormities, which roſe even to a degree of frenzy. The ſtrength of this averſion is exemplified by an anecdote. Being engaged when at college, in playing in a dramatic piece, the part of a Frenchman, who had quarrelled with a Spaniard, he threw himſelf with enthuſiaſtic fury upon his antagoniſt, and would have killed him unleſs prevented. A paſſion capable of ſuch exceſs could not eaſily have been moderated. Montbars ſtrove only to rouſe it. His heated imagination, which he loved to indulge, continually repreſented to him innumerable multitudes of innocent people, murdered by a ſet of ſavage monſters nurſed in the mountains of Caſtile: the unhappy victims, whoſe names were ever preſent to his memory, ſeemed to call upon him for vengeance: he longed to imbrue his hands in Spaniſh blood!—and no ſooner

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, ubi ſup. Hiſt. Buccaneers.

† Hiſt. Buccaneers, part I. c. vii.

was

BOOK III.

was war declared between France and Spain, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, than he embarked on board a ship, in order to pursue the Spaniards on the same coasts where the first conquerors had perpetrated their barbarities *. In the passage they met with a Spanish vessel; attacked it; and, as was usual in those times, immediately boarded it. Montbars with a sabre in his hand, fell furiously upon the enemy; broke through them; and hurrying twice from one end of the ship to the other, levelled every thing that opposed his violence. When he had compelled the enemy to surrender, he left to his companions the happiness of dividing the rich booty, satisfied himself with the cruel pleasure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards, against whom he had vowed eternal hatred, lying in heaps besmeared with blood. Humanity in him became the source of the most unfeeling barbarity.

Fresh opportunities soon occurred, which enabled Montbars to gratify still farther his favourite passion. The ship in which he sailed arrived on the coast of Hispaniola, where the Buccaneers on land immediately proposed to barter some provisions for brandy. As the articles which they offered were of small value, they apologized for this inferiority by saying, that the Spaniards had laid waste their settlements, and despoiled them of every thing worth carrying off. "And do you," replied Montbars, "tamely suffer such insults?"---"No!" answered they in the same tone:---"the Spaniards have experienced what sort of men we are, and have therefore taken advantage of the time when we were engaged in hunting to pillage our dwellings. But we are going to join some of our companions, who have been no better treated, and then there will be warm work."---"If you think proper," said Montbars, "I will head you: not as your commander, but as the foremost to expose myself to danger. Perceiving from his appearance that he was such a man as they wanted, they chearfully accepted his offer. The same day they overtook the enemy, and Montbars attacked them with an impetuosity that astonished the bravest and most experienced Buccaneer. Scarce one Spaniard escaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life corresponded with these first exploits; and the Spaniards suffered so much from him, both by sea and land, that he acquired the name of the Exterminator †.

In consequence of this new method of carrying on war, which required superior forces, the associations of the Buccaneers became more numerous. The first powerful association was formed by Francis Lolonois, who derived his name from that territory in France which is called the Sands of Olone, the place of his birth. From the abject condition of an *engagé* or bondsman, he had gradually raised himself to the command of two canoes, and twenty men. With these he was so successful as to take a Spanish frigate on the coast of Cuba. After the engagement, he ordered such of the enemy as were wounded to be put to death. This being observed by a negro, who fearing that he might share the same fate, attempted to save himself by a perfidious declaration, but very consistent with the part which he had been destined to act. He affirmed, that he had been put on board

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 1.

† Id. ibid.

by the governor of the Havana, in order to ſerve as executioner to the Buccaneers, whom he had ſentenced to be hanged, not doubting but they would be all taken priſoners. The ſavage Lolonois, fired with rage at this information, commanded all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, ſucking at each ſtroke the drops of blood that trickled down his ſabre! – He next repaired to Puerto del Principe, in which were four ſhips, fitted out on purpoſe to ſail in purſuit of him. Theſe he took, and threw every perſon on board into the ſea, except one man, whom he ſent with a letter to the governor of the Havana, acquainting him with what he had done, and declaring that he ſhould never henceforth give quarter to any Spaniard; not even to the governor himſelf, ſhould he fall into his hands, as he hoped would yet be the caſe. "Thus," added he, "have I retaliated the kindneſs, which you intended me and my companions *."

After this enterpriſe, Lolonois ran his canoes and prize-ſhips aground, and ſailed with his frigate only, to the iſland of Tortuga. There he met with Michael de Baſco, who had ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as already mentioned, by taking a Spaniſh ſhip of great value under the cannon of Porto Bello, and other actions equally brave and daring. Theſe two adventurers gave notice to the whole body of pirates, that they propoſed to embark in an expedition from which the greateſt advantages might be expected. In conſequence of this intimation, and their high reputation for courage and ſucceſs, they collected in a ſhort time, by their united intereſt, ſix hundred and ſixty followers. This body of men, the largeſt the Buccaneers had hitherto been able to muſter, ſailed for the gulph of Venezuela in eight veſſels, the largeſt of which carried only ten guns. This gulph runs a conſiderable way into the country, and communicates with the lake of Maracaybo by a narrow ſtrait. That ſtrait is defended by a caſtle called la Barra, which the Buccaneers took, after an obſtinate defence, and nailed up the cannon. They then reimbarked, paſſed the bar, and came to the city of Maracaybo, built on the weſtern coaſt of the lake, at the diſtance of about ten leagues from its mouth. This city, which had become populous and flouriſhing by its trade in hides, tobacco, and cacao, they found entirely deſerted. The inhabitants informed of the danger that threatened them, had retired with their effects to the other ſide of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not ſpent a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, a town near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the people of Maracaybo had carried off, in order to prevent it from being made plunder. On the contrary, by their delay, they met with fortifications newly erected; which they had, indeed, the ſatisfaction of reducing at the expence of a great deal of blood, but without any other conſolatory advantage, the inhabitants having removed to a diſtance the moſt valuable part of their property. Exaſperated at this diſappointment, the Buccaneers ſet fire to Gibraltar, and Maracaybo would have ſhared the ſame fate

* Hiſt. Buccaneers, part II. c. 1. Some particulars, which the author has not elſewhere met with, in this and other ſtories relative to the Buccaneers, are borrowed from Raynal, on a ſuppoſition that he is well informed, though he has not produced his authorities.

BOOK III.

had it not been ranſomed. Beſides the ſum they received for its ranſom, they alſo carried with them all the croſſes, pictures, and bells of the churches*; intending, as they ſaid, to build a chapel in the iſland of Tortuga, and to conſecrate this part of their ſpoils to ſacred purpoſes. Like other ravagers of more exalted character, they had no idea of the abſurdity of offering to Heaven thoſe things which had been procured by a violation of its laws—the fruits of robbery and murder!

While Lolonois and his followers were idly diſſipating at Tortuga, the ſpoils which they had acquired on the coaſt of Venezuela, Morgan, the moſt renowned of the Engliſh Buccaneers †, ſailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello. His meaſures were ſo well concerted, that he ſurpriſed the centinels, and made himſelf maſter of the city, before the Spaniards could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. In order to reduce with the ſame facility the chief caſtle, into which many of the principal citizens had retired with their moſt valuable effects, and all the plate belonging to the churches, Morgan bethought himſelf of a ſtratagem that diſcovers his knowledge of national characters, as well as of human nature in general. He compelled the prieſts, nuns, and other women, whom he had taken priſoners, to plant the ſcaling ladders againſt the walls, from a perſuaſion that the gallantry and ſuperſtition of the Spaniards, would never ſuffer them to fire at the objects of their love and veneration. But he found himſelf deceived: the governor, who was a reſolute ſoldier, uſed his utmoſt endeavour to deſtroy every one who approached the works. Morgan, however, and his four hundred followers, who on this occaſion were all Engliſhmen, carried the

A. D. 1668. place by ſtorm, after an obſtinate reſiſtance from the Spaniſh garriſon, many of whom died by the governor with their ſwords in their hands. The plunder and ranſom amounted to two hundred and fifty thouſand peſos in ſilver, beſides a vaſt quantity of valuable merchandiſe ‡.

With this booty Morgan returned to Jamaica, where he immediately planned a new enterpriſe. Underſtanding that Lolonois had been diſappointed in the plunder of Maracaybo, by his imprudent delay, he reſolved to ſurpriſe that place. For this purpoſe he collected fifteen ſmall veſſels, and nine hundred and

A. D. 1669. ſixty men. Theſe entered the gulph of Venezuela unobſerved, ſilenced the fort that defended the paſſage to the lake of Maracaybo, and found the town as formerly deſerted. But they were ſo fortunate as to diſcover the principal citi-

* Hiſt. Buccaneers, part II. chap. 1.

† Henry Morgan, afterwards Sir Henry, was a native of the principality of Wales, and the ſon of a rich yeoman of good family; but having a diſlike to the tranquil life of a farmer, he wandered, while a youth, towards the ſea-coaſt, and engaged himſelf on board a ſhip bound for Barbadoes. The captain there ſold him, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. When the term of his ſervitude was expired, he went to Jamaica, and joined the Buccaneers, among whom he ſoon acquired ſuch reputation as to be choſen captain; and his life was diſtinguiſhed by a train of uninterrupted ſucceſs, as well as by ſuch great and daring enterpriſes as are unequalled even in the hiſtory of the Buccaneers. Before his expedition againſt Porto Bello, he had taken the town of Puerto del Principe, where he acquired more glory than booty. After he ſettled at Jamaica, he was knighted by that prince of pleaſure and whim, Charles II.

‡ Hiſt. Buccaneers, part II. c. 6.

zens, and the greater part of the wealth, in the neighbouring woods. Not content however with this, Morgan proceeded to Gibraltar, which he found in the ſame deſolate condition, and where the moſt atrocious cruelties were practiſed, in order to extort from ſuch of the inhabitants as had been ſeized, a diſcovery of their treaſures. After continuing theſe horrid perſecutions, to very little advantage, for the ſpace of five weeks, Morgan returned to Maracaybo, where he was informed that three Spaniſh men of war were arrived at the entrance of the lake, and that the fort was again put in a poſture of defence.

The heart of the braveſt Buccaneer ſunk within him at this intelligence, which was confirmed by a boat ſent to reconnoitre the enemy. The intrepidity of Morgan's ſpirit, however, did not forſake him, though he conſidered his condition as deſperate. He boldly ſent a letter to Don Alonzo del Campo, the Spaniſh admiral, demanding of him a ranſom, for the city of Maracaybo. The admiral's anſwer was reſolute, and excluded all hope of working upon his fears. "I am come," ſaid he, "to diſpute your paſſage out of the lake; and I have the means of doing it: nevertheleſs, if you will ſubmit to ſurrender with humility all the booty and priſoners you have taken, I will ſuffer you to paſs, and permit you to retire to your own country, without trouble or moleſtation. But if you reject this offer, or heſitate to comply, I will command boats from Charcas, in which I will embark my troops, and coming to Maracaybo, will put every man of you to the ſword. This is my final and abſolute reſolution. Be prudent therefore, and do not abuſe my bounty with ingratitude. I have with me," added he, "very good ſoldiers, who deſire nothing more ardently than to revenge on you and your people, all the cruelties and depredations, which you have committed upon the Spaniſh nation in America *."

As ſoon as Morgan received this letter, he called together his followers; and after acquainting them with its contents, deſired them to deliberate on the matter: whether they would chuſe to give up all their plunder, in order to obtain their liberty, or fight for it. They unanimouſly anſwered, that they would rather loſe the laſt drop of their blood, than reſign a booty which had been purchaſed with ſo much peril. Morgan, however, ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation, endeavoured to compromiſe the matter, but without effect. The Spaniſh admiral continued to inſiſt on his firſt conditions. When Morgan was informed of this, he coolly replied, "If Don Alonſo will not permit me to paſs, I will find means to paſs it without him." He accordingly made a diviſion of the ſpoil, that each man might have his own property to defend; and having filled a veſſel which he had taken from the enemy, with preparations of gun-powder and other combuſtible materials, he advanced to the entrance of the lake; burnt two of the Spaniſh ſhips, took one, and by affecting to diſembark troops, in order to attempt the fort, diverted the attention of the garriſon to the land ſide, while he paſſed with all his fleet on the other, without receiving any damage †.

* "Dated on board the royal ſhip, named the Magdalen, lying at anchor at the entrance of the lake of Maracaybo, this 24th of April, 1669." Hiſt. Buccaneers, part II. c. 7.

† Hiſt. Buccaneers, part II. c. 7.

Morgan's

BOOK III.

Morgan's good fortune, as is uſual in all human affairs, inſtead of ſatisfying him, made him only aſpire after greater things. This diſpoſition was favoured by the condition of his followers, who having ſquandered all their money in gaming and debauchery *, daily importuned him to conduct them to ſome new enterpriſe. He accordingly fitted out a conſiderable fleet, and found no difficulty in procuring as many followers as he could take on board. With this fleet which

A. D. 1670. conſiſted of thirty ſeven veſſels, and two thouſand men, he ſailed to the iſland of St. Catherine, where the Spaniards confined their malefactors. This place was ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it ought to have held out ſeveral months againſt a conſiderable army; but the governor was ſo much intimidated by the appearance of Morgan, at the head of a thouſand reſolute men, that he ſent privately to concert meaſures, how he might ſurrender the place, without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The reſult of this conſultation was, that Morgan in the night time, ſhould attack a fort at ſome diſtance; that the governor ſhould ſally out of the citadel to defend a poſt of ſo much conſequence; that the aſſailants ſhould then attack him in the rear, take him priſoner, and ſummon the garriſon to ſurrender. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being expoſed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the Buccaneers, after having totally ruined the fortifications, and put on board their veſſels a prodigious quantity of warlike ſtores, which they had found in the place, ſteered their courſe towards the river Chagre, the only channel that could conduct them to Panama, the deſtined object of their enterpriſe.

At the entrance of this river ſtood a caſtle, built upon a ſteep rock, againſt which the waves of the ſea continually beat. A poſt ſo important was not neglected by the Spaniards; it was defended by an officer whoſe abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garriſon that deſerved ſuch a commander. The Buccaneers here met with a reſiſtance, that could only have been ſurmounted by their valour and perſeverance; and it was even doubtful whether they ſhould ſucceed, or be obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when a lucky incident proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The caſtle was accidently ſet on fire, the governor killed, and Panama as well as Chagre taken in the manner already related †. One circumſtance, however, worthy of being remembered, did not enter into that narration: the ſavage Morgan fell in love with one of his fair captives; and as neither his perſon nor character were calculated to inſpire the object of his attachment with favourable ſentiments towards him, he pleaded his paſſion in vain, and at laſt reſolved to ſecond his aſſiduities by a ſeaſonable mixture of violence. "Stop, ruffian,"—cried ſhe, as ſhe wildly ſprung from his arms;—"ſtop! thinkeſt thou that thou canſt raviſh from me mine honour as thou haſt wreſted from me my fortune and my liberty? No!—be aſſured that my ſoul ſhall ſooner be ſeparated from this body:"—and ſhe drew out a poniard from her boſom, which ſhe would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

* Morgan himſelf appears to be the only Buccaneer who poſſeſſed any ſhare of œconomy.

† Book II. chap. iii.

Morgan's

CHAP. I.

Morgan's tenderneſs was now changed into cruelty. Though his deſires were as ardent as ever, and even inflamed by oppoſition, inſtead of thoſe attentions which he had at firſt made uſe of in order to ſubdue his amiable captive, he commanded her to be thrown into a loathſome dungeon, and allowed no more food than was merely neceſſary to ſuſtain life. Still, however, ſhe continued inflexible; and the Buccaneers expreſſing their reſentment at being kept ſo long in a ſtate of inactivity by a caprice which they could not comprehend, Morgan was under the neceſſity of liſtening to their complaints, and abandoning his purſuit. They ſet out with ſix hundred priſoners, the greater part of whom were ranſomed a few days after, and arrived at the mouth of the Chagre with an immenſe booty. Feb. 24, A. D. 1671.

This booty was now divided, after every one had been ſearched, not excepting Morgan himſelf, by whoſe order the ſcrutiny had been made. The ſhares, however, were not on that account more equitable. Morgan diſtributed only what his avarice dictated, and the ſhare of a common man did not exceed fifty pounds ſterling. Exaſperated by the diſappointment which ſuch a pitiful dividend occaſioned, after ſo much danger and fatigue, the Buccaneers publicly accuſed him of defrauding them of the moſt valuable part of the plunder. Morgan was alike deaf to their complaints and their reproaches; but afraid that ſo much ill humour might end in a mutiny, he went privately on board his own ſhip, and with three others, which he had ſecured in his intereſt, ſet ſail for Jamaica *.

The air of authority and reſolution which Morgan aſſumed on this occaſion, diſconcerted his aſſociates ſo much, that they did not offer to purſue him. The French Buccaneers would willingly have attempted revenge, but they were ſenſible of their inferiority at ſea: they were therefore obliged to conſole themſelves for their loſs, by the hopes of future plunder. They accordingly retired to the iſland of Tortuga, whence they made ſeveral expeditions. But theſe were all comparatively trifling, till the year 1683, when they undertook one of the greateſt conſequence.

The plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Oſtend, who had ſpent the greater part of his life among the French Buccaneers. His natural intrepidity would never permit him to ſuffer the leaſt ſigns of timidity in any of his followers. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ſhip, obſerved his men, and killed with his own hand ſuch as ſhrunk at the appearance of danger. This extraordinary diſcipline made him the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. No leſs generous than valiant, he freely ſhared with the men of ſpirit and courage the vaſt riches procured by ſo warlike a diſpoſition. In his piratical excurſions, he commonly ſailed in a frigate, which was his own property; but a greater force being neceſſary to carry into execution the new enterpriſe which he had projected, he aſſociated himſelf with Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, diſtinguiſhed by their exploits, and with Law-

* Hiſt. Buccaneers, part III. chap. v. vi. Morgan is ſaid to have carried to Jamaica with him four hundred thouſand peſos, on his own account. He never afterwards engaged in any piratical expedition.

BOOK III.

rence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had ſignalized himſelf more than either of them.

Twelve hundred Buccaneers, under theſe famous commanders, ſailed in ſix ſhips for Vera Cruz. The darkneſs of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at the diſtance of three leagues from the town, whither they arrived without being diſcovered. The governor's perſon, the fort, the barracks, and the poſts of greateſt conſequence—every thing, in a word, that could either make or occaſion reſiſtance, were taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children were ſhut up in the churches, whither they had fled for ſhelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gun-powder; and a Buccaneer, with a lighted match in his hand, ſtood ready to ſet fire to it, and blow up the building, on the ſmalleſt appearance of an inſurrection. Theſe precautions being taken, the city was pillaged with ſafety. After they had collected whatever was moſt valuable, they made a propoſal to the inhabitants confined in the churches, to ranſom their lives, and purchaſe their liberty, by a contribution of two million of peſos. Thoſe unfortunate people, who had neither ate nor drank for three days, chearfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the ſame day, and the other half was expected from the interior parts of the country, when a conſiderable body of troops appeared on an eminence, advancing towards the city, and near the port a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips from Europe.

At the ſight of this armament the Buccaneers, without any marks of ſurpriſe, quietly retreated to their veſſels with fifteen hundred ſlaves, which they carried off them with as a trifling indemnification for the remainder of the money they had been promiſed, the ſettling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity; for thoſe ruffians ſincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged, or exacted by force of arms upon the coaſts where they made a deſcent, was their lawful property, and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of ſuch contributions as they compelled the inhabitants to ſign a written agreement to fulfil, but even to the intereſt of that part of the ſum which remained unpaid. Their retreat from Vera Cruz was equally glorious and daring. They boldly ſailed through the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, which let them paſs without firing a gun. The Spaniards were indeed happy in having eſcaped without any other inconveniency than what aroſe from their fears. Nor would this have been the caſe, if the veſſels of the Buccaneers had not been laden with ſilver, and thoſe of the flota with European commodities, which were leſs eaſily converted into money. They had too much to loſe; and in their own opinion, too little to gain, to put all on the hazard of a battle *.

Scarce had a year elapſed, after the return of theſe ravagers from Vera Cruz, when they were ſeized with the rage of going to plunder the coaſts of the South Sea. The incentives to ſuch an expedition are ſufficiently obvious; but it is ſomewhat remarkable, that both the French and Engliſh Buccaneers, and the

* Hiſt. Flibuſt.

parti-

particular aſſociations of the two nations, had formed the plan at the ſame time, without any communication, intercourſe, or deſign of acting in concert with each other. Some of thoſe adventurers entered the ſouthern ocean by the iſthmus of Darien, others by the Straits of Magellan; and if their intrepidity had been uniformly directed, by a ſkilful commander, to one object, it cannot be doubted but they might have deprived the Spaniards of their moſt valuable ſettlements. But their diſorderly character was an invincible obſtacle againſt ſuch an union: the French and Engliſh were perpetually quarrelling *; and thoſe of each nation always formed themſelves into diſtinct bodies, who acted together, or ſeparated, as the moſt trivial accident or caprice directed. Groigniet, Lecuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders among the French; and David, Samms, Peter Henry, Wilmot, and Townly, among the Engliſh.

Such of theſe adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the iſthmus of Darien, ſeized upon the firſt veſſels they found upon the coaſt. Thoſe who had entered in their own veſſels, by the Straits of Magellan, were not much better provided. Weak however as they were, they beat repeatedly the ſquadrons that were fitted out againſt them. But theſe victories were prejudicial to them; as beſides being attended with loſs, they interrupted their navigation. When no more ſhips appeared on the ocean, they were obliged to make deſcents upon the coaſts, in order to procure proviſions; and to go by land to plunder thoſe cities, whither the wealth of the country was conveyed. They ſucceſſively took and pillaged Seppa, Puebla-Nuevo, Leon, Granada, Puebla-Viejo, Chiriquito, Leſparſo, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoanteca, Muemeluna, Chiloteca, New Segovia, and Guayaquil, the moſt important of all theſe places, the greater part of which are now inconſiderable †. Some of them were taken by ſurpriſe, and many of them deſerted by their inhabitants, who fled at the ſight of the enemy; taking the precaution, however, to carry off their moſt valuable effects.

The Spaniards, indeed, never ventured to defend themſelves, unleſs they were at leaſt twenty to one, and even then they were generally routed. They were ſo much enervated by eaſe and affluence, that they had loſt all ideas of the military art, and were almoſt unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. They were, if poſſible, more ignorant and cowardly than the Americans whom they trampled upon. This puſillanimity was increaſed by the terrors with which the name of Buccaneer inſpired them. The monks had painted them in the ſame colours in

* One of the chief reaſons that made us diſagree," ſays Raveneau de Luſſan, who made one of the party, "was the *impiety* of the Engliſh againſt our religion; for they made no ſcruple, when they got into a church, to cut down the *arms* of a *crucifix* with their ſabres, or to ſhoot them down with their fuſils and piſtols, *bruiſing* and *maiming* the *images* of the *ſaints* in the ſame manner." Voy. des Flibuſt. chap. 1. This is a precious picture of the inconſiſtency of human nature, and a proof how little connection there frequently is between religion and morality. It does not appear that thoſe pious plunderers, who were ſhocked at ſeeing the image of a ſaint maimed, were more tender of the perſons or properties of their fellow creatures, or ever attempted to reſtrain their impious aſſociates from any act of injuſtice or inhumanity.

† Voy. des Flibuſt. par Raveneau de Luſſan.

BOOK III.

which they repreſented devils--as men-eaters, and beings who were deſtitute even of the human form *. Such a picture, the offspring of a wild and affrighted imagination, equally affected every mind with averſion and terror. The women, however, in this, as in all caſes where they are abuſed by falſe repreſentations of man, flew to the oppoſite extreme, as ſoon as they were undeceived, and claſped in their amorous arms the murderers of their huſbands and brothers. They found that the Buccaneers were men, and ſome of them handſome ones: they proved them as lovers; and, like moſt of the ſex, they gave themſelves little trouble to diſtinguiſh between appetite and affection. Charmed with the ardour of a ſet of plunderers, whoſe every paſſion was in exceſs, they did not part without tears of agony, from the warm embrace of their piratical paramours, to return into the cool paths of common life †.

As the Spaniards uſually fled on the approach of the enemy, they knew of no other method of revenging themſelves, but by burning or cutting in pieces a Buccaneer. Accordingly, as ſoon as they quitted the place they had pillaged, if any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was dug up again, and mangled in different parts, or made to paſs through the various kinds of torture that would have been inflicted upon the pirate, if taken while alive. This rage, equally impotent and childiſh, ſerved only to embolden and inflame the Buccaneers, who no ſooner took a town than they ſet it on fire, unleſs a ſum proportioned to its value was given to ſave it. The priſoners taken in battle were maſſacred without mercy, if not ranſomed by the governor, or ſome of the inhabitants of the province: and gold, pearls, or precious ſtones were the only things accepted for the payment of ſuch ranſom. Silver was ſo common as to be deſpiſed ‡, and was beſides too cumberſome, in caſe they ſhould have occaſion to return home over land. In a word, the train of human events, which ſeldom leave guilt unpuniſhed, or adverſity without a conſolation for its ſufferings, retaliated the crimes committed by the Spaniards in the conqueſt of the New World: and the Indians ſaw themſelves fully revenged on their tyrants, by means of that very gold which had cemented the fetters of their ſervitude, at the ſame time that it rendered their depreſſed condition more grievous and intolerable.

* Raveneau de Luſſan, chap. iv.

† Raveneau de Luſſan, Voy. des Flibuſt. chap. iv. v. In this reſpect the Spaniſh ladies were not ſingular. The women of Mexico and Peru met with no leſs complacency the ardour of the firſt Spaniards; and in more ancient times, the Phrygian damſels ſolaced themſelves in the arms of the Greeks, while Troy was in flames:—and woman is ſtill woman. If the author might riſk a ſportive conjecture on this ſubject, he would ſay, That as love in the language of every people, is repreſented under the ſimilitude of war and conqueſt, and beauty as the proper reward of valour, perhaps the ladies think the conquerors of their country have an unqueſtionable right to their affections; or perhaps their ſimple minds not being able to ſeparate the idea of gallantry in love from that of gallantry in war, believe that a hero in one way, muſt alſo be a hero in the other.

‡ "We made ſo little account of it," ſays Raveneau de Luſſan, "that we thought it not worth our while to take along with us a great quantity of plate, with which the town of Quayaquil was full." Voy. Flibuſt. c. v.

It

It happened, however, in this as it generally does in events of a like nature, that thoſe who committed ſuch outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Many of the Buccaneers died in the courſe of theſe piracies, from the effects of the climate, from diſtreſs or debauchery; ſome of them were ſhip-wrecked in paſſing the ſtraits of Magellan, and by Cape Horn; and moſt of thoſe who attempted to return to the north ſea by land, fell into the ambuſcade that was laid for them, and loſt either their lives or the booty they had acquired *; ſo that the Engliſh and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that laſted four years, and found themſelves deprived of their braveſt inhabitants.

While theſe piracies were committed on the Southern Ocean, the Northern was threatened with the ſame from Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a military capacity in Europe; but his paſſion for wine, women, and gaming had obliged him to join the pirates. His virtues perhaps were ſufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, eloquent, generous and brave. His valour and abilities ſoon made him be conſidered as the chief of the French Buccaneers. As ſoon as it was known that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a number of enterpriſing adventurers, whom he meant to lead againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements on the Gulph of Mexico; but the governor of Tortuga and the French part of Hiſpaniola, who had at length prevailed upon his maſter to approve of the project, equally wiſe and juſt, of fixing the pirates to ſome place, and inducing them to become planters, was deſirous of preventing the concerted expedition, and forbade it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater ſhare of underſtanding than his aſſociates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and ſternly replied, "How can Lewis diſapprove of a deſign he is unacquinted with, and which was planned only a few days ago?"

Highly pleaſed with this anſwer, the Buccaneers immediately embarked to attack Campeachy. They landed without oppoſition; and at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, they were attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were routed and purſued to the town, where both parties entered at the ſame time. The cannon found there was inſtantly levelled againſt the citadel, though without much effect; and the Buccaneers were contriving ſome ſtratagem to enable them to become maſters of the place, when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Engliſhman, and a man of ſuch ſignal courage, that he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the rage of the Buccaneers, than to deſert his poſt. Grammont received him with marks of diſtinction; generouſly releaſed him; gave him up all his effects, and beſides made him ſome valuable preſents: ſuch influence have valour and fidelity on the minds even of thoſe A. D. 1685.

* A ſtronger image of the diſtreſs, which thoſe adventurers experienced, cannot be offered to the mind than that drawn by Raveneau de Luſſan, who does not appear to have had leſs fortitude than any of his aſſociates. "I could not," ſays he, "for the ſpace of fifteen days, take my return for any thing but an illuſion; and it proceeded ſo far with me, that I ſhunned ſleep, leſt I ſhould find myſelf, when I awaked, again in thoſe countries, out of which I was ſo happily delivered." Voy. des Flibuſt. c. vi.

BOOK III.

who ſeem to violate all the laws of ſociety, and to ſport with the rights of humanity!

The conquerors of Campeachy ſpent two months in ſearching all the environs of the city, for the diſtance of twelve or fifteen leagues, and ſeizing every thing that the inhabitants thought they had ſecured in their flight. When all the plunder was depoſited on board the ſhips, the Buccaneers made a propoſal to the governor of the province, who ſtill kept the field with nine hundred men, to ranſom the capital. His refuſal determined them to burn it, and demoliſh the citadel. Meantime the French, on the feſtival of St. Lewis, being celebrating the anniverſary of their king, in the tranſports of their patriotiſm, intoxication, and loyalty, burnt an immenſe pile of logwood; a part, and no inconſiderable one of their booty *. After this ſingular and extravagant inſtance of folly, they returned to Hiſpaniola, which about that time they began to diſtinguiſh by the name of St. Domingo, formerly applied only to the capital.

The little advantage which the Engliſh and French Buccaneers had derived from their late expeditions upon the continent, had inſenſibly led them to have recourſe to their old piratical excurſions upon the ſea. Both were employed in attacking ſuch ſhips of all nations as they met with, when a particular train of circumſtances engaged the French a new in that courſe, which every thing had conſpired to render diſagreeable to them. The powerful influence that the words glory, country, and gold carry with them, determined twelve hundred of theſe daring adventurers to join a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips that ſailed from France in 1697, under the command of Monſ. Pointis, to attack the famous city of Carthagena. This was the moſt difficult enterpriſe that could be attempted in the New World. The ſituation of the port, the ſtrength of the place, the intemperature of the climate, were obſtacles that ſeemed inſurmountable, without a vaſtly ſuperior force. Nothing, however, appeared impoſſible to Buccaneers. The place was taken, and all mankind agreed in conferring upon them the honour of the conqueſt; but they were baſely deprived of the advantage reſulting from it. The rapacious commander, who had gained a booty eſtimated at two millions of pounds ſterling, ſcrupled not, as ſoon as he had ſet ſail, to offer forty thouſand crowns, as the ſhare of thoſe who had been the chief inſtruments of his ſucceſs.

Exaſperated at this treatment, the Buccaneers reſolved immediately to board the admiral's ſhip, which was at that time too far diſtant from the reſt to receive immediate ſuccour from them; and Pointis was in danger of being maſſacred, when one of the pirates, who had poſſibly ſome regard for that officer, exclaimed, "Brethren! why ſhould we attack this raſcal?—he has carried off nothing that belongs to us. He has left our ſhare at Carthagena, and there we muſt go and recover it." This propoſal was received with general applauſe. A ſavage joy at once ſucceeded that ſullen melancholy which had overcaſt them, and without farther deliberation, they ſailed towards the place which they had ſo

* Hiſt. Flibuſt.

recently

recently plundered. As ſoon as they had entered the city, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance, they ſhut up all the male inhabitants in the great church, and addreſſed them in the following words.

" We are ſenſible that you conſider us as people void of faith, and of all religion; as devils rather than men. The opprobrious language which you affect to uſe, when you ſpeak of us, and the refuſal you have made to treat with us concerning the ſurrender of your city, are ſtrong indications of the ſentiments you entertain in regard to our character. Be not, however, too obſtinate in your opinion. You ſee us here armed, and capable of avenging ourſelves. The paleneſs viſible in your countenances convinces us that you expect the moſt ſevere treatment, and your conſcience teſtifies that you deſerve it. We ſhall ſoon undeceive you with reſpect to ourſelves, and convince you, that we do not merit the infamous appellations with which you ſtigmatize us, but that they belong rather to the commander under whom we lately fought. The traitor has deceived us. Though he owes the conqueſt of this city to our valour, yet he refuſes to ſhare the ſpoils of it with us, and by this inſtance of injuſtice has compelled us to return to you. We do it with regret, and the moderation we ſhall ſhew will be a proof of it. We pledge our faith to you, that we will immediately retire, after you have paid us five millions of livres *. This is our utmoſt demand: but if you refuſe a requeſt ſo reaſonable, the greateſt diſtreſſes await you; the cauſe of which you muſt aſcribe to yourſelves, and the infamous Pointis, whom you are at liberty to load with all kinds of execrations †."

After this diſcourſe, the moſt venerable prieſt in the city mounted the pulpit, and exerted all the influence which his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to perſuade his hearers to yield up, without reſerve, their gold, ſilver, and jewels; but the collection which was made, in conſequence of his oration, not furniſhing the ſum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houſes, the Buccaneers proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but not with that ſucceſs they expected; and they concluded by torturing the chief citizens. At length, deſpairing to add any thing to the booty they had already acquired, by theſe various means, they ſet ſail. But unfortunately they met with a fleet of Dutch and Engliſh ſhips; and as both thoſe nations were then in alliance with Spain, moſt of their veſſels were either taken or ſunk, with all the riches they had on board. The reſt eſcaped in a miſerable condition to Hiſpaniola ‡.

This was the laſt memorable event in the hiſtory of the Buccaneers. The entire ſeparation of the Engliſh and French, when the war on account of the prince of Orange divided the two nations; the ſucceſsful means which both made uſe of to promote the cultivation of land in their colonies, by means of thoſe enterpriſing ſpirits, and the prudence they ſhewed in fixing the moſt diſtinguiſhed a-

* About two hundred and eighteen thouſand, ſeven hundred and fifty pounds ſterling.

† Hiſt. Flibuſt. Raynal, liv. x.

‡ Id. ibid.

mong

BOOK III.

mong them, by intruſting them with civil and military employments—all theſe, and various other circumſtances, beſides the difficulty of ſupplying the place of the remarkable perſons who were daily dropping off, concurred to put an end to the moſt extraordinary ſociety that ever exiſted among men. Without any regular ſyſtem of government, without laws, without any permanent ſubordination, and even without any fixed revenue, the Buccaneers ſubjected to their arms cities and ſtrong holds which have baffled the greateſt efforts of national force. They ſupplied the want of numbers and of power by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. If conqueſt, not plunder, had been the object of their enterpriſes, they could have conquered all America. In a word, they were a people wholly diſtinct in hiſtory; but a people whoſe duration was ſo tranſient, that their glory, as it were, laſted only for a moment.

The deſtructive wars that raged in Europe towards the end of the laſt and the beginning of the preſent century, prevented any vigorous efforts being made by the contending powers in America; and the treaty of Utrecht, which terminated their differences, put a ſtop to the depredations of the French and Engliſh colonies on each other. The years that ſucceeded this treaty revived the ideas of the golden age in the world; which would generally enjoy ſufficient tranquility, if the Europeans did not diſturb its peace, by carrying their arms and their diſſentions into every quarter of the earth. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies; the harveſt of the huſbandman was not laid waſte; the mariner ventured to ſail in every ſea, without dread of pirates or of enemies; and mothers no more ſaw their ſons forced from their arms, to laviſh their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious miniſter. Nations no longer united to gratify the paſſions of their ſovereigns. Mankind lived together for ſome time like brethren, as far as their pride, their prejudices, and their intereſts would let them.

Though this general happineſs may chiefly perhaps be aſcribed to thoſe who held the reins of government, the progreſs of reaſon alſo contributed in part to produce it. Philoſophy then began to be laid open, and ſentiments of univerſal benevolence to be adopted. Some writings of a liberal kind had appeared, which contributed to poliſh and refine the manners of the people. A ſpirit of moderation, thus communicated, had inſpired men with a love of the more uſeful and pleaſing arts of life, and abated at leaſt the deſire which they formerly poſſeſſed, of deſtroying each other. The thirſt of blood ſeemed to be aſſuaged; and all nations, profiting by the diſcoveries they had made, ardently ſet about the improvement of their population, agriculture, and manufactures. This ſpirit of activity exerted itſelf more eſpecially in the Weſt India iſlands.

The ſtates on the European continent can ſubſiſt, and even flouriſh, when the flame of war is kindled in their neighbourhood, and on their frontiers, becauſe the principal objects of their attention are the culture of their lands and the encouragement of their manufactures, in order to ſupply their ſubſiſtence and internal conſumption; but the caſe is very different with regard to thoſe ſettlements, which different nations have made in the great archipelago of America. There life and property are equally precarious; few of the requiſites for ſubſiſtence are

the produce of the ſoil; and neither wearing apparel, nor the inſtruments of huſbandry, are ſo much as made in the country. All the commodities of theſe colonies are intended for exportation; and nothing but an eaſy and ſafe communication with Africa, with the northern coaſts of America, and with Europe, can procure them that plentiful ſupply of the neceſſaries of life, and that free circulation of thoſe ſuperfluities which they give in exchange for them, that is neceſſary to their proſperity. The more they had ſuffered from the effects of that long and deſolating war, which had thrown every thing into confuſion, the more eager they were to repair their loſſes. Their progreſs, however, would have been comparatively ſlow, had not the hopes entertained that the general weakneſs would inſure a laſting tranquility, encouraged the European merchants to furniſh them with goods in advance.

Theſe aſſiſtances rapidly increaſed the proſperity of the Weſt India iſlands, till a ſtorm that had been for ſome time gathering, broke out in 1739, and diſturbed once more the peace of the world. The Engliſh colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements in South America, which cuſtom had long made them conſider as lawful. Meantime the court of Madrid, becoming better acquainted with its intereſts, concerted meaſures for putting a ſtop to this pernicious intercourſe, by appointing Guarda Coſtas, in the manner already explained *. This precaution was certainly prudent, but it ought to have been put in execution with equity. If the ſhips intended to prevent that illicit traffic had only ſeized upon ſuch veſſels as were concerned in it, the meaſure would have merited approbation. But the abuſes inſeparable from violent councils, the eagerneſs of gain, and perhaps too a ſpirit of revenge, incited the Spaniards to ſtop, under various pretexts, many ſhips which had a legal deſtination.

England, whoſe ſecurity, power, and glory is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently ſuffer even her uſurpations to be reſtrained; but ſhe was now particularly incenſed, when ſhe found that theſe reſtraints were converted into hoſtilities, and carried to an exceſs inconſiſtent with the laws of nations. In London, and in both houſes of parliament, general complaints were made againſt the authors of them, accompanied with invectives againſt the miniſter who ſuffered them. Sir Robert Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whoſe character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spaniſh miniſtry, who ſhewed leſs reſolution as the ſtorm increaſed, concerted together terms of reconciliation, which were ſigned at Pardo, in January 1738.

Thoſe terms, which were equally inconcluſive and inglorious, excited the general reſentment of the Engliſh nation, and of the more virtuous and diſcerning part of both houſes of parliament, who called aloud for vengeance. But the miniſter appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timid, though Britain was in a condition that ought to have left few apprehenſions with regard to the iſſue of a war; though her magazines were filled with military ſtores, and her dock-yards

* Book II. chap. i. p. 368.

BOOK III.

in the moſt flouriſhing condition; though her fleets were all manned and ready for ſervice, and commanded by experienced officers, who waited only for orders to ſet ſail, and ſpread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the earth. Walpole, however, muſt not be ſuſpected of directly betraying his country, though his puſillanimous conduct had nearly the ſame effect. He knew that war would involve him in ſuch difficulties as muſt inevitably endanger his adminiſtration. The treaſure, which he now employed in domeſtic purpoſes, muſt in that event be expended in foreign armaments; the wheels of corruption, that vaſt machine on which he had raiſed his influence, would no longer move; the oppoſition in parliament would of courſe gain ground; and the impoſition of freſh taxes, neceſſary for the ſupport of the war, fill up the meaſure of popular indignation againſt his perſon and miniſtry.

Moved by theſe conſiderations, without being bribed, as his enemies affirmed, by the court of Madrid, Walpole not only induſtriouſly avoided a rupture with Spain by memorials, negociations, and by agreeing to terms unworthy of the dignity of the Britiſh crown, but ventured to defend that convention in parliament. He aſſerted, that the miniſtry had reconciled the peace of their country with her true intereſt; that this peace was attended with all the advantages which the moſt ſucceſsful war could have procured; that future ages would conſider the period of which he ſpoke as the moſt glorious in hiſtory, and do juſtice to the counſels that produced the happy event *. He was obliged, however, at laſt to give way to the voice of the nation; and admiral Vernon was ſent to the Weſt Indies, in order to aſſume the command of the ſquadron in thoſe latitudes, and to annoy the trade and ſettlements of the Spaniards.

This gentleman had rendered himſelf conſiderable in the houſe of commons, by loudly condemning all the meaſures of the miniſter, and bluntly ſpeaking his ſentiments upon every occaſion, without any reſpect of perſons, or even regard to decorum. He was accounted a good officer, and this boiſterous manner ſeemed to confer on him a particular merit with many of his countrymen. As he had once commanded a ſquadron at Jamaica, he was perfectly acquainted with the coaſts of America; and in a debate upon the Spaniſh depredations he affirmed, that he would undertake to reduce Porto Bello with ſix ſhips. This offer was ecchoed from the mouths of all the members in the oppoſition, and reſounded from every corner of the kingdom. Vernon became the idol of the people: and the miniſter, in order to appeaſe their clamours, ſent him to fulfil his bravado; pleaſed with an opportunity of removing ſuch a troubleſome cenſor from the houſe of commons, and not without hopes, as may be ſuppoſed, that he would fail in his enterpriſe, and draw diſgrace on himſelf and his party.

The event, however, proved otherwiſe. Admiral Vernon ſailed from Jamaica with no more than ſix ſhips, and two hundred and forty ſoldiers; yet ſuch was the puſillanimity of the Spaniards, and the romantic bravery of the Engliſh

* Parliamentary Debates for 1738.

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tars, who ſcaled the walls in a manner thought impracticable, that he made himſelf maſter of Porto Bello almoſt without bloodſhed. The joy of the nation was exceſſive on this occaſion: the two houſes of parliament congratulated his majeſty on the ſucceſs of his arms; the people were confirmed in their opinion of Vernon, and his good fortune determined the government to ſupport him. The taking of Porto Bello was only a prelude to greater enterpriſes. Nothing leſs was reſolved upon than the entire deſtruction of the Spaniards in the New World. For this purpoſe, a ſquadron was diſpatched to the South Sea under commodore Anſon, in order to ravage the coaſts of Peru and Chili*; and a fleet of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb ketches, tenders, ſtore-ſhips, and tranſports, with upwards of ten thouſand land forces on board, was ſent to the Weſt Indies to reinforce admiral Vernon. The land forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in military affairs. The ardour of both ſoldiers and ſailors to come to action was exceſſive. This ardour drew from Lord Cathcart the following letter to admiral Vernon. "In the troops I bring you, there is ſpirit, there is good will; which, when properly conducted, will produce, I hope, what the nation expects from us; will make us the glorious inſtruments for finiſhing the war, with all the advantages to the public that its happy beginning promiſes; and with this diſtinguiſhing circumſtance, that thoſe effects have been owing to *a perfect harmony between the ſea and land forces* †."

The want of this harmony proved the ruin of the armament. Lord Cathcart died ſoon after his arrival at Jamaica, and the command of the land forces unfortunately devolved upon brigadier-general Wentworth; an officer without experience, reſolution, or authority, and a man without abilities, but artful and plauſible. He had nothing in common with Vernon but his obſtinacy, and as great a contempt for the ſea, as the admiral had for the land-ſervice. Theſe two commanders, whoſe powers were diſcretionary, determined to attack Carthagena, after being reinforced with ſome troops from the Engliſh colonies in America. A deſcent was accordingly made on the iſland of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Bocca Chica, or Littlemouth, from the narrowneſs of the entrance, which was fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner with caſtles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ſhips of war. Several of the ſmaller forts were reduced by Sir Chaloner Ogle, a gallant officer, to whom that ſervice was committed. Batteries were now erected againſt the principal fortifications, and the Barradera-battery, and fort St. Joſeph were ſucceſſively taken by ſtorm. A breach was made in Caſtillo Grande, and the Britiſh troops, ſupported by the ſeamen, advanced to the aſſault. Contrary to all expectation, they found the works abandoned. The Spaniſh ſhips, which lay acroſs the

* Anſon's fleet was ruined in paſſing Cape Horn, which ſome months ſooner might have been doubled without any danger; but if one may judge of what he could have performed, with his whole ſquadron, from what he actually executed with a ſingle ſhip, it ſeems highly probable, that he would have ſhaken, at leaſt, the empire of the Spaniards on the South Sea.

† Hiſtory of Jamaica.

BOOK IV.

mouth of the harbour, were either taken or deſtroyed; the paſſage was opened; the fleet entered without farther oppoſition, and the troops were diſembarked within a mile of the city.

After ſurmounting ſuch incredible difficulties, the Engliſh thought that little remained but to take poſſeſſion of Carthagena. A ſhip was ſent expreſs to London with intelligence to this purpoſe, and public rejoicings were held at Jamaica, and over all the Britiſh Weſt Indies. But the animoſities which had broke out between the admiral and general, and which every day ſerved only to inflame, diſappointed the hopes of the nation, as well as of thoſe engaged in the expedition. Each ſeemed more eager for the diſgrace of his rival than zealous for the honour of his country. The admiral was always putting the general in mind of the neceſſity of cutting off all communication between the city and the country, and of attacking fort St. Lazarus, by which it was defended. Reſolutions in a council of war were taken for that purpoſe, but nothing was done in conſequence of them. A moſt unaccountable langour, which perhaps in ſome meaſure proceeded from the climate, ſeems to have poſſeſſed the troops. The general threw the blame upon the admiral, in not landing their tents, ſtores, and artillery. Both were doubtleſs to blame: but if Wentworth, on landing, had immediately attacked the Spaniards, before their panic was over, the Engliſh muſt unqueſtionably have become maſters of the place; whereas the delay of the army gave them time not only to recover their ſpirits, but to complete a very ſtrong fortification, and to take other precautions for their defence. Nor was the admiral leſs remiſs in his duty, in not ſending his ſhips to batter the town by ſea.

Meanwhile the army was employed in erecting a bomb-battery, in order to make a breach in fort St. Lazarus. But the artillery not being yet arrived, nor the battery near completed, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered ſo much ſtronger, before the battery could be opened, as to overbalance its advantages. This abſurd opinion, which was moſt likely delivered with a view to ſave his own reputation, ſeconded by the importunities of Vernon, determined Wentworth to hazard an aſſault againſt the mouths of the Spaniſh cannon, without diſcharging a ſingle gun to diſmount them, or to open a breach in the walls of the fortification. A wilder reſolution could not have been embraced by an army of ſavages, ignorant of the art of war, and of the deſtructive power of artillery. Such, however, was the ardour of the Britiſh troops, that, if other inſtances of miſconduct had not accompanied this unſoldierlike attempt, there is reaſon to believe that Carthagena would have been taken. The attack, inſtead of being made in the night, was delayed till near ſun-riſing; the ſcaling-ladders were too ſhort; the wool-packs and granado-ſhells were left in the rear; and the admiral neglected to divert the attention of the enemy, by battering the city by ſea, or even making uſe of his bomb-ketches. In conſequence of theſe ſeveral blunders, and others connected with them, the Engliſh troops were expoſed to the whole fire of the fort, without the leaſt power of defending themſelves, or of annoying the Spaniards. A mere carnage enſued; and though a retreat was

ſoon

ſoon found neceſſary, colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, and ſix hundred brave men were left dead on the field.

The officers of the land forces knew not whether to accuſe their general or the admiral; but the number of the troops was now ſo much reduced, that they perceived all farther hopes of reducing the place muſt be very doubtful. Beſides, the rainy ſeaſon had begun with ſuch violence as rendered it impoſſible for them to live on ſhore; they were therefore reimbarked, and the enterpriſe was relinquiſhed. Vernon, however, in order to vindicate himſelf from the reproaches of Wentworth, who affirmed that the town might be taken by ſea, fitted up the Galicia, one of the Spaniſh ſhips which he had taken, as a floating battery. On trial it was found, that ſhe could not approach ſo near the walls as to make any impreſſion upon them; but her ſhot, and the bombs from the tenders did conſiderable damage to the houſes and churches; and it was with difficulty that the Spaniards prevented their principal magazine from being blown up by a bomb, which fell into a church where it was lodged. Many conjectures, very unfavourable to the character of Vernon, were formed, on account of his deſiſting from this kind of bombardment, which, in the end, might have rendered the city untenable by the inhabitants. It was farther affirmed, yet more to his prejudice, that the Galicia did not lie in the proper ſtation for annoying the enemy; that the water there was indeed too ſhallow to admit large ſhips near enough to batter the town with any proſpect of ſucceſs, but that a little towards the left, he might have ſtationed four or five of his ſhips of greateſt force, within piſtol ſhot of the walls. However this may have been, it is certain, that the admiral ordered the men to be brought off from the Galicia in boats, and the cables to be cut; ſo that ſhe drove with the ſea-breeze upon a ſhoal, where ſhe was ſoon filled with water *.

After this impertinent experiment, and the reimbarkation of the troops, the diſtempers peculiar to the climate and ſeaſon began to rage with redoubled fury. Nothing was heard, from ſhip to ſhip, but complaints and execrations; the groans of the dying, and the ſervice for the dead: nothing was ſeen but objects of woe, and images of dejection; and the commanders, who had agreed in nothing elſe, were unanimous in the expediency of a retreat from this ſcene of miſery and diſgrace. The fortifications of the harbour were demoliſhed, and the fleet ſailed for Jamaica, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the Engliſh nation. The people were depreſſed, in proportion to that exuberant hope by which they had been elevated. Nor was any thing afterwards done by the conductors of this unfortunate enterpriſe, to retrieve the honour of the Britiſh arms. Though Vernon was reinforced with three more ſhips of the line, and Wentworth with three thouſand ſoldiers from England; and though they ſucceſſively threatened St. Jago de Cuba and Panama, they returned home, without effecting any thing of conſequence, after the loſs of twenty thouſand men †.

* Smollet, Hiſt of Eng. book ix. Hiſt. of Jamaica. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. XV. folio edit.
† Id. ibid.

BOOK III.

Such was the iſſue of the greateſt naval armament that had ever been ſent from Britain. England, however, had ſtill ſufficient reſources to have ſhook the power of Spain in America; and notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of France, to have dictated her own conditions, had not a war broke out on the continent of Europe, in which ſhe unhappily took a ſhare. The diſaſters and diſgraces of that war, together with the loſſes ſuſtained by her allies, obliged her to conclude a peace, by which ſhe gave up the original object of the war with Spain. In that treaty no mention is made of the right of Britiſh ſubjects to navigate the American ſeas without being ſubject to ſearch.

But humiliating as the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was to England, it was not ſufficient to quiet the reſtleſs ambition of her enemies. The French ſeem only to have conſidered it as the means of making encroachments more ſecurely on her back-ſettlements in America. Theſe encroachments produced a new war in 1755. In the beginning of this war the Engliſh were unſucceſsful in every quarter; in America, the Eaſt Indies, in Germany, and the Mediterranean. The loſs of Minorca occaſioned univerſal conſternation; and Byng, who had been ſent to relieve it, fell a ſacrifice to the blunders of the miniſtry, and the diſcontents of the people. He was ſhot on board his own ſhip. The news of this event, which ſeemed to revive the memory of the ancient republics, filled all Europe with admiration and horror. The death of Byng, guilty or otherwiſe, proclaimed in the moſt alarming manner to thoſe who were employed by the nation, what fate they muſt expect if they betrayed the confidence repoſed in them. Every officer ſaid within himſelf, when ready to engage, "On this field I will die, rather than with infamy upon a ſcaffold." The blood of one man accuſed of cowardiſe, ſeemed to have appeaſed the God of War, and was productive of a ſpirit of heroiſm.

This ſpirit, however, would have been of little avail had it not been properly directed, and acompanied with a principle of union. Diſſipation, pleaſure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occaſion warm and frequent connexions in moſt kingdoms of Europe. The Engliſh have leſs intercourſe and connexion with each other, and perhaps leſs taſte for ſocial life than ſome other nations; but the idea of any project that may be ſerviceable to the ſtate, in times of danger, immediately unites them, and they ſeem as it were animated by one ſoul. All ranks, parties, and ſects, contribute to inſure its ſucceſs, and with ſuch ardour and liberality as cannot be paralleled in thoſe countries where the people have no ſhare in the government. This zeal is more remarkably diſtinguiſhed, when the nation has placed an implicit confidence in the miniſter who has the direction of public meaſures. Such a confidence the nation had placed in William Pitt, whom the voice of the people had obtruded on the throne. Pitt had been a favourite in the three kingdoms from his youth, on account of his diſintereſted patriotiſm, and his indignation againſt corruption. He had a ſoul formed for great deſigns, and was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecies of eloquence that never failed to captivate the minds of his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterpriſing.

Such was the man deſtined to wipe off the diſgraces of England, and exalt her glory above that of all other nations. He planned ſuch prudent and uſeful deſigns; his preparations were conducted with ſo much foreſight and diſpatch; his means were ſo well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; he made ſuch a prudent choice of the perſons whom he intruſted with his deſigns; he eſtabliſhed ſuch harmony between the land and ſea forces, and raiſed the ſpirit of the people to ſuch a height, that his whole adminiſtration was a ſeries of conqueſts. Theſe conqueſts we have only occaſion, at preſent, to conſider ſo far as they relate to the Weſt Indies.

Senſible of the importance of the French ſugar colonies to the mother-country, and of the advantages which muſt accrue to England from the conqueſt of them, that wiſe miniſter ordered an armament to be fitted out, towards the end of the year 1758, for the reduction of Martinico. It conſiſted of ten ſhips of the line, under commodore More, and five thouſand land forces, commanded by general Hopſon; an officer of judgment and experience, but deſtitute of activity. The attempt upon Martinico was abandoned as impracticable; tho' ſeemingly with little reaſon, as the governor poſſeſſed neither courage nor capacity, and the inhabitants were in a moſt miſerable condition, in conſequence of their communication with France being interrupted by the Britiſh fleets. Be that, however, as it may, the troops were reimbarked within four and twenty hours after their landing, and the armament directed its courſe towards the iſland of Guadeloupe; a leſs ſplendid, but not leſs important object.

The Engliſh fleet appeared before the town of Baſſe Terre, the capital of the iſland, on the 23d of January 1759, and next day the place was taken, after a terrible cannonading, accompanied with inceſſant ſhowers of bombs. Never did the commanders of the Engliſh navy exert themſelves with more intrepidity and judgment, than on this occaſion. They left the land forces nothing to do but take poſſeſſion of the town. The reduction of Baſſe Terre, however, was not immediately followed by the ſubjection of Guadeloupe. The ſlowneſs, timidity, and irreſolution of the operations by land, afforded the fugitive garriſon, aſſiſted by the inhabitants, leiſure to fortify themſelves in a ſtrong paſs, that obſtructed the communication with the more fertile parts of the iſland; and the Engliſh, deſpairing of making themſelves maſters of it on this ſide, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande Terre. Fort Lewis, its chief defence, was taken ſword in hand, by the marines and Highlanders, after a ſhort but vigorous cannonading from the fleet.

But the conquerors were again guilty of the ſame error as formerly: they did not take advantage of the enemy's terror; and they ſuffered the ſame inconveniences from their neglect. The event of the expedition was even doubtful, when general Barrington ſucceeded to the command, in conſequence of the death of Hopſon, and changed the plan of operations. Though an officer of greater activity and enterpriſe than his predeceſſor, he gave up the idea of penetrating into the country: he reimbarked his ſoldiers, and ſucceſſively attacked the towns and villages upon the coaſts.

Every

BOOK III.

Every conſiderable place was reduced; but as every hour was diminiſhing the ſmall number of the Britiſh troops, it was not thought adviſable to drive the inhabitants to deſpair. Very honourable terms of capitulation were therefore granted them, and Guadeloupe was ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty on the 21ſt day of April 1759. Marigalante, and ſome other ſmall iſlands in the neighbourhood, ſubmitted on the ſame conditions *. The principal of theſe were, That the inhabitants ſhould be allowed the free and public exerciſe of their religion; that they ſhould be indulged in the continuance of their own civil government, and in the poſſeſſion of all their property and privileges; that they ſhould be ſubject to no impoſts, but thoſe which they had paid under the French government, unleſs the iſland was finally ceded to his Britannic majeſty, in which caſe they were to pay the ſame taxes and impoſts as the inhabitants of the Engliſh Leeward iſlands.

After the reduction of Guadeloupe, and its attendant iſles, no farther attempt was made againſt the French Weſt Indies, till the year 1761, when another armament was ſent againſt Martinico. This armament, conſiſting of eight battallions, under general Monckton, and eighteen ſhips of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, appeared before the capital of the iſland on the 16th day of January, 1762. The landing of the troops was effected without much difficulty, and with no conſiderable loſs. To take poſſeſſion of the eminences which were ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, and which prevented their approach to Fort Royal, in itſelf formidable, ſeemed to be an attempt not ſo eaſily to be accompliſhed. Theſe obſtacles however were ſurmounted, after ſome warm engagements, and the town, which would ſoon have been reduced to aſhes by the bombs from the higher grounds, capitulated on the 9th of February. The ſurrender of the capital was ſoon followed by that of the whole iſland; which was probably induced to this ſtep, that certainly might have been delayed longer, by the proſperity of Guadeloupe under the Britiſh government.

Granada, and the other Leeward Iſlands that were ſubject to France, as well as ſuch as were neutral, though peopled by Frenchmen, ſurrendered without reſiſtance. Even the French colony in Hiſpaniola, and the only one that the mother country retained in the archipelago of America, ſeemed ready to fall into the hands of the Engliſh. It was generally known to be without any means of defence, either within or without, and therefore incapable of making any reſiſtance. It was ſenſible of its own weakneſs, and would have ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons; but the Britiſh arms were turned againſt a more formidable, though perhaps not a more important object. Meanwhile the court of France was equally aſtoniſhed and alarmed at the loſſes it had ſuſtained, and at thoſe it foreſaw. It had expected ſuch an obſtinate defence from its ſugar iſlands as would have

* If it ſhould be obſerved, that the author quotes no authorities for theſe more recent tranſactions, his anſwer is, That in ſuch events as fall within his own memory and obſervation, he thinks authorities unneceſſary. They may have been related nearly in the ſame manner, but they are adopted on the teſtimony of no particular writer.

been

been ſuperior to every attack. The deſcendants of thoſe brave adventurers, who had ſettled theſe iſlands, ſeemed a rampart ſufficient to repel all the force of the Britiſh empire; and they almoſt felt a ſecret ſatisfaction, that the enemy were directing their efforts towards that quarter.

The plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt, but he was not in the miniſtry when it was conquered. The reſignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deſerves to be conſidered by every one who inveſtigates the cauſes and effects of political revolutions. An hiſtorian who ventures to write the tranſactions of his own age, hath ſeldom, it muſt be owned, ſufficient lights to guide him in regard to the intrigues of ſtate. The councils of kings are ſo myſterious, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that ſurrounds them. Their miniſters faithful depoſitaries of the ſecrets with which they have been intruſted, or intereſted to conceal them, explain them no further than is neceſſary to miſlead the curious inquirer who wiſhes to diſcover truth. Whatever penetration he may poſſeſs in tracing the ſource and connexion of events, he is at laſt reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be juſt, ſtill he is ignorant that they are ſo, or cannot depend upon them; and this degree of uncertainty is ſcarcely more ſatisfactory than total ignorance. He muſt therefore wait till caution and intereſt, freed from the reſtraint of ſilence, ſhall lay open the ſecrets of courts:—in a word, till ſome valuable and original records, wherein are unfolded the latent ſprings on which the deſtiny of nations hath depended, can be produced for public inſpection.

One thing we know, that Mr. Pitt reſcued England from the loweſt ſink of misfortune, and raiſed it to a height of ſucceſs that aſtoniſhed the world. He conſidered the moderation of former ſtateſmen as only a pretence to conceal their indolence or their weakneſs: and though the people, of whom he was the idol, were ſometimes alarmed at his vaſt and uncommon enterpriſes, he was not in the leaſt diſquieted on that account; becauſe the multitude, in his eyes, was like a torrent, whoſe courſe he could direct which way ſoever he inclined. Perfectly indifferent with reſpect to fortune, he was by no means ſo in regard to power. His ſucceſſes had rendered his adminiſtration abſolute, and he availed himſelf of the ſuperiority which he had acquired, in order to excite the ardour of the nation. Little influenced by that ſpecies of chimerical philoſophy, which pretending to diveſt itſelf of the prejudices of country, extends its views to the welfare of the univerſe, he kept up in the breaſts of Engliſhmen an enthuſiaſm of patriotiſm, and a violent averſion againſt the nation he wanted to humble.

France, no leſs diſcouraged by this ſpirit of inveteracy, which conſtantly perſued her, than by the loſſes ſhe had undergone, found herſelf obliged to make overtures of peace to Great Britain. This ſtep, however, was not taken before a ſecret alliance had been concluded with Spain. The peace ſolicited was therefore no more than a temporary expedient; and both courts were apprehenſive that Mr. Pitt would penetrate their views. He did ſo, yet conſented to enter into a negociation. But the event ſhewed, as all men of diſcernment had conjectured, that he did not intend to continue it. His deſign was only to furniſh

BOOK III.

himſelf with ſufficient proofs of the engagements which the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon had entered into againſt Great Britain, and to lay them before his country. As ſoon as he had perfected his intelligence, he broke off the negociation, and propoſed an immediate declaration of war againſt Spain. The ſuperiority of the naval power of England above that of both thoſe kingdoms, and the aſſurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inſpired him with this confidence.

Mr. Pitt's ſyſtem appeared to diſtinguiſhed politicians, the only effectual, and indeed the only reaſonable one. Delay ſeemed to him a work of weakneſs, perhaps of treachery; but he found in the privy council, men who were willing to act with more deliberation, and who deſired a certainty of offence, before they demanded reparation. "Spain," ſaid they, "has yet given no proofs of her hoſtile intentions; and the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid ſtill continues to aſſure us of the pacific diſpoſition of that court." Theſe remonſtrances were anſwered by the miniſter, but without producing the deſired conviction. Deſpairing of being able to raiſe themſelves upon a level with a man ſo highly eſteemed, or of making him ſtoop to them, his rivals united their forces in order to effect his ruin. As declared attacks would only have turned againſt themſelves, they had recourſe to more artful methods: they tried to ſour his temper. The natural fire of his character laid him open to ſuch a ſnare, and he fell into it: he threw up the ſeals with indignation. If this reſignation, as there is too much reaſon to believe, was the effect of mere peeviſhneſs, Mr. Pitt expoſed himſelf to juſt cenſure, in not having exerted more ſelf-command: if he hoped by that expedient to humble his enemies, he ſhewed that he poſſeſſed more knowledge of buſineſs than of men; and if, as he aſſerted, he reſigned, becauſe he would not be reſponſible for meaſures which he was no longer allowed to guide, men of cool tempers will be diſpoſed to think he was more ſtrongly attached to his own perſonal glory, than to the intereſts of his country. But whatever may have been the cauſe of his reſignation, nothing but the blindeſt, moſt unjuſt, and violent party-ſpirit, can induce any writer to aſſert, that the extraordinary ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms, under his adminiſtration, was merely the effect of chance.

The council of George III. was divided into parties, who were alike pleaſed at the reſignation of this great man. One party conſiſted of thoſe, who were at the head of affairs during the former, the other of ſuch as had been taken into favour in the preſent reign. Diſunited, however, as the new miniſtery were, they ſoon agreed in the neceſſity of a declaration of war againſt Spain. This was a kind of homage which they were compelled to by the ſuperior genius of Mr. Pitt. As experience had evinced the danger of any attempt againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent of America, the Weſt Indies were deſtined to be the ſcene of thoſe new hoſtilities, and Cuba their particular object. It was readily perceived, that the conqueſt of this iſland would ſecure the command of the Gulph of Mexico; that Spain, whoſe revenue ariſes chiefly from her cuſtoms, would be deprived of her principal reſources; that the whole commerce of

Spaniſh

Spaniſh America would fall into the hands of the Engliſh, as the inhabitants would chuſe rather to deliver up their riches to the conquerors of their country, than to deny themſelves thoſe commodities which they had been accuſtomed to receive from Europe: in a word, that the power of Spain would be ſo much reduced by this blow, that ſhe would be obliged to ſubmit to any conditions.

Conformable to this idea, a fleet of nineteen ſhips of the line, eighteen frigates, and about an hundred and fifty tranſports, with ten thouſand land forces on board, which were to be reinforced by four thouſand more from North America, aſſembled off the north weſt point of Hiſpaniola, and ſet ſail for the Havana. The command of the fleet was intruſted to admiral Pocock, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Eaſt Indies, and the land forces were under the direction of the earl of Albemarle. This formidable armament, which for the ſake of expedition, was conducted, with uncommon ſeamanſhip, through the Old Channel of Bahama, arrived in ſight of thoſe dreadful fortifications that were to be ſtormed, on the 6th day of June, 1762.

The city of Havana, the principal place in the iſland of Cuba, and the ſtrongeſt in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, ſtands towards the bottom of a ſmall bay, that forms one of the ſafeſt harbours in the world, and ſo capacious, that a thouſand ſhips of the largeſt ſize, might there commodiouſly ride at anchor. The entrance into this harbour is by a narrow channel, ſtrongly fortified on every ſide for about half a mile, which is its length. The mouth of that channel, when viſited by the Engliſh, was ſecured by two ſtrong forts; one on the eaſt ſide, named the Moro, and another on the weſt, called the Puntal. The Moro had towards the ſea two baſtions, and on the land ſide two others, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The Puntal, alſo ſurrounded by a ditch, cut in the ſame manner, was provided with caſemates, and every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in defence of the port. It had likewiſe ſeveral batteries which opened upon the country, and flanked ſome part of the town wall. That wall, which was good for little, twenty-one baſtions not much better, a dry ditch of no conſiderable depth, and a kind of covered way almoſt in ruins, formed the only defence of the city itſelf. It has therefore been thought by ſome military men, that the operations ought to have been begun with the attack of the town by land. But lord Albemarle thought otherwiſe; and to attack it by ſea was utterly impracticable before the reduction of the forts, as the entrance of the harbour was not only defended by theſe, but by fourteen Spaniſh ſhips of the line, three of which were afterwards ſunk in the channel, and a boom laid acroſs it.

Such was the place, which every motive of intereſt, glory, ambition, impelled the Engliſh to ſubdue, and the Spaniards to defend. The landing, covered by commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, with ſeven ſhips, was effected without loſs, about ſix leagues to the eaſtward of the harbour, while the admiral with the reſt of the fleet, amuſed the enemy, by making a feint of landing towards the weſt. Next day, about ſix thouſand Spaniards, drawn up very advantageouſly, attempted to diſpute the paſſage of the Engliſh army to the vil- June 7.

lage:

BOOK III. A. D. 1762.

lage of Guanamacoa: but they were ſoon diſperſed; and Albemarle meeting with no farther interruption on his march, began to form the ſiege of the Moro; which he juſtly conſidered as the grand object of the armament, as the reduction of it muſt infallibly be followed by the ſurrender of the city; whereas, if he attacked the city firſt, his army might be ſo much weakened, as to be unable to ſurmount the vigorous reſiſtance of the fort, defended by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to ſave their own and the public treaſure. A poſt was accordingly ſeized upon the higher grounds, and a battery erected with infinite labour. The hardſhips which the Britiſh troops ſuſtained in this ſervice are altogether incredible. The earth was ſo thin on the ſurface of the ground, that it was with the greateſt difficulty they could cover their approaches. Meantime the artillery and ſtores were landing, and the fatigue of bringing them to the works was exceſſive. The cannon and carriages were obliged to be dragged up a bold declivity, from a rough rocky ſhore; and many of the men in this painful operation, and in cutting out communications through thick woods, while parched with thirſt beneath a burning ſun, dropped down dead. At length, every obſtacle was ſurmounted; and the batteries, diſpoſed along a hill on a level with the

June 29. Moro, were ready to be opened, when two detachments from the garriſon, each conſiſting of five hundred grenadiers and choſen men, ſupported by a body of mulattoes and armed negroes, attempted to deſtroy the works of the beſiegers.

The attack of the Spaniards was vigorous; but they were repulſed with the loſs of above two hundred men. This advantage encouraged the Engliſh,

July 1. and the batteries were opened with good effect. At the ſame time four ſhips of the line were ordered to lie as near as poſſible to the north-eaſt ſide of the Moro, with an intention to diſmount the enemy's guns, and to beat down the wall of the caſtle. A dreadful cannonading enſued, which was kept up for ſeven hours, with equal ſteadineſs on both ſides; but the elevated ſituation of the caſtle gave it vaſt advantages over the ſhips, which were ſo much damaged in their hulls, maſts, and rigging, that they were obliged to be towed off. Never however was a deſperate ſervice performed with more courage or coolneſs, than both officers and men diſcovered on this occaſion; and though it failed of the deſired effect, yet by diverting the enemy's fire from the land-ſide, the general obtained a deciſive ſuperiority in the number of guns.

This circumſtance, it was hoped, would put a ſpeedy period to the toils of the beſiegers; but an unforſeen accident ſoon deprived them of that proſpect. The enemy having found means to replace their guns, the Engliſh were obliged to play their artillery in ſo furious a manner, that their grand battery unfortunately

July 3. took fire, and all endeavours to ſtop it proved ineffectual. The labour of ſix hundred men for ſeventeen days was conſumed in a few hours. This accident was peculiarly diſcouraging, at a time when the hardſhips of the ſiege, and the diſeaſes peculiar to the climate, had rendered two thirds of the army unfit for ſervice. The condition of the ſeamen was very little better; yet both officers and ſoldiers applied themſelves with as much ardour to reſtore the works, as if the ſiege had been juſt begun. Unhappily thoſe again took fire, to the inex-

preſſible grief of the beſiegers, who had nothing now to truſt to for ſucceſs but the arrival of the reinforcements from North America; for whatever loſſes the Spaniards ſuſtained in the day time were replaced in the night, by reaſon of the communication which was ſtill kept open between the caſtle and the town. The ſpirit of the Engliſh, however, did not fail them. Animated by that active and perſervering courage, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhes the Britiſh troops, they laboured with as much alacrity as if ſucceſs had been within their reach; and though obliged to work entirely above ground, ſheltered only by bags of ſand or bales of cotton, inſtead of wool-packs, they replaced all their batteries, and renewed their fire ſo briſkly, that they were ſoon in poſſeſſion of the covered July 19. way, before the right baſtion made a lodgment, and continued their operations ſo ſucceſsfully, that the place was almoſt taken by ſurpriſe.

This circumſtance deſerves to be particularly noticed. The miners being advanced about eighteen feet under the right baſtion, a ſerjeant and twelve men were ordered, between dawn and ſun-riſing, to obſerve the enemy's works, and July 22. if poſſible the ſtate of the garriſon. By the aſſiſtance of ladders, which had been planted the evening before (by two engineers, who had retired on ſuppoſing themſelves diſcovered) they got over the ditch, and up to the top of the parapet; where ſome Spaniards lying cloſe on their faces, ſprung up, ran into the rampart, and gave the alarm. The ſerjeant immediately returned, but was ſent back to fulfill his orders more perfectly. Meantime the alarm-bell rung in the Moro. All the drums in the city beat the call to arms, and day began faintly to break from the eaſt. Convinced that a laſt effort was now neceſſary, fifteen hundred men from the town made a ſally in three parties, in order to relieve the caſtle, by deſtroying the works of the beſiegers, or beating off the aſſailants, in caſe of the laſt extremity. But they were repulſed with the loſs of four hundred men, and the Engliſh renewed their operations with freſh vigour.

As a farther encouragement to the beſiegers, brigadier Burton arrived with July 27. the firſt diviſion of the troops from North America. By this time the miners had reached the foot of the wall; and although the fort ſtill held out, no attempt had been made from the town to ſave it, ſince the repulſe of the grand ſally. Another experiment was now tried: a floating battery was ſent out of the harbour, to fire grape ſhot and ſmall arms into the ditch, where the Engliſh miners were at work; but the party appointed to cover the approaches, plied the Spaniards ſo briſkly, that they were obliged to retire. This was the laſt effort of the enemy for the relief of the Moro; for by two in the afternoon that ſame day, a mine was ſprung, which threw down part of the wall into the ditch, and left a breach thought practicable, though ſmall, and the troops were ordered to July 30. ſtorm it. The Spaniſh garriſon was ſtill conſiderable, and the brave defence they had made left the beſiegers no room to doubt of the valour and reſolution of their commanders; but danger itſelf was only a ſtimulus to troops who had ſo near a proſpect of terminating their dreadful toils. They prepared themſelves for the aſſault with the greateſt alacrity: and mounting the breach, under the com-

BOOK III. A. D. 1762.

command of major-general Keppel, entered the fort with ſo much intrepidity and order, as entirely diſconcerted the Spaniards. Four hundred of them were cut in pieces, or periſhed in attempting to make their eſcape by water to the city, and four hundred threw down their arms, and received quarter. The marquis de Gonzales, who was ſecond in command, bravely fell in endeavouring to ſtop the ſhameful flight of his countrymen; and Don Lewis de Velaſco, the governor, whoſe gallant reſiſtance will long be remembered, died like a patriot hero, in defending the enſign of Spain, which no entreaties could induce him to reſign.

No ſooner did the Spaniards in the town and Puntal caſtle, perceive the Engliſh to be in poſſeſſion of the Moro, than they directed all their fire againſt that place. Meanwhile the Britiſh troops were employed in erecting batteries upon an eminence which commanded the city; and the arrival of the ſecond reinforcement from North America, encouraged them to proceed with ardour. Every obſtacle was ſurmounted; the batteries were completed; and ſixty pieces of cannon were ready to play upon the town, when lord Albemarle, willing to
Auguſt 10. prevent an unneceſſary carnage, ſent his aid de camp with a flag of truce to ſummon the governor to ſurrender, and to lay before him the unavoidable ruin that was ready to fall upon the place. The governor detained the meſſenger for ſome hours, but without ſuffering him to approach the works, and at laſt declared, that he was reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity. Next morning the batteries were opened with ſuch effect, both againſt the town and fort, that flags of truce appeared in every quarter of the Havana ſoon after noon, and a deputy was ſent to the camp of the beſiegers, in order to ſettle the terms of capitulation. A ceſſation of hoſtilities now took place, and the city of Havana, the Puntal caſtle, and the fleet in the harbour, were ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty, on the 14th of Auguſt, 1762. Without violating the articles of capitulation, which ſecured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty computed at two millions of pounds ſterling in ſilver and valuable merchandiſe, beſides arms, artillery, and military ſtores.

The loſs of the important city of Havana, and eventually of the whole iſland of Cuba, the centre of the wealth and power of Spain in the New World, made peace as neceſſary to the court of Madrid, as it could poſſibly be to that of Verſailles, whoſe diſtreſſes were now arrived at their greateſt extremity. The Engliſh miniſtry, at this time, conſented to treat of peace; but it ſeemed a matter of no ſmall difficulty to ſettle the terms. The ſucceſſes of Great Britain had been aſtoniſhing in North America and the Weſt Indies. She could not however hope to retain all the conqueſts ſhe had made. It was therefore neceſſary that ſhe ſhould make a choice; and it was by many ſuppoſed, that ſhe would give up part of her conqueſts on the continent, and reſerve to herſelf the valuable ſugar-iſlands. This ſyſtem would have been attended with a very conſiderable increaſe of her cuſtoms, which the exhauſted ſtate of her finances ſeemed to require: but ſhe preferred future ſecurity to preſent advantage; and ſcorning the jealouſies of thoſe, who inſinuated that the French colony of Canada was neceſ-

ſary to keep New England in a more cloſe dependence on the mother-country, ſhe relinquiſhed her moſt valuable acquiſitions in the Weſt Indies, in order to retain the poſſeſſion of a boundleſs empire in North America. We ſhall afterwards have occaſion to enter more fully into the merits of that peace: at preſent it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that Cuba, Martinico, and Guadeloupe were reſtored, and that France ceded to England the iſlands of St. Vincent, Tobago, Diminica, Granada, and the Granadines, which now compoſe part of the Britiſh Weſt Indies.

Thus England loſt an opportunity, which may never perhaps return, of ſeizing all the revenues, and becoming maſter of all the wealth of the New World. Mexico was in her power, as the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of the gulph that opens the way to it: this valuable continent muſt, therefore, ſoon have become their property. It might have been allured, either by offers of an eaſier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been induced to ſhake off the yoke of the mother-country, which took up arms to oppreſs its colonies, rather than to protect them; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains which enſlaved them to an arbitrary ſway. The whole face of America might perhaps have been entirely changed; and England, more free and more equitable than other monarchical powers, muſt have benefited itſelf at the ſame time that it reſcued the human race from the oppreſſions they ſuffered in the New World.

CHAP. II.

An Account of the Slave Trade, with ſuch Particulars relative to the original State of the Negroes as are neceſſary to render that Account intelligible; ſome Reflections on the Advantages and Diſadvantages of introducing ſuch a Race of Men into the New World, *as well as of employing them in the Cultivation of the Ground; a View of their wretched Condition there, and an Attempt at the Character of their imperious Maſters.*

LET us now conſider, by what means the nations, who have divided among them the great archipelago of America, have been able to raiſe it to that degree of opulence, which has made it the object of ſo many wars and negociations.

Gold and ſilver were originally looked upon as the only valuable productions, which Europe could derive from the New World; but when it was found that the precious metals had either never exiſted in many of thoſe countries, or were no longer procured in ſufficient quantities to repay the expenſe of working the mines, certain ſpeculative men ſuperior to vulgar prejudices, conjectured that a ſoil and climate, ſo totally different from ours, might either furniſh us with commodities to which we were ſtrangers, or which we were obliged to purchaſe at an exorbitant price. They accordingly applied themſelves,

BOOK III.

ſelves, eſpecially in the Weſt Indies, to theſe foreign cultures. They met however, at firſt, with ſome obſtacles, apparently inſurmountable, in the execution of this plan. The natives were either entirely deſtroyed, or the weakneſs of their conſtitutions, their habit of indolence, and their invincible averſion againſt labour, rendered them very unfit inſtruments for executing the deſigns of their oppreſſors. They ſunk under their new toils, or fell martyrs to their love of freedom; and Europeans, born in a temperate climate, could not ſupport the labours of agriculture under a burning and unwholeſome ſky. Avarice, ever fruitful in expedients, deviſed the plan of procuring cultivators from Africa, a country where the deteſtable and inhuman cuſtom of ſelling its inhabitants hath at all times prevailed. We have ſeen this experiment very early, and ſucceſsfully attempted in Hiſpaniola *; and as ſoon as the other European nations had eſtabliſhed colonies in the American archipelago, they followed the example of the Spaniards.

All the inhabitants of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope, are black. The cauſe of this ſingularity hath given riſe to a variety of ſyſtems. Some have abſurdly ſuppoſed, that the negroes being the deſcendants of Cain, have had this mark of infamy ſtamped upon them, as a puniſhment for the fratricide of their anceſtor: if it were ſo, it muſt indeed be allowed, that his poſterity have made a ſevere atonement for his crime; and that the deſcendants of the peaceful Abel, have thoroughly avenged the blood of their innocent father. Waving, however, the diſcuſſion of ſuch wild fancies, begot by ignorance upon ſuperſtition, let us inquire whether it is poſſible that the negroes ſhould derive their colour from the climate they inhabit. Buffon and other eminent naturaliſts are of this opinion. "There are no negroes, ſay they, but in the hotteſt countries. Their colour becomes darker, the nearer they approach to the equator, and lighter towards the extremities of the torrid zone. The whole human race, except in regions of exceſſive rigour, contract whiteneſs from their vicinity to the ſnow, and brownneſs from their expoſure to the ſun. Various ſhades may be obſerved from white to black, and from black to white, marked out as it were by the parallel degrees, which cut the earth from the equator to the poles." It is ſomewhat remarkable, however, that nature, which has laviſhed the brighteſt and moſt beautiful colours on the ſkin and plumage of animals, on vegetables and metals, ſhould, properly ſpeaking, have left man without colour, ſince black and white are nothing but the beginning and the abſence of all colour.

But whatever may be the origin, and radical cauſe, of that diverſity of complexion obſervable in the human ſpecies, it is agreed that among anatomiſts, that this complexion is immediately owing to a glutinous ſubſtance which is lodged between the cuticle and the ſkin. That ſubſtance is blackiſh in negroes, brown in olive-coloured or ſwarthy people, white in Europeans, and diverſified with reddiſh ſpots in people who have extremely light or red hair. Anatomy hath

* Book I. chap. iii. p. 42.

further,

further diſcovered, that in negroes the ſubſtance of the brain is blackiſh, and their blood is of a much deeper red than that of white people. Their ſkin is always hotter, and their pulſe quicker. The ſweat of the negro diffuſes a ſtrong and diſagreeable ſmell; becauſe it is impregnated with that thick and rancid oil, which hath been long lodged, and ſlowly oozes out between the cuticle and the ſkin. This oil is ſo palpable, that one may diſtinguiſh in it with a microſcope a ſediment formed in little blackiſh globules. Hence the perſpiration of a negro, when copious, tinges the linen cloth which wipes it off.

Anatomy hath even diſcovered the origin of the blackneſs of negroes in the principles of generation. Nothing more, it ſhould ſeem, can be neceſſary to prove, that negroes are a particular ſpecies of men; for if any thing diſcriminates the ſpecies, or the claſſes in each ſpecies, it is certainly the difference of ſemen. The colour of the negroes is therefore falſely ſuppoſed to be owing to the climate, as other circumſtances conſpire to demonſtrate. The eaſtern coaſt of Africa, under the ſame parallels with Guinea, produces no negroes: white people are even found there; nor has the heat of the ſun ever produced any blacks in America.

Though it ſhould be allowed, that the weſtern coaſt of Africa is the hotteſt region on the face of the globe, the only inference to be deduced from this would be, That there are climates proper only for certain races of men, or certain races adapted to particular climates; but not that the difference of climate would change the ſame race or ſpecies from white to black. The ſun has not the power of altering the germina of reproduction. White people never become black in Africa, nor negroes white in America or in Europe. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Penſylvania, without any viſible change of colour: they continue jet black as originally. Thoſe who aſcribe all to the ſun, ought to conſider how little probable it is, that the colour which it impreſſes on the parents ſhould be communicated to their infant offſpring, who never ſaw the ſun. The Hottentots are continually at work, and have been for ages, to darken their complexion; but that operation has no effect on their children. From the action of the ſun it is poſſible to explain, why a negro, like an European is born with a ruddy ſkin, which turns jet black the eighth or ninth day *?

The climate inhabited by the negroes exhibits no palpable variations, except ſuch as are occaſioned by ſands or marſhes. The almoſt inſupportable heat of their days is ſucceeded by very cool and refreſhing nights; with this difference only, that they are leſs cool in the rainy ſeaſons than in the times of drought. The dew, leſs profuſe under a cloudy ſky than under a ſerene horizon, is undoubtedly the cauſe of this ſingularity. From the frontiers of Morocco, as far as the river Senegal, the land is entirely barren. Some Arabs, the deſcendants of thoſe who conquered Barbary, and ſome Moors, the ancient inhabitants of

* See on this ſubject Lord Kaims's Sketches on Man, book I. ſketch i. and Raynal's Hiſt. Philos. &c. liv. xi.

BOOK III.

the country, lead a miſerable wandering life amid thoſe burning and dry ſands, which are finally loſt in the ſolitudes of Saharah. The banks of the Niger, Gambia, Sierra Leona, and thoſe of ſome leſs conſiderable ſtreams, which flow in the long ſpace that intervenes between theſe principal rivers, exhibit proofs of the greateſt fertility. Maize grows there without much cultivation, as well as all the fruits that are natural to America, and in the care of flocks conſiſts almoſt the ſole employment of the natives.

The inhabitants of Cape Monte, environed on every ſide by ſands, form a nation entirely diſtinct from the reſt of Africa. In the rice of their marſhes conſiſts all their nouriſhment, and their only riches. They ſell to the Europeans a ſmall quantity of this grain, for which they receive in exchange brandy and hardware. From Cape Palmas to the river Volta, the negroes are traders and huſbandmen. They are huſbandmen, becauſe their land, though ſtony, abundantly requites the neceſſary labour and expence of clearing it: they are traders, becauſe they have behind them nations which furniſh them with gold, copper, ivory, and ſlaves; and becauſe nothing obſtructs a continued communication between the people of the country and thoſe on the coaſt. Between the river Volta and that of Calbary, the coaſt is flat, fertile, populous, and cultivated. The country which extends from Calbary to Gabon is very different: almoſt totally covered with thick foreſts, it produces little fruit, no corn, and may be ſaid rather to be inhabited by beaſts than men. Though the rains there are very frequent and copious, as they muſt be under the equator, the ſoil is ſo ſandy, that immediately after the heavieſt ſhower, there remains little or no appearance of moiſture.

To the ſouth of the line, as far as Zara, the coaſt preſents an agreeable proſpect. Low at its beginning, it gradually riſes, and exhibits a ſcene of cultivated fields, intermixed with woods always verdant, and of meadows covered with palm-trees. From Zara to Coanza, and yet farther, the coaſt is in general high and craggy. In the interior parts of this country is a celebrated plain, the ſoil of which is compoſed of a large, thick, and fertile ſand. But a little beyond Coanza a barren region intervenes, of about two hundred leagues in extent, which is terminated by the country of the Hottentots. In this long ſpace there are no inhabitants except the Cimbebes, with whom no intercourſe is kept up.

The varieties obſervable on the ſhores of the weſt of Africa, do not prevent them from enjoying a very extraordinary and perhaps a ſingular advantage. On this immenſe coaſt, thoſe ſtupendous rocks, ſo alarming to the navigator, are no where ſeen. The ſea is univerſally calm, the wind regular, and the anchorage ſecure. Several excellent harbours are there to be met with, in which the mariner may eaſily purſue unmoleſted, the labours which the refitting of ſhips require, after a voyage ſo long. During ſix months of the year, from April to November, the winds and currents have nearly the ſame direction. To the ſouth of the line, the ſouth-eaſt wind predominates, and the direction of the currents

currents is toward the north; but to the north of the line, the eaſt wind prevails, and the direction of the currents is toward the north-eaſt. During the ſix other months, ſtorms by intervals change the direction of the wind, but it no longer blows with the ſame violence. The ſpring of the air ſeems to be relaxed.

Vague conjectures only can be formed with regard to every thing that reſpects the interior parts of Africa; but it is a fact ſufficiently authenticated, that, throughout the whole extent of the coaſt, the government is arbitrary. Whether the ſovereign aſcends the throne by right of birth, or by election, he is equally deſpotic: the people have no other law but his will. But what may perhaps ſeem more extraordinary to the inhabitants of Europe is, that, in Africa, the countries which are leaſt liable to revolutions, are thoſe that have preſerved the right of electing their chiefs. The choice commonly falls upon ſome old man, whoſe wiſdom is generally known. Every freeman has a right to vote; and there are even ſome tribes among whom the women enjoy this privilege.

The hereditary kingdoms of Benin and Whidah excepted, ſuch is the manner in which that little groupe of ſtates to the north of the line is formed. To the ſouth of the equinoctial we meet with Mayumba and Cilingo, where the chiefs are admitted among the miniſters of religion; and with the empires of Loango and Congo, where the crown is perpetual in the male line, by the female ſide; that is, the eldeſt ſon of the king's eldeſt ſiſter inherits the throne, when it becomes vacant *. Theſe people, with good reaſon believe, that a child is much more certainly the ſon of his mother, than of the man to whom ſhe is married: they truſt rather to the act of delivery, which they ſee, than to that of conception, of which they know nothing.

The negroes live in a total ignorance of that ſcience ſo much valued among us, under the name of politics. They do not, however, neglect to obſerve ſome of its formalities. The cuſtom of ſending embaſſies is familiar to them; whether to ſolicit aid againſt a powerful enemy, to requeſt a mediator in their differences, or to congratulate others upon their ſucceſſes—on the birth of a child, or the falling of a ſhower after a great drought. Their ſyſtem of war is as little complicated as that of policy. None of thoſe nations retain any troops in pay. Every freeman is by condition a ſoldier. All take up arms to guard their frontiers, or to make incurſions in queſt of booty. The officers are choſen by the ſoldiers, and the election is confirmed by the prince. As they have no magazines, their hoſtilities are but of ſhort duration: it would prove a great miſfortune to them, if they were obliged to keep the field for fifteen days together. The day after the battle, each party redeems its reſpective priſoners. They are exchanged for merchandize or for ſlaves. No portion of the territory is ever ceded: the whole belongs to the community, whoſe chief fixes the extent which each perſon is to cultivate, in order to reap the fruits of it.

* La Croix, vol. III.

BOOK III.

Nor is this manner of terminating differences confined merely to the ſmaller ſtates, whoſe chiefs are too prudent to aſpire after enlarging their dominions, and too far advanced in years not to be fond of peace. Great empires are obliged to conform to theſe principles with neighbours much weaker than themſelves. The ſovereign has never any ſtanding army; and though he diſpoſes at pleaſure of the lives of the governors of his provinces, he preſcribes them no rules of adminiſtration. Theſe are petty princes; who, from fear of being ſuſpected of ambition, and puniſhed with death, live in concord with the elective governments which ſurround them; and this unanimity between the more conſiderable powers and the ſmaller ſtates, is preſerved as much by the great authority which the prince hath over his ſubjects, as by the impoſſibility of exerting it as he pleaſes. He can only ſtrike a ſingle blow, or cauſe a ſingle head to be ſtruck off. His power againſt individuals is unlimited, but he can do very little againſt the collective body; becauſe, in ſuch an attempt, he would find no perſon to execute his orders.

Another reaſon which prevents the ſmall ſtates from being enſlaved by the great ones is, that the negroes annex no idea of glory to the achievement of conqueſts. The only perſon who appears to have been animated by this deſtructive ſpirit was a ſlave-broker, who from his infancy had frequented the European veſſels, and who in his riper years had made a voyage to Portugal. Every thing he ſaw and heard fired his imagination, and taught him that a great name was frequently acquired by being the author of great calamities. On his return to his native country, he felt himſelf much humbled in his own eyes at being obliged to obey people leſs enlightened than himſelf. His intrigues raiſed him to the dignity of chief of the Achonis, and he prevailed on them to take up arms againſt their neighbours. Nothing was able to oppoſe his valour; ſo that his dominion extended over an hundred leagues of coaſt, of which Anamaboa was the center. At his death no one dared to ſucceed him in his uſurped authority; all the ſupports of which falling to pieces, every thing returned to its former ſituation *.

The Chriſtian and Mahometan religions ſeem to have taken poſſeſſion of the two extremities of that part of the weſt of Africa, which is frequented by the Europeans. The muſſulmen of Barbary carried their theological ſyſtem to the people of the Cape de Verd iſlands, who have extended it ſtill farther. But thoſe tenets have every where undergone an alteration in proportion to their diſtance from their ſource; inſomuch that each kingdom, each village, and frequently each family, maintains a different ſyſtem. Excepting circumciſion, which is univerſal, it would ſcarce be imagined that theſe people profeſſed the ſame worſhip. This religion does not penetrate beyond Cape Monte. What the Arabs had done to the north of the line for the Koran, the Portugueſe afterwards did to the ſouth of the equator for the goſpel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, they eſtabliſhed it from the country of Benguela to Zara. A mode of worſhip, which offered ſure and eaſy means for the expiation of

* Boſman. Des Marchais.

all

all crimes, was perfectly agreeable to the taſte of nations, among whom the greateſt enormities were common, and whoſe religion afforded them no ſuch comfortable proſpect. If Chriſtianity was afterwards proſcribed in ſeveral ſtates, it was owing to the practices of thoſe who propagated it, not any diſlike to the religion itſelf. It is now totally diſguiſed even in the countries where it has been tolerated. A few trifling ceremonies are the only remains of it. The coaſts in the center have preſerved ſome local ſuperſtitions, which muſt be very ancient. They conſiſt in the worſhip of that innumerable multitude of divinities or *fetiches**, which every perſon makes after his own fancy, and for his own uſe. The negroes not only believe theſe material ſubſtances endowed with intelligence, and the power of doing them good or evil, but alſo that the prieſt or *fetiche*r, being of their council, is privy to all that thoſe divinities know, and thence acquainted with the moſt ſecret thoughts and hidden actions of men †. Their veneration for their prieſts, as may be imagined, therefore approaches to adoration; and the commiſſion of murder is a ſmaller crime than the eating of any kind of prohibited food, in diſobedience to their commands. ‡.

The different religions ſpread over the weſtern coaſt of Africa, have not however changed the manner of living. The influence of climate is there ſo predominant, that opinions have but little effect upon manners. The houſes are all built with the branches of the palm-tree, moſt commonly of earth, and covered with ſtraw, oſiers, or reeds. The furniture conſiſts ſolely of baſkets, earthen pots, mats, which ſerves as beds for the inhabitants, and calabaſhes, of which all their diſhes and plates are made. A girdle round their loins is their only apparel; they live on yams, fiſh, fruit, rice, or on bread made of maize; their drink is the wine of the palm-tree; arts are almoſt unknown among them; and all their labours are confined to certain ruſtic employments. Scarce one hundredth part of their country is cultivated, and that in a very wretched manner, either by poor people or by ſlaves.

There is a greater variety obſervable in the character of the Africans than in their wants. On the banks of the Niger, the woman are generally handſome, if beauty conſiſts in ſymmetry of parts, not in colour. Modeſt, affable, and faithful, an air of innocence appears in their looks, and the ſoftneſs of their voice is an indication of their baſhfulneſs. The men are of a proper ſize; their ſkin is as black as ebony; their features are pleaſing, and their countenances expreſſive. The habit of taming horſes and hunting wild beaſts gives them an air of dignity. They do not eaſily put up with an affront; but the example of thoſe animals which they have reared, inſpires them with boundleſs gratitude to a maſter who treats them with indulgence. It is impoſſible to find ſervants more attentive, more ſober, or who have ſtronger attachments:

* The word *fetiche*, in a ſtrict ſenſe, ſignifies whatever repreſents their divinities; but the idea of the negroes concerning their *dii minores*, their leſſer gods, is not well explained by travellers, or underſtood even by the moſt ſenſible among themſelves.

† Boſman, epiſt. x. ‡ Id. ibid.

BOOK III. but they do not make good huſbandmen; becauſe their body is not habituated to bend toward the ground, in order to clear it.

Towards the eaſt the complexion of the Africans degenerates. The people in thoſe latitudes are robuſt, but ſhort. They have an air of ſtrength, which is denoted by firm muſcles; their faces are broad, and their features void of expreſſion; and the figures impreſſed on their foreheads and on their cheeks increaſe their natural deformity. An ungrateful ſoil, which is not improvable by culture, has forced them to have recourſe to fiſhing; though the ſea, on which they dare ſcarce venture, by reaſon of a bar that runs along the coaſt, ſeems to divert them from ſuch a mode of life. Thus repulſed as it were by the elements, they have ſought relief among adjacent nations, more favoured by nature, from whom they procure a ſubſiſtence by ſelling them ſalt. The wives of theſe mercantile negroes ſhare all their labours except that of fiſhing. Theſe women have neither the gentleneſs, modeſty, diſcretion, nor beauty of thoſe of the Niger, and they appear to have leſs ſenſibility. In comparing the two nations, it might be imagined, that the one were the loweſt claſs of a people conſiderably advanced in civilization, and that the other had enjoyed the advantages of a ſuperior education. Their language is a ſtrong indication of their character. The accents of the people on the Niger have an extreme ſweetneſs, while thoſe farther eaſt are harſh and dry, like the ſoil they inhabit. Their vivacity, even in pleaſure, reſembles the furious tranſports of anger.

Beyond the river Volta, in Benin and the other countries known by the general name of the Gold Coaſt, the people have a ſmooth ſkin, and a dark black colour; their teeth are beautiful; they are of a middling ſtature, but well ſhaped, and have a baſhful countenance. Their faces, though tolerably agreeable, would be much more pleaſing, if the women were not accuſtomed to ſcar them, and the men to burn their foreheads. This people have a diſpoſition to chearfulneſs not obſervable among the neighbouring nations; they are inclined to labour; have a ready conception, a ſolid judgment, principles of equity ſeldom altered by circumſtances, and a great facility of adopting themſelves to foreign manners.

The people ſituated between Zara and the line, have all a great reſemblance to each other. They are well made, though leſs robuſt than the inhabitants of the countries on the other ſide of the equator; and though there are ſome marks on their faces, they are free from thoſe ſhocking ſcars, common among their northern neighbours. Their food is ſimple, and their life frugal. They love eaſe, and are averſe from labour. Their feaſts are accompanied with military ſports, which revive the idea of our ancient tournaments; with this difference, that in Europe thoſe exerciſes conſtituted the amuſements of warlike nations, whereas in Africa they are the recreations of a timid people. The women are not admitted to theſe public diverſions. Aſſembled together in certain houſes appropriated for their uſe, they ſpend the day in private, and no man is ever admitted into their ſociety. The pride of rank is the ſtrongeſt paſſion of this people, who are naturally inoffenſive. A certain degree of ceremony obtains

both at the court of princes, and in private life. On the moſt trivial occurrences, they haſten to their friends, either to congratulate them, or to condole with them. A marriage occaſions viſiting for ſeveral months, and the funeral obſequies of a perſon of diſtinction continue ſometimes a whole year. Thoſe who are connected, in any degree, with the deceaſed, carry his remains through ſeveral provinces. The crowd gathers as they proceed, and no perſon departs till the corpſe is depoſited in the tomb, with all the demonſtrations of the deepeſt ſorrow *.

Such, according to the moſt authentic teſtimonies, are the people whom the Europeans have deſtined to the taſks of beaſts of burden, in cultivating their lands in the American archipelago, and on ſeveral parts of the continent. The property which ſome men have acquired over others in that part of Africa called Guinea, is of very high antiquity. It is generally eſtabliſhed there, ſome ſmall diſtricts excepted, where liberty hath as it were retired, and is ſtill maintained. No proprietor, however, has a right to ſell a ſlave who becomes ſuch merely in conſequence of the ſervile ſtate of his parents. He can only diſpoſe of thoſe ſlaves whom he acquires; whether by war, in which every priſoner is a ſlave unleſs exchanged; as a compenſation for ſome injury, or as an expreſſion of benefits received. This law, which ſeems to have been made in favour of thoſe who are born in a ſtate of ſervitude, in order to indulge them with the enjoyment of their country and kindred, is become ineffectual ſince the Europeans have expoſed their tempting luxuries on the coaſts of Africa. It is every day eluded by concerted quarrels, which two proprietors mutually diſſemble, in order to be reciprocally condemned, each in his turn, to a fine, that is paid in perſons born in ſervitude, or ſlaves by birth, the transferring of whom is allowed by the ſame law. They may afterwards be ſold.

Corruption, on theſe coaſts, contrary to its ordinary progreſs, hath advanced from private perſons to princes. The deſire of procuring ſlaves has given frequent occaſion to wars; and a cuſtom hath been eſtabliſhed of puniſhing with ſlavery, not only ſuch citizens as have attempted the lives and properties of others, but thoſe alſo who are incapable of paying their debts, and thoſe who have violated conjugal faith. In a word, the loſs of liberty, which was originally adjudged only for the greateſt crimes, has been extended to the moſt trivial offences. Prohibitions even of things indifferent have been conſtantly multiplied, in order to increaſe the revenues ariſing from the fines, by increaſing the number of offences and of ſlaves. Injuſtice hath known no bounds. At a great diſtance from the coaſt, there are chiefs who give orders for carrying off perſons of all ages and ſexes found in the villages of certain diſtricts. The children are thrown into ſacks, and the men and women are gagged to ſtiffle their cries. If the ravagers happen to be ſeized by ſuperior force, they are conducted before the prince, who always diſavows the commiſſion he had given; and under pretence

* Boſman. Barbot. Deſmarchais. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. VI.

of

BOOK III.

of doing juſtice, inſtantly ſells his agents to the ſhips they were to furniſh with ſlaves *.

Notwithſtanding theſe infamous practices, the people of the coaſts have found it impoſſible to ſupply the growing demands of the merchants. They have experienced what every nation muſt, that can trade only with its nominal ſtock. Slaves are to the commerce of the Europeans in Africa, what gold is in the commerce we carry on in the New World. The heads of the negroes repreſent the ſtock of the ſtates of Guinea. Every day this ſtock is carried off, and nothing is left them but articles of conſumption. Their capital gradually vaniſhes; becauſe it cannot be renewed in proportion to the ſpeedy conſumptions. The trade for blacks would therefore have been long ſince entirely loſt, if the inhabitants of the coaſts had not imported their luxury to the people of the inland countries, from whom they now draw the greater part of the ſlaves that are purchaſed by Europeans. In the ſpace of fifty years this circumſtance has raiſed the price of negroes to almoſt four times their former value. The reaſon is obvious. The ſlaves are chiefly paid for in Eaſt India commodities, which have doubled their value in Europe: a double quantity of theſe commodities muſt be given in Africa; hence our American colonies, where the tranſactions of the ſlave trade are ultimatelly concluded, are obliged to ſupport theſe ſeveral augmentations, and conſequently to pay four times the price which they formerly did for their negroes.

The diſtant African proprietor who ſells his ſlave, receives however a leſs quantity of merchandiſe, than the perſon received fifty years ago, who ſold his ſlave in the neighbourhood of the coaſt. The profits intercepted by paſſing through different hands, the expenſes of tranſport, the impoſts, ſometimes of three per cent. that muſt be paid to thoſe princes through whoſe territories they paſs, ſink the difference between the original ſum which the proprietor receives and that which the European trader pays. Theſe expenſes continually increaſe, by reaſon of the great diſtance of the places where there are yet ſlaves to be ſold. The more remote the place of the firſt ſale is, the greater muſt be the expenſes attending the journey; and they will become ſuch, that of the ſum which the European merchant can afford to pay, ſo little will remain to the firſt ſeller, that he will chuſe rather to keep his ſlave, than accept of ſuch an equivalent. All trade of this kind will then be at an end. In order to ſupport it as long as poſſible, our traders muſt therefore pay an exorbitant price, and ſell in proportion to the colonies; which on their part, not being able to diſpoſe of their produce but at a very advanced price, will no longer find a conſumption for it. But till that time arrives, which is perhaps not ſo diſtant as thoſe intereſted imagine, they will, without the leaſt remorſe, make the lives and labours of the negroes ſubſervient to their avarice: they will find navigators who will pilot the ocean, and run every other hazard, in order to purchaſe them; and theſe will meet with tyrants, who will ſell them.

* Ibid.

Slave-

Slave-merchants collect themſelves into companies, and forming a ſpecies of caravans, conduct ſeveral files of thirty or forty ſlaves, all laden with the water and corn neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, in thoſe barren deſerts through which they muſt paſs. The manner of ſecuring them, without much incommoding their journey, is ingeniouſly contrived. A fork of wood, from eight to nine feet long, is put round the neck of each ſlave. A pin of iron rivetted ſecures the fork at the back in ſuch a manner that the head cannot diſengage itſelf. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before, and ſo embarraſſes the perſon who is tied to it, that though he has his arms and legs at liberty, he can neither walk nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the ſlaves on the ſame line, and ſupport and tie the extremity of each fork on the ſhoulder of the foremoſt ſlave, and proceed in this manner from one to another till they come to the firſt, the extremity of whoſe fork is carried by one of the guides. Thus they proceed; and in order that they may enjoy the refreſhment of ſleep without anxiety, they tie the arms of every ſlave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condition, he can neither run away nor make any attempt to recover his liberty.

All theſe precautions have been found indiſpenſable; becauſe, if a ſlave can but break his chain, he becomes free. The public faith, which ſecures to the proprietor the poſſeſſion of his ſlave, and which at all times delivers him up to his maſter, is ſilent with regard to a ſlave and a trader who exerciſes the moſt deſpicable of all profeſſions. Great numbers of ſlaves arrive on the coaſts together, eſpecially when they are brought from diſtant countries. This management is neceſſary, in order to diminiſh the expenſe, which is unavoidable, in conducting them. The intervals between one journey and another, ſufficiently diſtant, in conſequence of that ſyſtem of œconomy, is often rendered greater by particular circumſtances. The moſt uſual of theſe are the rains, which make the rivers overflow their banks, and obſtruct travelling. The ſeaſon moſt favourable to intercourſe in the interior parts of Africa is from February to September; and hence it is, that the return of the ſlave-merchants, produces the greateſt plenty in this traffic from September to March *.

The ſlave-trade is carried on by the Europeans both to the north and the ſouth of the line. The firſt coaſt, known by the name of Angola, hath but three ports which are equally free to all nations. Theſe are Cabenda, Loango, and Malemba. There are other two, of which the Portugueſe are the ſole maſters; St. Paul de Loando, and St. Philip de Benguela. This coaſt nearly ſupplies one third of the negroes that are carried to the Weſt Indies, who are neither the moſt intelligent, the moſt induſtrious, nor the moſt robuſt. The ſecond coaſt, known by the general name of the Gold Coaſt, abounds more in harbours, but they are not equally favourable to commerce. The reſtraint occaſioned by the forts which the Europeans have there erected, in different places, drives away the dealers in ſlaves: they are therefore to be met with in greater plenty at Anamaboa and Calbary, where commerce is entirely free.

* Snelgrave. Boſman. Atkins.

BOOK III.

In the year 1768, there were exported out of Africa an hundred and four thouſand, one hundred ſlaves. The Engliſh bought up fifty-three thouſand, one hundred of them, for their Weſt India iſlands; the Engliſh colonies on the continent, ſix thouſand three hundred; the French, twenty-three thouſand five hundred; the Dutch, eleven thouſand three hundred; the Portugueſe, eight thouſand ſeven hundred; and the Danes, one thouſand two hundred *. It muſt not however be ſuppoſed, that America regularly receives the ſame number of negroes. Independent of the diminution in the number of voyages to Guinea during the war, the arrangements of laſt peace have occaſioned new lands to be cultivated, which required extraordinary ſupplies: the number of men, of which the African coaſts are annually deprived, may therefore be reduced to ſixty thouſand. Granting that each of theſe ſlaves coſts on the ſpot fifteen pounds, thoſe barbarous regions receive every year about a million ſterling for ſo horrid a ſacrifice.

The Portugueſe excepted, who, as already obſerved †, make great part of their exchanges in tobacco, all nations pay for their ſlaves with the ſame commodities. Theſe are ſwords, muſkets, gun-powder, iron, brandy, hardware, woollen ſtuffs, and Eaſt India cottons, or thoſe which are wrought in Europe, and coloured in the ſame manner. This trade is clogged with ſeveral taxes. The greateſt of theſe is the fee that muſt be given to the factor, who always meditates between the vender and the purchaſer. Of him it is neceſſary to make a friend; more eſpecially ſince the competition between the purchaſers has increaſed, and the want of ſlaves been more ſenſibly felt, in conſequence of the diminution of their number as well as the growing demands. Another tax, which though aſked under the name of preſent, is no leſs an extorted tribute; namely, that which muſt be paid to the prince and his chief officers for the liberty of trading. The ſum is in proportion to the ſize of the veſſel, and may be computed at three per cent.

The European nations have been of opinion, that it was conducive to the advantage of their commerce to form ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. The Portugueſe, who firſt traverſed thoſe boundleſs regions, left every where the marks of their ambition, rather than of their ſagacity. The weak and numerous colonies which they poured in ſoon forgot a country which had itſelf forgotten them; and in proceſs of time, there remained of theſe great conqueſts nothing but that vaſt ſpace which extends from Zara to Cape Negro, whence Brazil ſtill procures its ſlaves. They have alſo preſerved ſome iſles of little conſequence. Thoſe which are ſituated at the weſt end of Cape de Verd produce ſalt, feed cattle, and ſerve as a place of refreſhment for veſſels going to the Eaſt Indies. Prince's iſland and St. Thomas, which are at the entrance of the Gulph of Gabon, ſupply with freſh proviſions ſuch navigators as ſail from the Gold Coaſt to America. They are otherwiſe of no importance in the commercial world.

* Raynal, liv. xi.

† Book II. chap. iv. p. 494.

Though

CHAP. II.

Though Portugal, even in the earlieſt times derived but very moderate advantages from its ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, it was yet ſo jealous of the ſovereignty which it exerciſed there, in virtue of its diſcoveries, that it thought no other nation had a right to approach thoſe ſhores. The Engliſh, who firſt ventured to queſtion the right of theſe pretenſions, ſuſtained about the middle of the ſixteenth century, the affront of having their veſſels ſeized. A national war enſued, and the ſuperiority of arms put a final period to this tyranny. In a courſe of years, the excluſive companies of England, which had embarked in this trade, ſucceſſively formed factories without number, of which that of Cape Corſe, on the Gold Coaſt, and that of James, ſituated in an iſland at the mouth of the river Gambia, were for a conſiderable time the principal, and the moſt beneficial. Though many of them had been abandoned, there remained ſixteen, when the parliament, rouſed by the complaints of the trading part of the nation, determined to put a ſtop to this monopoly. The government accordingly purchaſed from the proprietors all their fortified places, and laid the trade open in 1752.

The Engliſh had almoſt entirely engroſſed the African trade, when the Dutch in 1637, undertook to ſhare it with them. The war which they were carrying on againſt Spain, to which Portugal was then ſubject, authoriſed them to attack the Portugueſe ſettlements in Guinea; and they made themſelves maſters of theſe in a very ſhort time. The treaty in 1641, ſecured the property of them to the republic. The Dutch, pretending to enter into all the rights of the firſt poſſeſſor, now attempted to exclude the Engliſh from thoſe latitudes. Nor did they ceaſe to moleſt the trade of their rivals till the peace of Breda, in 1667. Of all the Dutch conqueſts that of fort Mina, on the Gold Coaſt, was found the moſt important. It had been built in 1452, by the Portugueſe, who had enriched its territory by planting ſugar-canes, maize, and different kinds of excellent fruits. They had alſo ſupplied it with a number of uſeful animals, imported thither from Europe; and they drew from it a conſiderable quantity of gold, beſides ſome ſlaves. This ſettlement did not decline in the hands of the Dutch, who made it the centre of all the factories they had acquired, and of all the trade they carried on with Africa.

The proſperity of the Dutch, in this part of the world, was at its height, when they were attacked by Lewis XIV. This prince, who aſpired at univerſal monarchy, ſeized an opportunity offered him by the war of 1672, of extending the terror of his arms even to the heart of Africa. He took from the Dutch the forts of Arguin and Portendic, which were at that time the general market for gums. His ſubjects afterwards eſtabliſhed on the coaſt ſeveral poſts, which they were obliged to abandon, either becauſe they were not judiciouſly choſen, or becauſe a ſufficient force was wanting to defend them; and ſince the misfortunes of laſt war hath obliged France to give up Senegal to England, ſhe hath nothing remaining in Africa but a factory at Whidah, and the iſland of Goree, where there neither is nor ever will be any trade.

If we except the Portugueſe, all the European nations originally ſubjected their African trade to excluſive charters. The companies in poſſeſſion of this monopoly,

BOOK III.

monopoly (the diſadvantage of which all governments have at laſt felt and put a ſtop to) fortified their factories, both in order to drive away ſtrangers, and to oblige the natives to ſell to none but themſelves. When the diſtricts in which theſe forts were erected had no more ſlaves to deliver, trade languiſhed, becauſe the people in the interior countries rather choſe to convey their ſlaves to free ports, where they might find a greater number of purchaſers, and have the benefit of competition. Hence the factories, which were of ſo much utility when the coaſt was populous, are now leſs valuable, as the factors themſelves are obliged to make long journies, in order to complete the number of ſlaves required. The principal advantage of theſe eſtabliſhments was loſt, when the object of their commerce was exhauſted in the neighbouring country.

The difficulty of procuring ſlaves naturally points out the neceſſity of employing ſmall ſhips for carrying them off. At a time when a ſmall territory adjacent to the coaſt, furniſhed in a fortnight, or three weeks, a whole cargo, it was prudent to employ large veſſels, becauſe there was a poſſibility of underſtanding, looking after, and encouraging the ſlaves, who all ſpoke the ſame language: but at preſent, when each ſhip can ſcarce procure ſixty or eighty ſlaves a month, brought from the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues; exhauſted by the fatigues of a long journey; obliged to remain on board the veſſels to which they belong five or ſix months, in ſight of their country; having all different idioms; uncertain of the deſtiny that awaits them, and ſtruck with the prepoſſeſſion that the Europeans eat them, and drink their blood, which they actually do, though not in a literal ſenſe—their extreme uneaſineſs alone deſtroy them, or occaſions diſorders that become contagious, by reaſon of the impoſſibility of ſeparating the ſick from the healthy. A ſmall ſhip, which can carry two or three hundred negroes, avoids by means of the ſhort ſtay it makes on the coaſt, half the accidents and loſſes to which a ſhip capable of holding five or ſix hundred ſlaves is expoſed. The Engliſh have therefore wiſely, of late, adopted the cuſtom, which it were to be wiſhed were more general, of ſending veſſels only of an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and thirty tons burden, to the coaſts which extend from Senegal to the river Volta, and not exceeding two hundred tons, for thoſe coaſts where they make their principal cargoes. The French are the only people who obſtinately adhere to the ancient practice.

Though all the nations concerned in the African trade are equally intereſted in preſerving the ſlaves in their paſſage, they do not all attend to it with the ſame care. They all feed them with beans, mixed with a ſmall quantity of rice; but they differ in their manner of treating them in other reſpects. The Engliſh, Dutch, and Danes, keep them conſtantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women. The ſmall number of hands they have on board their ſhips obliges them to exerciſe this ſeverity. The French, who have a more numerous crew, allow the ſlaves more liberty. Three or four days after ſetting ſail, they take off their fetters. All theſe nations, eſpecially the Engliſh, are too negligent in regard to the intercourſe of the ſailors with the female ſlaves. The irregularities conſequent on this licence, occaſion the death of three-fourths of thoſe ſeamen

whom the Guinea voyages deſtroy. None but the Portugueſe are ſecure, during their paſſage, againſt revolts, and other calamities proceeding from ill-humour. This advantage is the reſult of the care they take to man their veſſels chiefly with negroes to whom they have given their freedom. The ſlaves encouraged by the converſation and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the deſtiny that awaits them. The quietneſs of their behaviour induces the Portugueſe to grant the two ſexes the happineſs of living together; an indulgence, which if allowed in the veſſels of other nations, would be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences.

It is a generally received opinion among the Europeans in the New World, that the Africans, deſtitute of moral and intellectual qualities, are alike incapable of reaſoning and of virtue. The following well authenticated anecdote will enable us to judge of the juſtneſs of this opinion. An Engliſh ſhip that traded to Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the ſurgeon behind, whoſe health was ſo low as not to permit him to go to ſea. Murray (for that was the ſurgeon's name) lodged with a negro of the name of Cudjoc, and was in a way of recovery, when a Dutch veſſel drew near the coaſt, and put in irons thoſe blacks whom curioſity had drawn to the ſhore, and ſailed off with them. The friends, and relations of the perſons kidnapped incenſed at ſo baſe a treachery, inſtantly ran to the houſe of Cudjoc, who ſtopped them at the door, and aſked what they wanted. "The white man that is with you," replied they, "who ſhould be put to death, becauſe his brethren have carried off ours." "The Europeans," anſwered the generous hoſt, "who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians: kill them wherever you can find them; but he who is with me is a good man, he is my friend: my houſe is his fortreſs; I am his ſoldier, and will defend him. Before you can get at him you ſhall paſs over my body. O my friends! what juſt man would ever enter my doors, if I ſhould ſuffer my habitation to be ſtained with the blood of an innocent perſon?"—This diſcourſe appeaſed the rage of the negroes: they returned aſhamed of the deſign that had brought them thither; and ſome days after acknowledged to Murray himſelf, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have filled them with endleſs remorſe.

This incident renders it probable, that the firſt impreſſions which the Africans receive in the New World, determine them either to good or bad actions. Thoſe who fall to the ſhare of a humane maſter, willingly eſpouſe his intereſts. They inſenſibly adopt the ſpirit and manners of the ſpot where they are fixed. This attachment is ſometimes exalted even to heroiſm. A Portugueſe ſlave who had fled into the woods having learned that his old maſter had been taken up for an aſſaſſination, came into the court of juſtice, and declared himſelf guilty of the deed; let himſelf be put in priſon in place of his maſter; brought falſe, though judicial proofs, of his pretended crime, and ſuffered death inſtead of the guilty perſon. Actions of a leſs heroic nature, though not uncommon, have touched the hearts of ſome planters, who would readily ſay with Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when blamed for returning the ſalutation of a black, "I ſhould be ſorry to ſee a ſlave more polite than myſelf."

BOOK III.

But there are tyrants, who conſidering pity as a weakneſs, delight in making their dependants continually ſenſible of their humbling inferiority. They juſtly, however, receive their puniſhment in the negligence, infidelity, deſertion, and ſuicide of the deplorable victims of their inſatiable avarice. Some of theſe unfortunate men, eſpecially the natives of Mina, intrepidly put an end to their lives, under the firm perſuaſion, that they ſhall immediately after death revive again in their own country, which they look upon as the fineſt ſpot on the face of the earth. A vindictive ſpirit furniſhes others with reſources ſtill more fatal. Inſtructed from their infancy in the knowledge of poiſons, which grow as it were under their hands, they employ them in the deſtruction of the cattle, the horſes, the mules, the companions of their ſlavery, and of every thing employed in the cultivation of the lands of their oppreſſors. In order to remove from themſelves all ſuſpicion, they firſt exerciſe their cruelties on their wives, their children, their miſtreſſes, and all that is dear to them. In the execution of this dreadful project, which can only be the reſult of deſpair, they have the double pleaſure of delivering their ſpecies from a yoke more dreadful than death, and of leaving their imperious maſter in a ſtate of miſery, that is an image of their own condition. The fear of puniſhment does not check them. They are ſcarce ever known to have any kind of foreſight; and they are moreover certain of concealing their crimes, being proof againſt the keeneſt tortures. By means of one of thoſe inexplicable contradictions of the human heart, though common to all people, barbarous and civilized, the negroes though naturally cowards, give many inſtances of an unſhaken firmneſs of ſoul. The ſame organization which makes them acquieſce in ſervitude, from the indolence of their minds and the relaxation of their fibres, inſpires them with vigour and unparalled reſolution for extraordinary actions. They are cowards all their lifetime, and heroes only for an inſtant, in exulting over death. One of theſe miſerable men has been known to cut his wriſt off with one ſtroke of a hatchet, rather than purchaſe his liberty by ſubmitting to the ignominious office of an executioner.

Nothing, however, can be more wretched than the condition of a negroe, throughout the whole American archipelago. A narrow, unwholeſome hut, without any conveniencies, ſerves him for a dwelling. His bed is a hurdle, fitter to put the body to torture than to yield it any repoſe. Some earthen plates, and a few wooden diſhes are his furniture. The coarſe linen which covers part of his body, neither ſecures him againſt the inſupportable heats of the day, nor the dangerous dews of the night. The food with which he is ſupplied, namely caſſada *, ſalt pork, ſalt fiſh, fruits, roots, and bread made of maize, is ſcarce ſufficient to ſupport his miſerable exiſtence. Deprived of every enjoyment, he is condemned to perpetual drudgery in a burning climate, conſtantly under the rod of an unfeeling maſter.

But though the condition of theſe unhappy men in the Weſt Indies, is every where deplorable, it is not uniformly ſo. Thoſe who have very extenſive eſtates,

* A kind of bread formed of the paſte of Manioc, an account of which ſhall be afterwards given.

generally

generally give them a portion of land, to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They are allowed to employ Sunday, and a part of Saturday in cultivating it. In the ſmaller iſlands, the planter himſelf furniſhes their food, the greater part of which hath been imported by ſea from other countries. Beſides theſe differences ariſing from the particular ſtate of the ſettlements in the American archipelago, each European nation hath a manner of treating ſlaves peculiar to itſelf. The Spaniards make them the companions of their indolence; the Portugueſe the inſtruments of their debauchery; the Dutch the victims of their avarice; and the Engliſh, who love to live well, and are willing to permit thoſe to enjoy a ſhare of the benefits of nature who contribute to their ſupport, treat their ſlaves, in ſome reſpects, with more indulgence than other nations. If they ſeldom promote intermarriages among the negroes, they at leaſt receive with kindneſs thoſe children which are the produce of leſs reſtrained connexions, and rarely exact from the fathers or mothers a degree of labour above their ſtrength. Slaves are conſidered by them merely as natural productions, which ought neither to be uſed nor deſtroyed without neceſſity, and which proper nouriſhment will render more beneficial. But they never treat them with familiarity; they never ſmile upon them, and ſeldom ſpeak to them. One would think they were afraid of letting their ſlaves ſuſpect that Heaven had given them any thing in common with their maſters. This arrogant ſuperiority makes the negroes diſlike the Engliſh. The French, of more pliant manners, endeavour to conciliate their affections, by a leſs diſdainful behaviour; and theſe unhappy men, flattered with the honour of ſeeing themſelves treated like rational beings, ſeem to forget that their maſter is impatient of making his fortune, that he always exacts labours from them above their ſtrength, and frequently pinches them in food.

The religious opinions of the Europeans have alſo ſome influence on the condition of the negroes in the colonies. The proteſtants, who are little actuated by a deſire of making proſelites, ſuffer them to live in Mahometiſm, or in that idolatry in which they were educated, under a pretence that it would be contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel, to keep their brethren in Chriſt in a ſtate of ſlavery. The catholics think themſelves obliged to give them ſome inſtruction, and to baptiſe them; but their charity extends no farther than the mere ceremony of baptiſm, which is wholly uſeleſs and unneceſſary to men who dread not the pains of hell, to which they ſay, not altogether without reaſon, they are accuſtomed in this life. In a word, the miſeries which the negroes experience in their ſlavery, render them inſenſible to the dread of future puniſhment.

The ſtrongeſt proof of theſe hardſhips is, the prodigious waſte of this unhappy part of the human ſpecies in the Weſt-Indies. About one third of the negroes tranſported thither from Guinea dies every year. This dreadful deſtruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the ſame as that of Africa; much leſs of the diſorders natural to the blacks, to which, in the opinion of all obſervers, but very few fall a ſacrifice. It muſt therefore originate from the manner in which theſe ſlaves are governed:—and might not an error of this kind be corrected?—The firſt ſtep neceſſarry in ſuch a reformation would be

BOOK III.

be to attend minutely to the natural and moral ſtate of man. Thoſe who go to purchaſe blacks on the coaſt of Africa, thoſe who convey them to America, and more eſpecially thoſe who direct their labours, often think themſelves obliged from their ſituation, and frequently too for their own ſafety, to oppreſs theſe wretched objects of ſervitude. The ſouls of ſuch traders and overſeers, loſt to all ſenſe of compaſſion, are ignorant of any motive to enforce obedience but thoſe of fear and ſeverity; and theſe they exerciſe with all the harſhneſs of a temporary authority. But if the proprietors of plantations would ceaſe to regard the care of their ſlaves as an occupation below them: if they would conſider it as an office to which it is their duty to attend, they would ſoon aboliſh every regulation that is dictated by a ſpirit of cruelty. The hiſtory of all mankind would ſhew them, That in order to render ſlavery uſeful, it muſt be made eaſy; that force does not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the intereſt of the maſter that the ſlave ſhould be attached to life by all the indulgences compatible with his condition; and that the moment he ceaſes to conſider death as an evil, no farther good is to be expected of him.

This principle of enlightened reaſon, derived from the ſentiments of humanity, would contribute to the reformation of ſeveral abuſes. Men would acknowledge the neceſſity of lodging, cloathing, and giving proper food to human beings, condemned to the moſt painful bondage that ever exiſted in civil ſociety, ſince the infamous origin of ſlavery. They would be ſenſible of the natural impoſſibility, that thoſe who reap no advantage from their own labours can have the ſame degree of intelligence, the ſame attention, the ſame activity, or the ſame ſtrength, as the man who enjoys the produce of his induſtry. That political moderation, which conſiſts in leſſening labour, alleviating puniſhment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap with more certainty the benefit of thoſe duties that are impoſed upon him, would gradually take place. The preſervation of a great number of ſlaves, of whom diſorders occaſioned by vexation and regret deprive the colonies, would be the certain conſequence of ſo wiſe a regulation. Inſtead of rendering more grievous the yoke that oppreſſes them, every care ſhould be taken to make it ſit eaſy, and to diſſipate even the idea of it, by favouring, as far as circumſtances will admit, every taſte that is natural to them.

One of theſe, is that for muſic, to which the organs of the negroes are extremely ſenſible. Their ear is ſo true, that in their dances, the time of a ſong makes them ſpring up, an hundred at once, beating the earth at the ſame inſtant. Enchanted as it were with the voice of a ſinger, or the ſound of a ſtringed inſtrument, the lighteſt vibration of the air agitates, tranſports, and throws them into extacies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms or of their feet is always in cadence. At all their employments they ſing, and ſeem always as if they were dancing. Muſic animates their courage, and rouſes them from their indolence. The marks of this extreme ſenſibility to harmony are viſible in all the muſcles of their naked bodies.

When-

CHAP. II.

Whenever any object or incident ſtrikes a negro, he inſtantly makes it the ſubject of a ſong. In all ages this has been the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the ſinger and the general chorus, ſometimes conſtitute the whole poem. Five or ſix bars of muſic compoſe the whole length of the ſong. A circumſtance which appears ſingular is, that the ſame air, though merely an unvaried repetition of the ſame tones, takes entire poſſeſſion of the negroes, and makes them work or dance for ſeveral hours; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, neither they, nor even the white men, are diſguſted with the tedious uniformity which theſe repetitions might be ſuppoſed to occaſion. This is owing to the warmth of expreſſion which the negroes introduce into their ſongs. So ſtrong an inclination for muſic might become a powerful motive to action under the direction of ſkilful hands. Feſtival games and rewards might be eſtabliſhed for this purpoſe; and theſe, conducted with judgment, would prevent that ſtupidity ſo common among ſlaves, lighten their labours, and preſerve them from that conſtant melancholy which conſumes them, and ſhortens their days *.

After providing for the preſervation of the blacks exported from Africa, the welfare of thoſe born in the Weſt Indies ſhould be conſidered. The negroes are not averſe from the propagation of their ſpecies, even in the chains of ſlavery; but the cruelty of their maſters hath effectually prevented them from fulfilling this great end of nature. Such hard labour is in general required from negro women both before and after their pregnancy, that their offspring is either abortive, or lives but a ſhort time after delivery. Rendered deſperate by the puniſhments which the weakneſs of their condition occaſions, mothers ſometimes ſnatch their children from the cradle, in order to ſtrangle them in their arms, and ſacrifice them with an enthuſiaſtic fury, rouſed by a ſpirit of revenge, mingled with the tendereſt ſentiments of compaſſion, that they may not become the property of their unfeeling oppreſſors. This barbarity, the horror of which muſt be entirely imputed to the Europeans, may perhaps in time convince them of their error, and ſo far operate on their ſenſibility as to induce them to pay more attention to their true intereſts. If ſo, they will then perceive, that they injure themſelves by committing ſuch outrages againſt humanity; and if they do not become the benefactors of their ſlaves, they will at leaſt ceaſe to be their executioners. They will even perhaps reſolve to ſet free thoſe mothers, who have reared a certain number of children; and as the allurements of liberty are the moſt powerful motive that can influence the human heart, the negro women, animated by the hope of ſo great a bleſſing, to which all would aſpire, yet few be able to obtain, would be filled with a virtuous emulation to bring up their offſpring, whoſe number and preſervation would ſecure them freedom and tranquillity.

Having taken proper meaſures to ſecure to their plantations, thoſe ſuccours ariſing from the natural fruitfulneſs of the negro women, the planters will next

* Theſe reaſonings relative to the negroes, are chiefly borrowed from the abbè Raynal: but who can conſider a ſubject after ſo philoſophic a writer, without being enlightened?

BOOK III.

attend to the care of conducting, and extending cultivation, by means of population, and without foreign expedients. Every thing invites them to eſtabliſh this natural ſyſtem. The ſettlements of ſome powers daily acquire extent, and manual labour increaſes over all the Weſt India iſlands. Africa, where all Europeans go to recruit the population of their colonies, daily furniſhes them with fewer negroes, and ſupplies them with worſe men, and at a higher price. This ſource for obtaining ſlaves will be gradually more and more exhauſted. But allowing that no ſuch change in trade ſhould take place, which is granting a great deal too much, as it ſeems neither diſtant nor uncertain, the ſtate of the queſtion will not be materially altered. A great number of the ſlaves brought from Africa periſh in their paſſage, or immediately on their arrival in the New World; they are ſold there at a very advanced price; few of them live long; and thoſe who attain a wretched old age, being accuſtomed from their infancy to idleneſs, are frequently ſo ignorant as to be altogether unfit for the employments to which they are deſtined: they live in a continued ſtate of deſpondency, on account of the ſeverity of their toils, and their ſeparation from their country and kindred; whereas cultivators born in the Weſt Indies, always breathing their native air, and habituated to labour by their parents in early life, would acquire a particular aptitude for all the uſeful arts, and be in all reſpects ſuperior to ſlaves tranſported from a diſtant country, and doomed to a ſtate of perpetual exile and reſtraint.

The method of ſubſtituting in the place of foreign negroes thoſe of the colonies themſelves, is very obvious. It wholly conſiſts in ſuperintending the black children that are born in the Weſt Indies, and in moderating the ſervitude of their mothers, as well as of ſuch female ſlaves as are likely to prove breeders. It will alſo be neceſſary to require ſuch navigators as frequent the coaſts of Africa to form their cargo of an equal number of men and women; or even of a greater number of women, during ſome years, in order to reduce that diſproportion which obtains between the two ſexes. This laſt precaution, by putting the pleaſures of love within the reach of all the blacks, would contribute to their ſpeedy multiplication. Thoſe unhappy men, forgetting the weight of their chains, would with tranſport ſee themſelves renewed in their offſpring. The majority of them are faithful, even till death, to thoſe negro women whom love and ſlavery have aſſigned as their companions. They treat them with that compaſſion which the unfortunate mutually derive from each other, even in the rigour of their condition: they comfort them under the load of their toils; they ſympathize at leaſt with them, when through exceſs of labour or want of food, the mother can only offer her child a breaſt that is dry, or moiſtened but with her tears. The women on their part, though under no reſtrictions in regard to chaſtity, are inviolable in their attachments, unleſs when ſeduced by the vanity of being beloved by white men:---and unhappily this is a temptation, to which they have too often an opportunity of yielding.

Thoſe who have inquired into the cauſes of this taſte for black women, which appears ſo depraved in Europeans, have aſcribed it to the nature of the cli-

mate, which under the torrid zone irreſiſtibly impells men to the pleaſures of love; to the facility of gratifying this violent inclination without reſtraint, and without the trouble of a long purſuit; to a certain captivating attraction of beauty diſcoverable in black women, as ſoon as cuſtom has reconciled the eye to their colour; but more eſpecially to a warmth of conſtitution, which gives thoſe females the power of provoking and of returning the moſt ardent careſſes. Thus they in ſome ſenſe revenge themſelves for the humiliating deſpondence of their condition, by the enſlaving paſſions which they excite in their maſters: nor do the women of gallantry in Europe poſſeſs in a more exalted degree, the art of waſting, or running out a large fortune, than thoſe Africans; but the European ladies are vaſtly inferior to theſe ſable Cleopatras, in the paſſion which they feel for thoſe who ſhare their embraces. The fortunate diſcovery, and prevention of conſpiracies, which would have avenged the wrongs of their unhappy countrymen, have often been owing to the tender attachment of the negro women.

Theſe inſurrections diſcover the danger of introducing ſuch a race of men into the New World, and at the ſame time point out the neceſſity of either augmenting the proportion of white men, or of conciliating the affections of the negroes. Neither of theſe appear to be impracticable. The firſt may be effected by a deſirable change in the mode of huſbandry, and the ſecond in a great meaſure accompliſhed, by attending to the foregoing obſervations relative to the treatment of the ſlaves. Other indulgencies might be added: ſome medium might be found between perfect liberty and abſolute ſlavery, in which might be placed all mulattoes, after a certain limited ſervitude, to the owner of the mother, and all blacks born in the iſlands, who ſhould deſerve it by their induſtry. Such of theſe unhappy men as ſhould thus, or in any other manner, recover their independency, would live in quiet upon the ſame manual labours, which would then be free and advantageous to them. This ſufficiently appears by the conduct of ſuch blacks as have had their fetters broken: they aſſiduouſly clear the ſmall plantations that have been given them, or which they have acquired by their induſtry. By gradually confering liberty on the negroes born in the colonies, and alſo occaſionally on others, as a reward for their regularity, fidelity, and aſſiduity, our planters will never want labourers, who being eaſed of their chains, will be more active and robuſt:—and by an alteration in the method of huſbandry, which ſeems eligible on its own account, fewer hands will be required.

The ſoil of the iſlands in the American archipelago hath little in common with ours. Its productions are very different, as well as the manner of cultivating them. Except ſome pot-herbs, nothing is ſown there: every thing is planted. Tobacco, the roots of which do not ſtrike deep, being the firſt production that was cultivated, a ſimple harrow was found ſufficient to prepare the lands for its reception, and extirpate the noxious weeds that would have choaked it; but when more troubleſome cultures began to be attempted, the hoe was made uſe of for working and weeding. It was not, however, employed over the whole extent of the field. It was thought enough to dig a hole for the reception of

BOOK III.

the plant. The inequality of the ground, moſt commonly full of hillocks, probably gave riſe to that mode of culture. It might be apprehended that the rains, which there always fall in torrents, would deſtroy, by the cavities they make, the lands that had been turned up. Indolence, and the indigence of the firſt planters, extended this practice to the moſt level plains; and cuſtom, which too often uſurps the right both of law and reaſon, gave a ſanction to it. But as the ideas of men became more enlightened, ſome planters, adventurous enough to diſcard former prejudices, not only turned up the whole land, but made trial of the plough, as a more expeditious implement for that purpoſe; and as this method has every circumſtance in its favour that can be deſired, it is probable that it will become general, wherever it is practicable.

All the lands in the Weſt India iſlands were virgin lands, when the Europeans took poſſeſſion of them. The firſt that were cultivated have, for a long time, yielded leſs produce than they did in the beginning. Thoſe which have been ſucceſſively cleared, are likewiſe more or leſs exhauſted in proportion to the period of their firſt cultivation. Whatever their fertility originally may have been, they loſe it in proceſs of time, and will ſoon ceaſe to requite the labours of thoſe who cultivate them, if art is not called in to aſſiſt nature. It is a principle of agriculture generally admitted by naturaliſts, that the earth becomes fertile only in proportion as it can receive the influence of the air, and of all thoſe meteors which are directed by this powerful agent, ſuch as fogs, dews, and rains. Continual labour only can procure it this advantage. The land in the Weſt Indies particularly requires ſuch a proceſs. The wet ſeaſon muſt be choſen for turning up thoſe grounds, the dryneſs of which would be an impediment to fertility. Ploughing can be attended with no inconveniency in lands that are level. One might even perhaps prevent the danger of having ſhelving grounds deſtroyed by ſtorms, by making furrows traverſely, on a line which ſhould croſs that of the ſlope of the hillocks. If the declivity were ſo ſteep that the cultivated land could be carried away notwithſtanding the furrows, ſmall drains, ſomething deeper, might be added for the ſame purpoſe at particular diſtances, which would break the force and velocity that the ſteepneſs of the hills adds to the fall of heavy rains.

The utility of the plough would not be merely limited to the producing of a greater proportion of the vegetable juice in plants, it would alſo make their produce more certain. The Weſt India iſlands are the regions of inſects. Their multiplication is there favoured by a conſtant heat; and one race ſucceeds another without interruption. The pernicious ravages they make are well known. Frequent and ſucceſſive ploughing would check the progreſs of this devouring race; diſturb their reproduction; kill many of them, and deſtroy the greater part of their eggs. The uſe of the plough would probably be attended with a further advantage: it would introduce the cuſtom of manuring, already known on the coaſt. The manure there employed is a kind of ſea-plant, named *varech*; which, when ripe, is detached from the rocks and ſands, and thrown on the ſhore by the waves. It is productive of great fertility; but if employed without

out previous preparation, it communicates to the ſugar a diſagreeable bitterneſs, which muſt ariſe from the ſalts impregnated with oily particles abounding in ſea-plants. In order to take off this bitter taſte, it would only perhaps be neceſſary to burn the plant, and make uſe of the aſhes. Detached by this operation from the oily particles, and triturated by vegetation, the ſalts would circulate more freely in the ſugar cane, and impart to it purer juices.

The interior parts of the country have not till lately been dunged. Neceſſity will make this practice become more general; and in time the ſoil of the Weſt Indies will be aſſiſted by the ſame methods of cultivation as that of Europe, tho' with more difficulty. As the herds of cattle are there leſs numerous, and little uſe is made of ſtables, it will be neceſſary to have recourſe to other kinds of manure, and to multiply them as much as poſſible, in order to compenſate the inferiority of quality by the quantity. The greateſt reſource will be found in the weeds, from which uſeful plants muſt conſtantly be freed, and which grow moſt exuberantly in that country. Theſe ſhould be collected together in heaps, and left to rot. The planters who cultivate coffee have ſet an example of this practice, but with that degree of indolence which the heat of the climate occaſions in all manual labour. A pile of weeds is heaped up at the bottom of the coffee-trees; but without conſulting, whether theſe weeds, which they do not even take the trouble of covering with earth, may not heat the tree, and harbour the inſects that prey upon it. They have been equally negligent in the management of their cattle.

All the domeſtic animals of Europe were imported into America by the Spaniards, and from their ſettlements the colonies of other nations have been chiefly ſupplied. Excepting hogs, which are found to thrive beſt in countries abounding with aquatic productions, with inſects and reptiles, all theſe animals have degenerated. Though the hotneſs of the climate may contribute ſomething to this degeneracy, the want of care is perhaps its principal cauſe. The animals always lie in the open field, and have never either bran or oats given them: they are at graſs the whole year. The coloniſts have not even taken the trouble of dividing their paſtures into ſeparate portions, in order that their cattle may occaſionally paſs from the one to the other, that new graſs may have time to ſpring up. They always feed on the ſame ſpot. Such paſtures can only yield weak and watery juices: too quick a vegetation prevents them from being properly ripened; hence the animals deſigned for the food of man afford only fleſh that is tough and flabby.

Thoſe animals which are deſtined for labour do but very little ſervice. The oxen draw but light loads, and that only for a part of the day. They are not ſtimulated by the goad, but driven by a whip: where the roads do not admit of carriages, mules are employed inſtead of them. Theſe carry, at moſt, but half the weight that European horſes can bear, and go over but half the ground in the ſame time. The pace of the Weſt India horſes is not ſo ſlow: they have preſerved ſomething of the fleetneſs, fire, and docility of thoſe of Andaluſia, from which they derive their pedigree; but their ſtrength is not anſwerable to

BOOK III.

their ſpirit. Two of them muſt be harneſſed to a very light carriage, which could eaſily be drawn by one in Europe. This degeneracy of the animals in the Weſt Indies might have been prevented, retarded, or diminiſhed, if care had been taken to renew them by a foreign race. Stallions brought from colder countries, would in ſome degree have corrected the influence of the climate, food, and rearing. With the mares of the country, they would have produced a new breed far ſuperior to the preſent.

It is very extraordinary that ſo ſimple an idea ſhould never have occurred to any of the planters, and that there has been no legiſlature attentive enough to its intereſts, to ſubſtitute in its colonies the biſon for the common ox. Every one who is acquainted with this animal, muſt recollect that the biſon has a ſofter ſkin, a diſpoſition leſs dull and ſtupid than our bullock, and a quickneſs and docility far ſuperior. It is ſwift in running; and when mounted can ſupply the place of a horſe. It thrives as well in ſouthern countries, as the ox, which we employ, does in cold or temperate climates. The biſon is only known in Africa and the Eaſt Indies. If cuſtom had not a tyrannical influence, even over the wiſeſt governments, they would have been ſenſible that this uſeful animal was ſingularly well adapted to the great archipelago of America, and that it could be exported at a very ſmall expence, along with the negroes, from the coaſt of Angola.

But though the Europeans have been ſo negligent in regard to an animal, which, being a native of the ſame country, might have lightened the labours of theſe unhappy men, conſiderable attention has been paid to their original food. From Africa has been tranſplanted a ſhrub, which grows in the Weſt Indies to the height of four feet, lives four years, and is uſeful throughout its whole duration. It bears huſks which contain five or ſix grains of a ſpecies of very wholeſome and very nouriſhing pea. Every part belonging to this ſhrub is remarkable for ſome particular virtue. Its bloſſom is an antidote againſt a cough; its leaves, when boiled, are ſucceſsfully applied to wounds; and even of the aſhes of the ſtem or branches, is made a lixivium, which cleanſes ulcers, and diſſipates external inflammations of the ſkin. It is called the Angola-pea, and flouriſhes equally in lands naturally barren, and in thoſe whoſe ſalts have been exhauſted. On this account, the beſt managers among the coloniſts never fail to ſow it on thoſe parts of their eſtates, which would otherwiſe remain uncultivated.

The moſt valuable preſent, however, which the Weſt Indies have received from Africa, is the manioc. Moſt hiſtorians have conſidered this plant as a native of America, without giving us any reaſons for ſuch an opinion. But were the truth of it demonſtrated, the Weſt India iſlands would yet ſtand indebted for the manioc to the Europeans, who imported it thither along with the negroes, who fed upon it in their own country. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the intercourſe between the continent of America and the iſlands was ſo trifling, that a production of the former might be unknown in the latter. It is certain at leaſt that the ſavages, who preſented to the firſt navigators bananas,

yams,

yams, and potatoes *, offered them no manioc; that the Caribs in Dominica and St. Vincent's had it from us; that the character of the ſavages did not fit them to conduct a culture requiring ſo much attention; that this culture can only be carried on in very open fields, and that in the foreſts, with which theſe iſlands were overgrown, there were no clear and unencumbered ſpaces of ground above an hundred feet ſquare. In ſhort, it is beyond a doubt, that the uſe of the manioc was not known till after the arrival of the negroes, and that from time immemorial it hath conſtituted the principal food of the inhabitants of a great part of Africa.

The manioc is a plant that is propagated by ſlips. It is ſet in furrows five or ſix inches deep, which are filled with the ſame earth that had been dug out. Theſe furrows are at the diſtance of two feet, or two feet and an half from each other, according to the nature of the ground. The ſhrub riſes a little above ſix feet, and its trunk is about the thickneſs of a man's arm. In proportion as it grows the lower leaves fall off, and only a few remain towards the top. Its wood is tender and brittle. It requires a dry and light ſoil: its fruit is at its root; and if that root is ſhaken by the motion which the wind gives to the body of the plant, the fruit is formed but imperfectly. It takes eighteen months to arrive at maturity. This fruit is not fit for human food, till after it has undergone a tedious preparation. Its firſt ſkin muſt be ſcraped off: it muſt be waſhed, raſped, and preſſed, in order to extract the aqueous parts, which contain a ſlow poiſon, againſt which there is no remedy known. Roaſting diſſipates, by evaporation, every noxious particle which it might ſtill retain. When there appears no more ſteam, it is taken off the iron plate, on which it was roaſted, and ſuffered to cool. Repeated experiments have ſhewn, that it is almoſt as dangerous to eat it hot as to eat it raw.

The root of the manioc grated, and reduced into little grains by roaſting, is called flour of manioc. The paſte of manioc, converted into a cake by roaſting, without moving it, is called caſſada. It would be dangerous to eat as much caſſada as flour of manioc, becauſe the former is leſs roaſted. Both keep a long time, and are very nouriſhing, but a little difficult of digeſtion. Though this food ſeems at firſt inſipid, there are many white people who afterwards prefer it to the beſt wheat-bread. The Spaniards in general uſe it conſtantly. The French feed their ſlaves with it. The other European nations, who have ſettlements in the iſlands, are little acquainted with the manioc. They depend on North America chiefly for their ſubſiſtence; ſo that if all intercourſe with that fertile country were to be obſtructed, only for a few months, they would be expoſed to the greateſt inconveniencies. Hence the diſtreſs of the Britiſh Weſt Indies ſince the

* The banana in ſhape, ſize, and colour, reſembles a cucumber. Its taſte is ſomewhat ſimilar to that of a pear. It grows in cool places, on a ſoft and ſpungy ſtem, about ſeven feet high. This ſtem decays as the fruit ripens; but before it falls, it ſhoots forth a young ſprig from its trunk, which a year after produces its fruit, periſhes in its turn, and is ſucceſſively regenerated in the ſame manner. The yam is a root ſomewhat reſembling the potato, which is alſo a native of America.

BOOK III.

interruption of that intercourſe, in conſequence of the preſent unhappy conteſt between the mother-country and the colonies.

An avidity which knows no bounds, hath made the Weſt India planters inſenſible of this danger. They find their advantage in turning the whole induſtry of their ſlaves towards thoſe productions which are the objects of commerce. The chief of theſe are cacao, coffee, indigo, cotton, and ſugar. We have already had occaſion to ſpeak of the cultivation of the three firſt articles: cotton ſhall afterwards be conſidered: at preſent we ſhall confine ourſelves to the culture of ſugar, whoſe ſingle produce is alone more conſiderable than all the reſt. It is the grand ſtaple of the Weſt Indies.

The cane that yields the ſugar is a kind of reed, which commonly riſes to the height of eight or nine feet, including the leaves that grow out of the top of it. Its uſual thickneſs is from two to four inches. It is covered with a pretty hard rind, which incloſes a ſpungy ſubſtance full of juice, to the palate the moſt agreeable and leaſt cloying ſweet in nature. It is interſected at intervals with joints, which ſerve as it were to ſtrengthen and ſupport it; but without impeding the circulation of the ſap, as they are ſoft and pithy in the inſide. This plant hath been cultivated from the earlieſt antiquity in ſome countries of Aſia and Africa, though ſugar appears to have been unknown to the enlightened Greeks and Romans. About the middle of the twelfth century, it was introduced into Sicily, whence it paſſed to the ſouthern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards tranſplanted into Madeira and the Canaries; and from theſe iſlands it was conveyed, as we have already ſeen *, to the Weſt Indies, where it throve as well as if it had been originally a native of the New World.

All ſoils, however, are not equally proper for the ſugar-cane. Such as are rich and ſtrong, low, and marſhy, environed with woods, or lately cleared produce only a juice that is aqueous, inſipid, and of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified, or preſerved. A light, porous, and deep ſoil is moſt favourable to this production. The general method of cultivating it is to prepare a large field, and make at the diſtance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and ſix deep; to lay in every one of theſe two, and ſometimes three ſlips of about a foot long, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in theſe ſlips iſſues a ſtem, which in time becomes a ſugar-cane. Care ſhould be taken to clear the infant plant conſtantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow round it. This labour need only be continued for ſix months, as the canes are then ſufficiently thick and near one another to deſtroy every weed that might be prejudicial to them. They are commonly ſuffered to grow ſixteen or eighteen months. Then they are found moſt fully to anſwer the purpoſe of the planter; for if they remain longer in the ground they yield leſs juice, though that deficiency is ſomewhat compenſated by its ſuperior richneſs.

* Book I. chap. iii. p. 42.

The

CHAP. II.

The planters generally divide their cane grounds into three portions, in order to enable them to furniſh ſugar as frequently as poſſible for the market. One of theſe is of ſtanding canes, fit to cut that ſeaſon; the ſecond of new-planted canes; and the third of fallow, ready to receive a freſh ſupply. From the old ſtocks, alſo iſſue ſuckers, which are ready, in their turn, to be cut fourteen or fifteen months after the former crop. This ſecond cutting yields only half the produce of the firſt. Some planters make a third, and even a fourth cutting; but they are always ſucceſſively leſs, however good the ſoil. Nothing therefore but want of hands for hoeing afreſh, can induce a planter to reap more than two crops from his cane.

Theſe crops are not made over all the Weſt Indies at the ſame time. In the Spaniſh, Daniſh, and Dutch ſettlements, they begin in January, and continue till October. This method does not imply any fixed ſeaſon for the maturity of the ſugar-cane. That plant, however, like others, muſt have its progreſs; and it has been generally obſerved to be in flower in the months of November and December. From the cuſtom theſe nations have adopted of continuing to gather crops for ten months without intermiſſion, they muſt cut ſome canes that are not ſufficiently ripe, and others that are too ripe, and then the juice has not the requiſite qualities. The time of gathering ſhould be at a fixed ſeaſon, and probably the months of March and April are fitteſt for that purpoſe; becauſe all the ſweet fruits are ripe about that time, while the ſour ones do not arrive at a ſtate of maturity till the months of July and Auguſt. The Engliſh cut their canes in March and April; but they are not induced to this practice merely by reaſonings on its propriety. The rains that fall in the Britiſh Weſt Indies in Auguſt and September render that ſeaſon proper for planting; and as the canes are eighteen months in arriving at maturity, March and April come accidentally to be the ſeaſon of reaping.

The canes are cut with a kind of hatchet, and immediately carried in bundles to the mill; where they are bruiſed by iron rollers, while the juice runs into a vat, placed under the rollers to receive it. From this vat it is carried through a pipe into a great reſervoir; in which, however, it is not ſuffered to remain long, leſt it ſhould turn ſour, but is conveyed by other pipes, into the boiling-houſe, where it is received by a large caldron. Here it remains until a moderate fire has made it throw up its firſt ſcum. When it has loſt this groſs ſubſtance, it is made to run into a ſecond, a third, and even a fourth boiler, whoſe fire is three times ſtronger than that of the firſt, and where it becomes of a thick clammy conſiſtence. Mere boiling is incapable of carrying it further: in order to advance the proceſs, a ſmall quantity of lime-water is therefore poured into the caldron, which raiſes the liquor into a very violent fermentation. After this ſubſides, the ſugar is taken out, and placed in a cooler, where it dries, granulates, and becomes fit to be put into the pots, which is the laſt part of the proceſs. Theſe pots are made of earth, and of a conical figure. The baſe of the cone is entirely open, and its top has a hole, over which is put a ſtrainer. Through this ſtrainer the ſyrup, molaſſes, or treacly part diſengages itſelf from the ſugar, which

remains in that ſtate in which it generally arrives here in hogſheads, like a light ſand, of a yelloviſh brown colour.

The greater part of the Weſt India iſlands voluntarily leave to the Europeans, or are obliged by heavy duties to leave to them, the care of giving ſugar the other preparations which render it fit for the more delicate uſes. This practice ſpares the expence of large buildings; leaves the planters more negroes to employ in agriculture; allows them to make their cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ſhips, belonging to the mother country, for exportation, as well as more ſugar-bakers in Europe. The French planters alone manage their ſugars in another manner. That proceſs merits a particular deſcription.

To whatever degree of purity the juice of the ſugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains an infinite number of foreign particles attached to the ſalts of the ſugar, in regard to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. Theſe give it a dead colour, and the taſte of tartar, of which the French planters endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called *claying*. This conſiſts in putting again the raw ſugars into another earthen veſſel, in all reſpects ſimilar to that already mentioned. The ſurface of the ſugar, throughout the whole extent of the baſe of the cone, is then covered with a white clay, on which water is poured. In filtering it thro' this clay, the water carries with it part of a calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different ſaline particles. The water is afterwards drained off through the opening at the top of the mould, and a ſecond ſyrup is procured, which is ſo much the worſe, in proportion as the ſugar is finer. The claying is followed by the laſt preparation, which is effected by fire, and ſerves for the evaporating of the moiſture with which the ſalts were impregnated, during the former proceſs. For this purpoſe, the ſugar is taken in its whole form out of the conical veſſel of earth, and conveyed into a ſtove, which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat. In that ſtove the ſugar is left till it becomes quite dry, which commonly happens at the end of three weeks.—Though the expence attending this proceſs is generally uſeleſs, as the clayed ſugar is commonly refined in Europe in the ſame manner as the raw, yet moſt of the planters in the French iſlands take this trouble*: and to a nation whoſe navy is weak, ſuch a method is extremely advantageous in time of war, as it enables the colonies to convey their produce to the mother-country in a ſmaller number of ſhips.

One may judge from theſe different kinds of ſugar, but beſt from that which has been clayed, of what ſort of ſalts it is compoſed. If the ground where the cane has been planted is hard, ſtrong, and ſloping, the ſalts will be white, angular, and very large. If the ſoil is clayey, the colour will be the ſame; but the granulations, being cut on fewer ſides, will reflect leſs light. If the ſoil is rich and ſpungy, the granulations will be nearly ſpherical; the colour will be duſky, and the ſugar will ſlip under the finger, without any unequal feeling. This laſt kind of ſugar is conſidered as the worſt. Be the reaſon what it may, thoſe places that

* Raynal, liv. xi.

have

have a northern aſpect produce the beſt ſugar, and clayey grounds yield the greateſt quantity. The preparations which the ſugar that grows in theſe two kinds of ſoil require, are leſs tedious and troubleſome than thoſe required by the ſugar produced in a rich land. But theſe obſervations, which glance at a ſubject, whoſe inveſtigation is properly the province of chymiſts, or ſpeculative planters, admit of infinite latitude in application.

Beſides ſugar, the cane, as already obſerved, furniſhes ſyrup, whoſe value is about a twelfth of that of the ſugars. The beſt ſyrup is that which runs from the firſt veſſel into the ſecond, when the raw ſugar is made. It is compoſed of the groſſer particles, which carry along with them the ſalts of ſugar. The ſyrup of an inferior kind, which is more bitter, and leſs in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the ſugar when it is clayed. Both theſe kinds are carried into the north of Europe, where the people uſe them inſtead of butter and ſugar. In North America the ſame uſe is made of them, and they are further employed to give an agreeable taſte to a liquor called *Pruſs*, which is only an infuſion of the bark of a tree. But this ſyrup is made ſtill more uſeful by means of the ſecret that has been diſcovered of converting it into a ſpirituous liquor, which the Engliſh call *Rum*, and the French *Taffa*. The proceſs, which is very ſimple, is begun by mixing a third part of ſyrup with two-thirds of water. When theſe two ſubſtances have ſufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean alembic, and the diſtillation is performed in the uſual manner.

Such is the method which, after many experiments and variations, all the iſlands have adopted in the cultivation of ſugar. It is undoubtedly a good one; but perhaps it hath not attained that degree of perfection of which it will admit. If, for experiment, inſtead of planting canes in large fields, the ground were parcelled out into diviſions of ſixty feet, leaving between every two planted diviſions a ſpace of land uncultivated, ſuch a method would probably be attended with great advantages. In the preſent practice, none but the canes which grow on the borders are good, or attain to a proper degree of maturity. Thoſe in the middle of the field in part miſcarry, and ripen badly, becauſe they are deprived of a current of air, which only acts by its weight, and ſeldom gets to the foot of ſuch canes as are covered with leaves. According to the propoſed ſyſtem of planting, thoſe partitions of land which had not been cultivated, would be highly favourable to production, when the crop of the planted diviſions had been made, which would be left in their turn to recover: it is therefore probable, that by this new method as much ſugar might be obtained one year with another, as by the eſtabliſhed practice; and with this additional advantage, that it would require fewer ſlaves to cultivate it.

It is chiefly by the produce of ſugar that the Weſt India iſlands ſupply their inhabitants with all the articles of elegance and conveniency. They draw from Europe flour, liquors, ſalt proviſions, ſilks, linens, hardware—in a word, every thing that is neceſſary for apparel, food, furniture, ornament, and luxury.

ury. Their conſumptions of all kinds are prodigious, and muſt neceſſarily influence their manners. This leads us naturally to a new inquiry.

All the Europeans who have been tranſplanted into the iſlands of the American archipelago, muſt no leſs have degenerated, it ſhould ſeem, than the animals which they carried thither. The climate doubtleſs influences all living creatures; but men being leſs immediately ſubject to the laws of nature, reſiſt her influence the more, becauſe they are the only beings who act for themſelves. The firſt coloniſts who ſettled in the Weſt Indies, corrected the influence of a new climate, and a new ſoil, by the conveniences which it was in their power to derive from a commerce that was always open with their former country. They learned to lodge and maintain themſelves in a manner the beſt adapted to their change of ſituation. They retained the cuſtoms ariſing from their education, and every thing that could agree with the natural effects of the new air they breathed. With theſe, they carried into America the food and manners of Europe, and familiarized to each other beings and productions which nature had widely ſeparated. The moſt ſalutary of the primitive cuſtoms was perhaps that of mingling and dividing the two races by intermarriages.

All civilized nations have prohibited an union of ſexes between the children of the ſame parents, and nature has generally dictated the ſame law to barbarians. Perſons brought up together in infancy, accuſtomed to ſee one another continually, rather contract, in this mutual familiarity, that indifference which ariſes from habit, than that lively and impetuous ſenſation of ſympathy, which ſuddenly affects two young perſons who never ſaw each other, or who but ſeldom have that pleaſure. If hunger in the ſavage life diſunites families, love forms new aſſociations, by connecting the individuals of different families. The natural advantage of croſſing the breed among men as well as animals, in order to preſerve the ſpecies from degenerating, is the reſult of ſlow experience, and is poſterior to the acknowledged utility of connecting families, in order to cement the peace of ſociety. Sovereigns ſoon diſcovered how far it was proper for them to ſeparate or connect their ſubjects, in order to keep them in a ſtate of dependence. They formed men into diſtinct ranks, by availing themſelves of their prejudices; becauſe this line of diviſion between them became a bond of ſubmiſſion to the ſovereign, who maintained his authority by means of their mutual hatred and oppoſition. They connected families to each other in every ſtation; becauſe this union totally extinguiſhed every ſpark of diſſention repugnant to the ſpirit of civil ſociety.

Thus it appears, that the intermixture of pedigrees and families by marriage, has been rather the reſult of political inſtitutions, than of any ſcheme formed upon the intention of nature. But whatever may have been the origin of this cuſtom, it has been adopted from a mixture of inclination and moral neceſſity, by the Europeans deſirous of propagating their ſpecies in the Weſt Indies. An European generally marries a Creole, or a Creole an European, whom chance or family connexions has brought into the New World. From this happy aſſociation has been formed a particular race, marked by certain cha-

racteriſtics, which, in the two worlds, diſtinguiſh the man born under the ſky of the New, of parents originally natives of both *.

The Creoles are in general well made. There is ſcarce a ſingle perſon among them afflicted with thoſe deformities which are ſo common in other countries. Their complexion, however, never has that air of vivacity and freſhneſs, which often contributes more to beauty than regular features. Their colour, even when in health, reſembles that of perſons juſt recovering from a fit of ſickneſs. Their intrepidity in war has been ſignalized by a ſeries of bold actions. They would be equal to any ſoldiers in the world, if they were more capable of being diſciplined. Hiſtory does not record any of thoſe inſtances of cowardice, treachery, or meanneſs among them, which ſully the annals of all nations. It can hardly be alledged, that a Creole ever did a mean action. All ſtrangers, without exception, find in the Weſt Indies, the moſt friendly and generous hoſpitality. Their natural propenſity to beneficence baniſhes avarice; ſo that they are juſt in their dealings. They are ſtrangers to diſſimulation, craft, and ſuſpicion. The pride they take in their frankneſs, the high opinion they have of their own character, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their commercial tranſactions all that myſtery and reſerve, which ſtifle natural goodneſs of diſpoſition, extinguiſh the ſocial ſpirit, and diminiſh our ſenſibility. But with all theſe good qualities, the Creoles are reſtleſs in temper, and inconſtant in taſte. A warm imagination perpetually hurries them into new pleaſures and projects, to which they ſacrifice both their fortune and their health.

The ſultry air of the Weſt Indies deprives the women of that lively colour, which is eſteemed the chief beauty of their ſex. But they have an agreeable and fair complexion, and the climate does not deprive their eyes of that vivacity and power, which enable the look to convey an irreſiſtible impreſſion to the ſoul. They are very prolific, and often mothers of ten or twelve children. This fertility ariſes from love, which ſtrongly attaches them to their huſbands; but no ſooner is a huſband removed by death, than the ſame paſſion throws them inſtantly into the arms of another. Jealous even to diſtraction, they are ſeldom unfaithful. An indolence, which makes them neglect even the means of pleaſing; the taſte which the men have for negro women; their own manner of life, which precludes the opportunities or temptations to gallantry, are ſo many ſupports to their virtue.

The ſolitary manner in which the Creole women live in their houſes gives them an air of extreme timidity, that embarraſſes them in their intercourſe with the world. They loſe, even in early life, the ſpirit of emulation and rivalry; and this prevents them from cultivating their mental faculties. They appear to have neither power nor taſte for any thing but dancing, which ſeems to inſpire them with new ſouls. This paſſion animates them through

* By the word *native* the reader muſt not here underſtand Indians, but perſons born in the New World, though of European extraction, and thoſe actually born in Europe. By the word *originally* the author means only to mark the firſt connexion between two ſuch perſons, in contradiſtinction to thoſe formed by their deſcendants, who are nevertheleſs ſuppoſed to partake of its happy effects.

BOOK III.

their whole life. They either retain to the laſt ſome ſhare of their youthful ſenſibility, or are ſtimulated by the recollection of it. From ſuch a conſtitution ariſes an extremely ſympathiſing temper. But theſe ladies, who cannot bear the ſight of miſery, are at the ſame time very rigid and tyrannical in regard to thoſe offices which they require of their domeſtics. Nay, ſo diſtinct is weakneſs from real humanity, that, more deſpotic and inexorable than even their huſbands, they feel no remorſe in ordering chaſtiſements, the ſeverity of which would be a puniſhment and a leſſon to them, were they either obliged to fulfil their own commands, or to be witneſs to the execution of them.

From this abſolute dominion over the negroes, the Creoles derive an imperious manner, which makes their company be little reliſhed in Europe. Accuſtomed from their earlieſt infancy to ſee a number of tall ſtout men about them, whoſe buſineſs it is to conjecture and anticipate their wiſhes, they inſenſibly imbibe the moſt extravagant opinion of their own conſequence. Seldom meeting with any oppoſition to their will, though ever ſo unreaſonable, they aſſume a domineering air, and look down with diſdain on the bulk of mankind. No man is ſo inſolent as he who always lives with his inferiors. But when theſe happen to be ſlaves, habituated to wait upon children, to dread even their cries, which muſt expoſe them to puniſhment, what muſt maſters become, who have never obeyed! wicked men, who have never been puniſhed, and madmen, who to gratify caprice, are accuſtomed to put their fellow creatures in irons!

An exerciſe of tyranny ſo cruel and wanton, accompanied with ſo humble a ſubmiſſion, gives the Weſt Indians that arrogance which muſt neceſſarily be deteſted in every European country, where a greater equality prevailing among mankind, teaches them a greater ſhare of mutual reſpect. Educated without knowing either pain or labour, the Creoles are neither able to ſurmount difficulties, nor to bear contradiction. Nature hath given them every advantage, and fortune denies them nothing. In this reſpect, like Eaſtern monarchs, they are unhappy becauſe they have nothing to deſire. If the climate did not ſtrongly excite them to love, they would be ignorant of every real pleaſure of the ſoul; and yet they ſeldom have the happineſs of experiencing thoſe paſſions, which, thwarted by obſtacles and refuſals, are nouriſhed with tears, and gratified with virtue. If they were not confined by the laws of Europe, which govern them by means of their wants, and repreſs or reſtrain the extraordinary degree of independency which they enjoy, they would ſink into a ſtate of ſoftneſs and effeminacy that would in time render them the victims of their own tyranny, or would involve them in a ſtate of anarchy that would ſubvert all the foundations of their policy.

Nature ſeems to have deſtined the inhabitants of the Weſt Indies to a greater ſhare of happineſs than thoſe of Europe. There ſuch diſeaſes as the gout, gravel, apoplexies, pleuriſies, complaints of the cheſt, and the various diſeaſes occaſioned by winter are ſcarcely known. If the air of the country can be withſtood, and the middle age attained to, a long life, and an old age free from thoſe infirmities which affect it in our climate, is almoſt certain. But the Weſt Indies are not without their peculiar maladies. New born infants are attacked with a

diſeaſe which ſeems peculiar to the torrid zone. It is called *tetanos*; and if a child receives the impreſſion of the air or wind, if the room in which it is born happens to be expoſed to ſmoke—to too much heat or cold, the diſorder ſhews itſelf directly. It firſt ſeizes the jaw, which becomes rigid, and fixed, ſo as not to be opened. This ſpaſm ſoon communicates itſelf to the other parts of the body, and the child dies for want of being able to take nouriſhment. The fair ſex, naturally weak and delicate, are ſubject in theſe iſlands to an almoſt total decay of ſtrength; an unconquerable averſion againſt all kind of wholeſome food, and an irregular craving after every thing that is prejudicial to their health. This diſeaſe is a true cachexy, which commonly terminates in a dropſy. The men, more robuſt, are liable to more violent complaints. In this region of heat they are expoſed to a burning and malignant fever, known under different names, and indicated by hæmorrhages. It is ſo violent, that, in the firſt twenty-four hours, the patient muſt be bled ſixteen or eighteen times. Hence a perſon is no ſooner ſeized with one of theſe fevers, than the phyſician, the lawyer, and the prieſt, are called to his bed-ſide.

Almoſt all the Europeans who go over to the Weſt Indies are expoſed to this danger, and frequently the Creoles themſelves, on their return from more temperate climates. But it never attacks women, who have the natural evacuations, nor negroes, who born under a hotter ſky, are inured by nature, and prepared by free perſpiration, for all the ferments that the ſun can produce. Theſe violent fevers are certainly owing to the heat of the ſun, whoſe rays are more direct, and whoſe influence is more conſtant than in our climates. This heat muſt undoubtedly thicken the blood through the exceſs of perſpiration, a want of elaſticity in the ſolids, and a dilatation of the veſſels by the impulſe of the fluids.

Many of theſe inconveniencies might however be prevented, if perſons going to the Weſt Indies were purged and bled in their paſſage, as they approached the torrid zone; and if on their arrival in the iſlands, the ſame precautions were repeated, and recourſe had to the cold bath. But inſtead of ſuch expedients, the inhabitants commonly give into thoſe exceſſes which are moſt likely to haſten the diſorder; and ſtrangers encouraged by the example of the Creoles, by the entertainments to which they are invited, the pleaſures they partake of, and the kind reception they meet with, indulge in the general jollity. Feaſting, gaming, dancing, drinking, and frequently the chagrin of diſappointment in their chimerical expectations, conſpire to add to the ferment of an immoderate heat of blood, which ſoon becomes inflamed. With ſuch indulgence it is ſcarce poſſible to reſiſt the heat of a climate, where the greateſt precautions are not always ſufficient to ſecure even ſober perſons from the attack of thoſe dangerous fevers. In the preſent ſtate of the Weſt Indies, of ten men that go to thoſe iſlands, four Engliſh die; three Frenchmen, three Dutchmen, three Danes, and one Spaniard *.

When it was obſerved how many men periſhed in thoſe regions, at the time of their firſt ſettlement, it was generally ſuppoſed that the ſtates which had eſta-

* Raynal, liv. xi.

bliſhed

bliſhed colonies there, would gradually be depopulated. Experience, however, hath altered the public opinion on this point. In proportion as theſe colonies have extended their plantations, their produce has increaſed: they have been furniſhed with the means of procuring new luxuries and conveniencies, and have opened to the mother-countries new ſources of conſumption. An increaſe in exports could not take place without an increaſe of labour. This labour has brought together a great number of men, which will ever be the caſe, where the means of ſubſiſtence are multiplied. Even foreigners have reſorted in multitudes to thoſe parent-ſtates, which opened a vaſt field to their ambition and induſtry.

Population has not only increaſed among the proprietors of the iſlands, but the people in ſuch ſtates have alſo become more happy. Our felicity is in general proportioned to our conveniencies, and it muſt increaſe as we can vary and extend them. The iſlands have been productive of this advantage to their poſſeſſors, who have drawn from thoſe fertile regions a number of commodities, the conſumption of which have added to their enjoyments; and they have acquired ſome, which when exchanged for others among their neighbours, have made them partake of the luxuries of other countries. Hence the kingdoms and ſtates, which by fortunate circumſtances, or well combined projects, have acquired the chief poſſeſſion of the iſlands, are become the reſidence of the arts, and of all thoſe polite amuſements, which are the natural and neceſſary conſequences of great plenty and proſperity.

Nor is this all. Theſe colonies have raiſed the nations that eſtabliſhed them to a ſuperiority of influence in the political world: they have made them the arbiters of peace and war. In what proportion each nation has increaſed its political conſequence, by its poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, will appear from a ſurvey of the iſlands belonging to the different European powers.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM